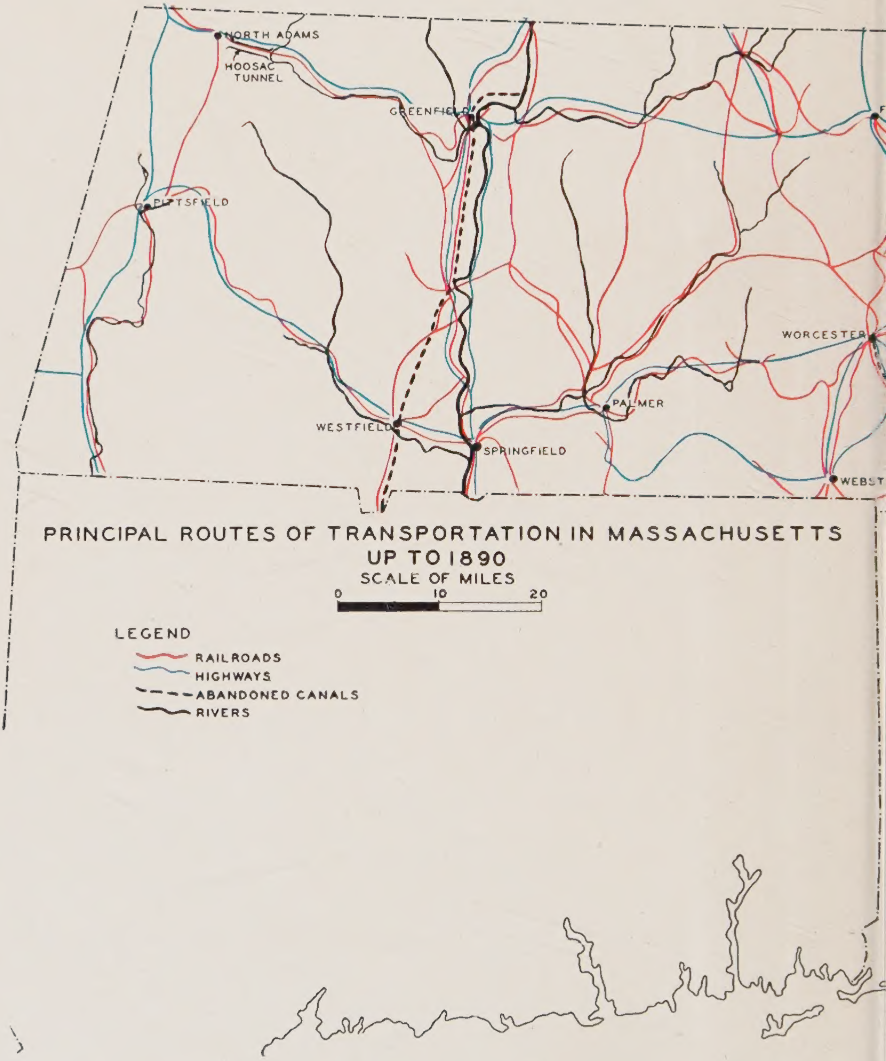

PRINCIPAL ROUTES OF TRANSPORTATION IN MASSACHUSETTS UP TO 1890

SCALE OF MILES
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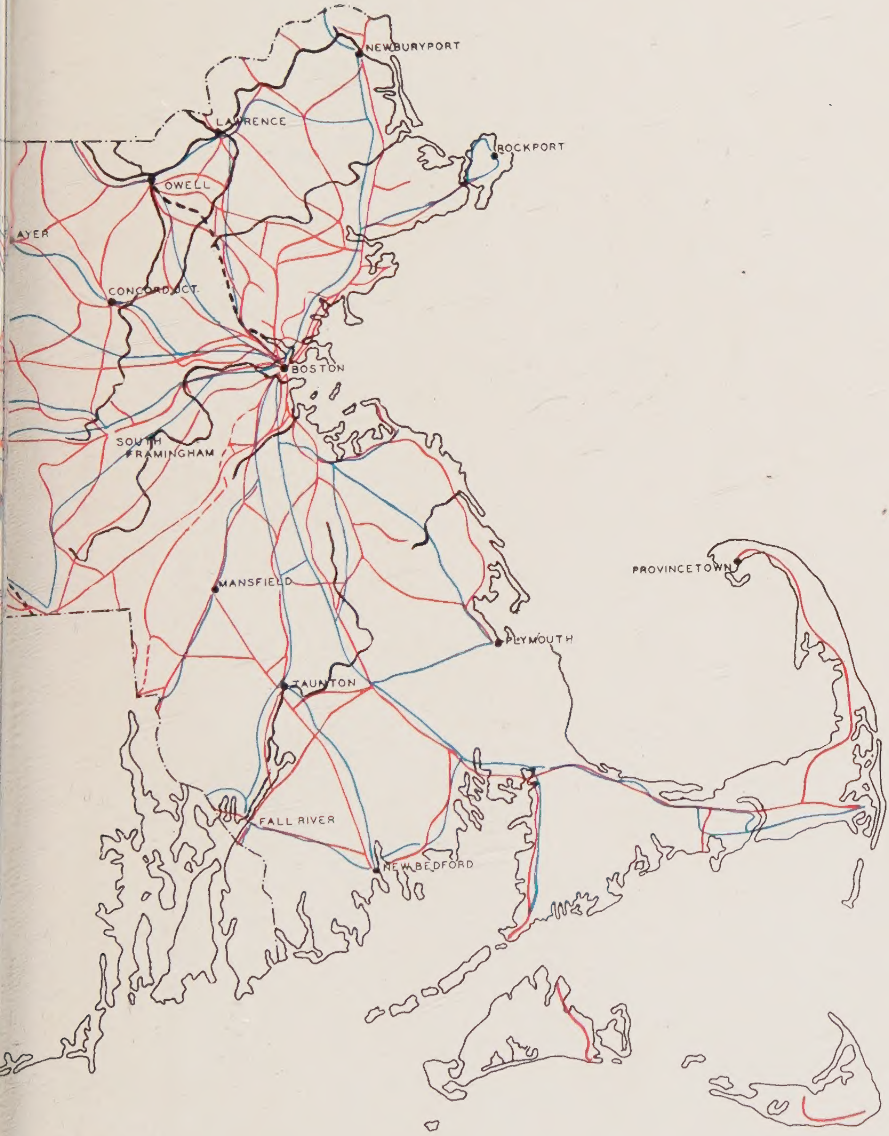
LEGEND
RAILROADS
HIGHWAYS
ABANDONED CANALS
RIVERS
NORTH ADAMS
HOOSAC TUNNEL
GREENFIELD
PITTSFIELD
WORCESTER
PALMER
WESTFIELD
SPRINGFIELD
WEBST

BENJAMIN D. WOODBURY, M.D.
11 MARLBOROUGH STREET
BOSTON, MASS.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MANSFIELD
PROVINCETOWN
PLYMOUTH
TAUNTON
FALL RIVER
NEW BEDFORD

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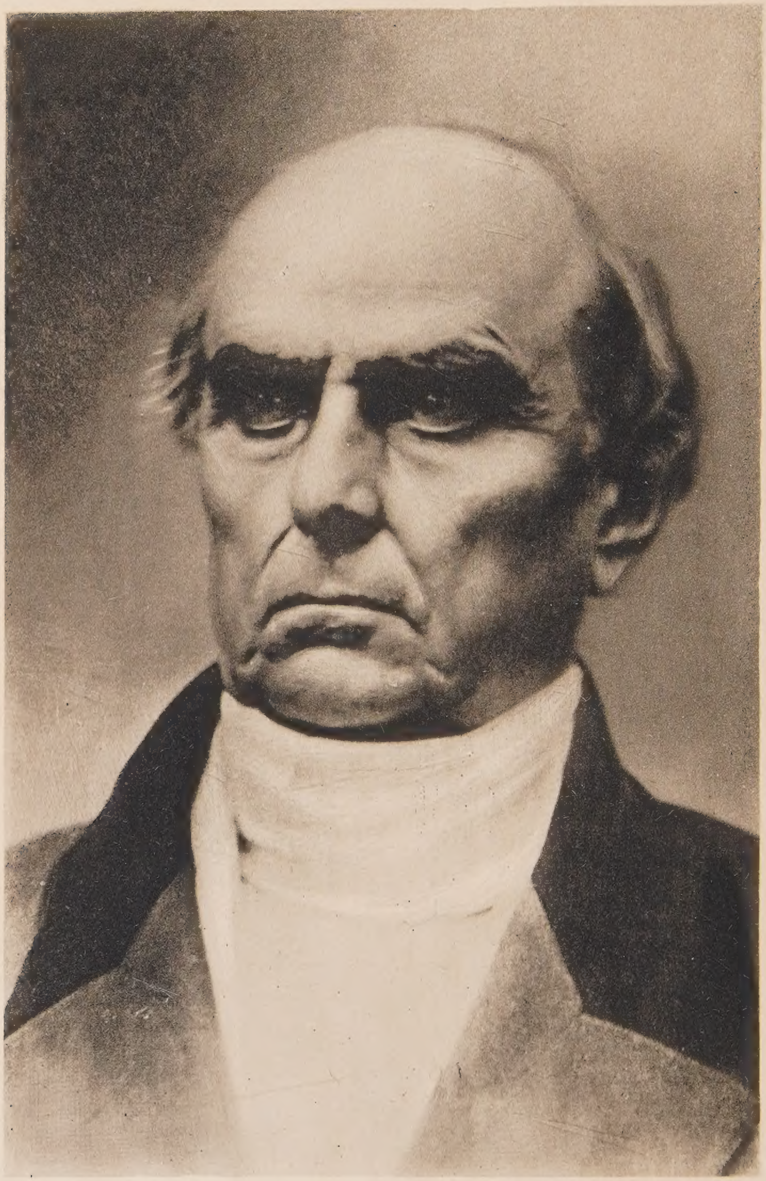

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COMMONWEALTH HISTORY
of
MASSACHUSETTS

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VOLUME FOURTH

NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS
[1820-1889]

THE STATES HISTORY COMPANY
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK
1930

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Printed in the United States of America

Mrs Norman H. Freeman
9-13-68

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CHAPTER I

GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUTION (1820–1917)

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ARISTOCRACY TO DEMOCRACY (1820–1917)

Perhaps the best account of the history of a State is that recorded in its constitutional changes. For constitutional changes reflect changes in the character of the community for which the document in its original form was intended as the fundamental organic law. They emphasize the new forces in the life of the people, and changes which those forces have wrought in the economic, political, social, and even cultural aspects of the community. They thus provide at once the briefest and the most complete narrative of the history of the State.

The constitutional history of Massachusetts during the years from 1820 to 1917 admirably illustrates the application of these generalizations. The forty-four amendments that were grafted on to the Constitution of the Commonwealth are the strongest evidence of the changes which the nineteenth century witnessed in the body politic, for which John Adams had, in 1780, drafted a fundamental law.

Here we find recorded the transformation of Massachusetts from a sparsely settled agricultural, trading, and maritime community to that densely populated, urban and manufacturing State which required the adoption of the Forty-third Amendment, empowering the General Court to take and hold land and to build thereon for the purpose of providing homes for citizens and relieving the congestion of population. Here we see also the all-embracing change in the racial and religious complexion of the State from an almost homogeneous Anglo-Saxon, Protestant community to its modern heterogeneity of race and creed. And always predominant we find proof of a constant devotion to democracy. It is democracy which furnishes the keynote to all the constitutional changes of this period. The year 1820 found Massachusetts with an established church, a house of representatives which was not truly representative, a senate which the Constitution had expressly constituted the representative of property, an executive council elected by the legislature and not by the people directly—like the Senate, the representative of property—property qualifications as prerequisites to office holding and the franchise, religious tests and qualifications exacted from officeholders, and a constitution containing no provision for amendment or revision. The year 1917, however, found Massachusetts with machinery for amending and revising its Constitution incorporated into that document, the religious and property qualifications for the franchise and office holding removed, the council elected directly by the people, an equitable system of representation in both branches of the General Court fully established, property no longer the basis of representation in either senate or council, and the church disestablished.

These governmental and constitutional changes clearly indicate the nature of the constitutional growth and development of the Commonwealth during this period. In the ninety-seven years which began with the Convention of 1820 and ended with the opening of the Convention of 1917, Massachusetts was transformed from a partly democratic, but mostly aristocratic, republic into a fairly complete democracy.

Demand for Reform (1795–1820)

In 1820 the Constitution of Massachusetts was in the same form as at the time of its adoption. Forty years of practice had seen no alterations and no revisions. Yet it could not be said that the document had been found fault-proof. On the contrary, the union of church and state embodied in the Third Article of the Declaration of Rights, the unwieldy size of the house, the system of senate apportionment, the property qualifications for the franchise and officeholding, and the religious requirements for office, had provoked widespread dissatisfaction and had produced a wholly natural demand for reform.

While the presence of this demand for reform was indisputable, it was impossible to meet it because of the most glaring defect in the Constitution—the absence of machinery for its amendment or revision. In its original form, the Constitution contained no provision for its specific amendment. It merely provided that, after the expiration of fifteen years, the question of calling another convention for the purpose of revising the government should be submitted to the people. If two thirds of the qualified voters of the State, present and voting, voted for the proposition, the General Court was to issue its precepts for the election of delegates to meet in a constitutional convention. When the year 1795 had arrived, therefore, this provision of the Constitution was complied with. But, while the majority of the voters cast their ballots for the calling of a convention, the proposition failed to win the required two-thirds vote prescribed by the Constitution.

The failure of the special election of May 6, 1795, had prompted the house of representatives to resolve that, since the one opportunity for amending the Constitution had now been lost, the people should be asked to vote for a convention which should determine whether or not an article requiring a popular vote, similar to that of 1795, at stated intervals should be inserted into the Constitution. The refusal of the senate, the representative of property, to concur left the situation unchanged: on the one hand was a determined demand for reform; on the other, lack of the necessary machinery.

Convention of 1820

In 1820 the separation of Maine provided the advocates of reform with their opportunity. The attainment of statehood by the northern part of the Commonwealth deprived the senate of nine senators and three senatorial districts, and left that body with only thirty-one members from ten districts. The proponents of reform forthwith claimed that this constituted a breach of the Constitution which could be remedied only by the calling of a constitutional convention. So loudly did they clamor that the senate appointed a committee to investigate the question; on the third Monday in August, in consequence of the report of this committee, a special election was held to decide the question of whether or not it was expedient that delegates meet in convention to revise or alter the Constitution of the Commonwealth. The question having been answered in the affirmative by a vote of 11,756 to 6,593, on October 16 the election of delegates took place, and almost one month later these delegates gathered in formal assembly at Boston.

The group of men who convened at the State House on November 15, 1820, included some of the most renowned personages in the history of both the Nation and the State. Foremost was the venerable John Adams. Now an ex-President of the United States and eighty-five years old, he had, forty years before, drafted the Constitution which this convention was to revise. Beside him stood Daniel Webster, then only thirty-eight years old, while nearby were Justice Story of the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Isaac Parker, Lemuel Shaw (he was later chief justice), Levi Lincoln, whom the future was to make governor, and several others, all outstanding at the time but less well remembered by posterity.

Paying deserved tribute to true greatness, the Convention elected Adams its president. Because of his advanced age he declined to serve, however, and the Chief Justice, Isaac Parker, was made presiding officer in his place. The formalities over, the convention got to work, and continued to work for fifty-five days, finally adjourning on January 9, 1821.

THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS (1821–1831)

The Convention of 1820 proved a success. Submitting fourteen propositions to the people, it succeeded in having nine accepted at once, while a tenth, though not adopted until ten years later, is also included among its achievements, despite the long interval between its recommendation and adoption.

These first ten amendments—the first nine of which were ratified April 9, 1821, and the tenth May 11, 1831—include highly diversified changes. Thus, Article I deals with the governor's veto, and provides that, if the General Court adjourns within five days after a bill or resolve has been laid before the governor and thereby prevents his veto, such bill or resolve is not to become law.

CITIES

Article II of the Amendments made possible the rise of cities in Massachusetts. Up to this time the chief unit of local government was the town. This situation was most inconvenient for the larger towns, for they had outgrown the town-meeting form of government. Despite the urgency of the situation, Article II of the amendments, which clothes the General Court with authority to grant a city charter to any town of 12,000 inhabitants, with the consent and upon the application of a majority of the inhabitants of the town, met with strenuous opposition and received a popular majority of a scant 62 votes. A year after its adoption, Boston, whose overwhelming vote had made possible the incorporation of this amendment into the Constitution, became Massachusetts's first city (1822).

PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS

The Third Amendment was a concession to the popular dissatisfaction with the franchise provisions of the Constitution. In its original form the Constitution made certain property qualifications a prerequisite to the right to vote. No man could vote for governor, senator, or representative unless he was the owner of a freehold estate within the Commonwealth of the annual income of three pounds, or of any estate of the value of sixty pounds. Although not large, this qualification was double that of the Province Charter and, next to that of South Carolina, the highest in the Union. It was extremely unpopular. Article III of the Amendments, giving heed to the insistent demands for the alteration of this part of the Constitution, substituted for it the provision that every male citizen who paid a poll tax, except paupers and persons under guardianship, could vote for elective officers.

Offices and Officers

The Fourth Amendment represents an accretion to the gubernatorial powers which has proved permanent. Up to this time, notaries public were not appointed, but were elected by the General Court. This had not only proved a cumbersome method but, since the General Court was in session only part of the year, had often caused great delay. Article IV of the Amendments took from the General Court the election of these minor judicial officers and provided that notaries, like other judicial officers, should be appointed by the governor.

Amendment V represents the response of the convention to one of the most popular demands of the day—the demand that the right to vote for captains and subalterns of the militia be extended to all members of their respective companies, whether twenty-one years of age or not. This change had been requested by several towns in 1780, when the Constitution was submitted to the people for ratification; and it was obviously just, for those under twenty-one who perform military duty are as much interested in their commanding officers as those over twenty-one.

Oath of Office

Amendments VI and VII are of major significance. To qualify for office, under the Constitution in its original form, a man had to declare his belief in the Christian religion and, among several other things, to renounce foreign ecclesiastical authority.

The required oath, which was intended to restrict the holding of offices to Protestants only, had not been in John Adams's original draft of the Constitution, and its insertion into the final draft was contrary to Adams's wishes. The people now proceeded to retract this anti-Adams provision by ratifying and adopting the Sixth and Seventh Amendments, which swept all religious tests and qualifications out of the Constitution. Ever since 1821, therefore, the sole oath required by the Constitution has been a simple oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Dual Offices, Elections

The eighth of the Articles of Amendment provided against the holding of duplicate offices. Under its terms, when one accepts a Federal office, he automatically resigns his State office. Thus, no State judge or anyone holding an office in the United States government may at the same time hold the office of governor, lieutenant governor, or councillor, or sit in the House or Senate. Again, if a judge of any court in the State (except the court of sessions) or an attorney general, solicitor general, clerk of any court, sheriff, treasurer and receiver general, register of probate, or register of deeds who has been elected to Congress, accepts that post, he cannot continue to hold his office.

In view of the general constitutional policy against the holding of incompatible offices, the courts have construed Amendment VIII very strictly. Thus, in the case of Commonwealth *v.* Nathan M. Hawkes (123 *Massachusetts Reports,* 525), the Supreme Judicial Court held that a special justice of a police court was a judge of a court of the Commonwealth within Amendment VIII, and that such a special justice, therefore, could not at the same time have a seat in the House of Representatives.

Article X, proposed by the Convention of 1820 but not adopted until May 11, 1831, provided that the political year begin on the first Wednesday of January instead of on the last Wednesday of May, and that all State elections be held on the same day, the second Monday in November. This was later amended so as to make elections fall on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November.

Process of the Ninth Amendment (1821)

Of the various constitutional changes accomplished by the Convention of 1820, the most important was that embodied in the Ninth Amendment, which supplied the sadly needed machinery for alteration and revision. By the provisions of this article, an amendment could be added to the Constitution if approved by a bare majority of the senators and two thirds of the representatives voting upon it in two successive years, and if then ratified by a majority of the people voting on it.

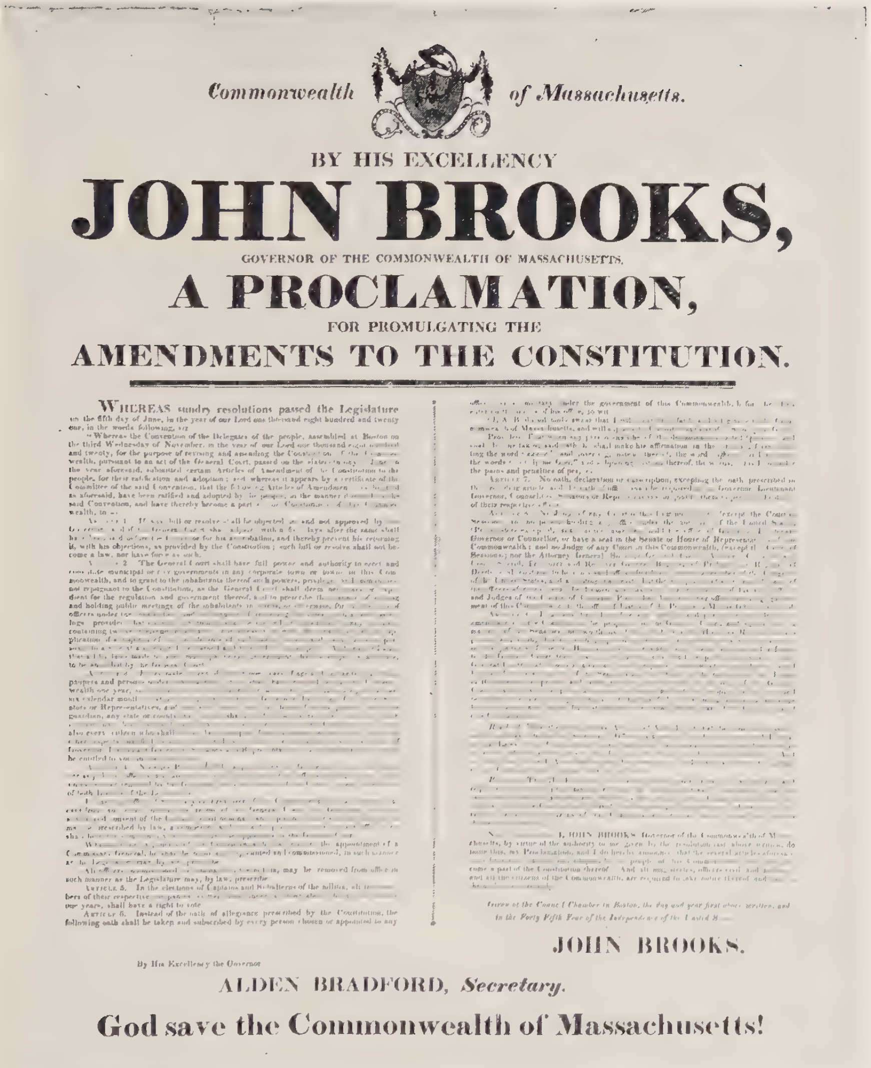
This Ninth Amendment, which thus added to the Constitution a definite scheme for incorporating specific amendments thenceforward, is easily the outstanding constitutional development of the period 1820-1917. It gave a real meaning to the words of Article VII of the Declaration of Rights, which declare that "Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men: Therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefensible right to institute government; and to reform, alter or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it."

The Ninth Amendment, even though it may not have devised the smoothest and most effective method of accomplishing its purpose, did nevertheless make a most significant addition to John Adams's document. It remedied its greatest defect. Once this defect was cured, the road was open for the elimination of the other imperfections and for the transformation of Massachusetts from an aristocratic to a democratic republic. That this conclusion is sound may be seen from the fact that, only twelve years after the ratification of the Ninth Amendment, the established church, the pinnacle on which the entire aristocratic structure rested, came toppling down.

Freedom of Conscience (1780–1820)

With all that it accomplished, the Convention of 1820 failed to set at rest the dissatisfaction with those portions of the Constitution which related to the house of representatives, the senate, and the council; and it also failed to eliminate the objections to Article III of the Declaration of Rights which defined the limits of the individual's right to freedom of conscience and religious liberty.

Article II of the Declaration of Rights expressly incorporates into the Constitution the general principle of religious liberty. It provides that, since it is both the right and duty



Commonwealth *of Massachusetts.*

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN BROOKS,

GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

A PROCLAMATION,

FOR PROMULGATING THE

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

WHEREAS sundry resolutions passed the Legislature on the fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty one, in the words following, viz

"Whereas the Convention of the Delegates of the people, assembled at Boston on the third Wednesday of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty, for the purpose of revising and amending the Constitution of the Commonwealth, ...

JOHN BROOKS.

By His Excellency the Governor

ALDEN BRADFORD, *Secretary.*

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!

From an original in the Massachusetts State Archives

THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION OF THE AMENDMENTS OF 1821

of all men in society to worship the Supreme Being, "no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience." Unfortunately, in the original form of the Constitution, Article II was virtually nullified by Article III, which was distinctly the work of orthodox Congregationalists who, seeking to favor their church, established it in a privileged position.

The founding of Massachusetts was due to the desire of the members of the Congregational Church to establish a commonwealth in which they could worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. By the familiar inconsistency of human nature, once these same Congregationalists had achieved religious liberty for themselves, they proceeded to deny it to others, and became persecutors in the customary manner of ruling classes. Thus we soon find these erstwhile apostles of freedom of conscience banishing Roger Williams and swinging on Boston Common the limp bodies of Quakers, who would neither conform nor be banished. Banishment and hanging of all dissenters and nonconformists became the practice of the group which had fled England to escape religious intolerance.

The failure of this policy to bring the expected results, however, necessitated its relaxation; and by the time the Constitutional Convention of 1780 met, the principle was well established that non-Congregationalists who could prove membership in some other church were exempt from taxation for the support of the Congregational Church.

ALLIANCE OF CHURCH AND STATE (1780–1810)

The Constitutional Convention of 1780 devoted two weeks to discussion of the religious question. The futility of its deliberations is evidenced by Article III of the Declaration of Rights. This article not merely brought to an abrupt halt the evolution of complete religious freedom and liberty of conscience, but aimed at the devolution of this progressive movement.

Article III of the Declaration of Rights did not set up the Congregational Church as the state church by express language. It did not even mention the Congregational Church. It merely empowered the legislature to compel provision for public worship and to enjoin attendance thereon. It even went so far as to provide in its fourth paragraph that "all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship. . .shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teachers or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends." The great difficulty, however, was that in very few towns did the non-Congregationalist have teachers upon whose instructions he might attend and for the support of whom he might request that his religious tax be applied. His religious tax, therefore, being a town tax, went to support the local Congegational Church.

After 1780, then, mere membership in another church was not, as under the provincial system, enough to relieve a dissenter of the burden of contributing to the support of the Congregational Church. There was now the additional requirement that the other church be a *local* dissenting church. If there were a local dissenting church, the non-Congregationalist could require that the money which he had to pay for the support of public worship be applied to the support of that church. Otherwise, his compulsory religious tax went to the local Congregational Church. Since, except in the larger towns, the dissenters rarely had local churches of their own, Article III established the Congregational Church as a state church in most parts of the Commonwealth.

In 1810 a third condition was added to assure the taxation of non-Congregationalists for the benefit of the Congregational Church: the requirement that the local dissenting church be an incorporated church. This third condition arose out of Chief Justice Parson's decision, in the case of Barnes *v.* The Inhabitants of the First Parish in Falmouth [6 *Mass. (Tyng)* 401 (1810)], that a minister was not legally entitled to receive the taxes of his flock unless he was the pastor of an incorporated religious society. This decision was the hardest blow of all; for inasmuch as the greater number of the local dissenting churches were not incorporated, it made the majority of even those dissenters who belonged to local churches taxable for the support of the Congregational Church. It can be construed only as a legal recognition of the general principle that all persons were taxable for the benefit of the Congregational Church.

AGITATION FOR DISESTABLISHMENT (1780–1820)

The privileged position given the Congregational Church by the Constitution had provoked tremendous opposition to ratification of the document. Indeed, it would seem that the only explanation of the inclusion of Article III of the Declaration of Rights into the Constitution is to be found in Professor Morison's statements that "the committee [which counted the votes] adopted at the start such principles of counting that a two-thirds majority for every article was assured in advance," and that "an examination of the Convention's method of tabulating the popular vote raises the suspicion that the two-thirds majority was manufactured." After 1780 this opposition continued, growing particularly strong following the decision in Barnes *v.* The First Parish in Falmouth. The church contributions being made in the form of taxes for the maintenance of public worship, they were paid to the town treasurer, who then distributed them among the various pastors. A town treasurer who was a fanatical religionist might refuse to pay over to a hostile organization their share of the taxes, however, and then the litigation would start. Thus in one case fourteen law suits were necessary to force a reluctant treasurer to hand over four dollars to a Baptist society.

So obvious and imperative was the need for alteration of the provisions of the Constitution relating to religion, that the very first of the fourteen propositions submitted by the Convention of 1820 dealt with reform of the religious situation. The change proposed by the convention was by no means radical. The convention merely recommended the annulment of the second paragraph of Article III, which empowered the legislature to enjoin attendance at public worship on individuals; overruled Chief Justice Parsons on his interpretation of the fourth paragraph of the article by clearly stating that everyone had a right to pay his religious taxes to a pastor of his own denomination; and extended this right to Catholics by substituting the word "Christian" for the word "Protestant" in that section of the article. The convention thus continued the Congregational Church in its advantageous position, and left the system of compulsory taxation for religious worship untouched. It merely discontinued mandatory attendance at public worship, and eliminated "incorporated" as a condition precedent to relief from contribution of taxes for the Congregational Church.

Despite the mildness of its proposed changes, the convention's proposition was rejected by a majority of 8,482 out of a total of 30,612 votes.

Divorce of Church and State (1833)

The failure of this conservative proposal to win popular approval was a boon for the radicals in the movement for the modification of Article III. These individuals now made a determined drive for not only the discontinuance of forced attendance at public worship, but also for the withdrawal of state support from the churches, a proposal which Delegate Childs, of Pittsfield, had submitted to the Convention of 1820, and which, though supported by Daniel Webster, had been twice rejected by the convention.

In this drive for a disestablished church the radicals were aided by the course of political events in both State and Nation. The conclusion of the War of 1812 had marked the beginning of a tremendous wave of liberalism and democracy throughout the country, the first effect of which in Massachusetts was the overthrow of the Federalists in 1824, when their candidate for governor, Lathrop, and their entire State ticket went down to ignominious defeat. The vanquishment of the Federalists by the new Republican-Democratic forces had an exhilarating effect upon the community. Up to this time society and business, religion, politics, and culture—everything had been dominated by the conservative and aristocratic elements in the State. Now, the restraining influence of this group was pushed aside and the forces of liberalism and progressiveness surged up in overwhelming fashion.

In this movement for political liberalism and social reform, the public appetite waxed hottest during the first five years of the thirties. This was the era of Jacksonian Democracy, and we find these years choked with religious, moral, economic, and social movements. The presence of Andrew Jackson at the helm of national affairs seemed to intoxicate the humbler folk. All sorts of "people's movements" sprang up and flourished. The traditional order had no chance.

With the public reform-mad; with Antimasons, Free-debtors, Workingmen's Parties, Abolitionists, Locofocos, and innumerable others all assailing the old Puritan conservatism; with Federalism, for which the Congregational Church as an institution stood, swept away by the new Republicanism and Democracy; and with a young but wonderfully healthy crop of Methodists and an increased number of Baptists and Universalists demanding religious freedom, an established church and the principles of compulsory support of and attendance at public worship could not possibly survive. In 1832 an amendment to the Constitution, withdrawing state support from religion, was introduced in the House. It was adopted by the legislatures of 1832 and 1833 respectively; and on May 11, 1833, it was approved and ratified by the people by the overwhelming vote of 32,234 to 3,372, the largest relative majority for any constitutional amendment ever ratified in Massachusetts.

Article XI of the Amendments rendered the oppressive Article III of the Declaration of Rights null and void. It crossed out the provisions of the fundamental law which required attendance at public worship, and not only established an equality of sects but granted the State an absolute divorce from the church and denied the latter alimony. Hereafter, the State was no longer to support the churches, which were to elect their teachers and pastors, and to raise money for their support and for the erection and maintenance of houses of worship. Closing this disagreeable chapter of Massachusetts history with a bang, Amendment XI declared that "all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law."

PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION (1780–1834)

The adoption of the Eleventh Amendment brought to a close one of the chief constitutional problems of the day—the matter of church and state. There still remained, however, the difficulties raised by the constitutional provisions relating to the house of representatives, the senate, and the council. These were among the chief causes for the calling of the Convention of 1820. Their final solution was to require the summoning of still another convention, and the adoption of no less than five amendments to the Constitution.

The Constitution provided that there should be in the legislature of the Commonwealth a representation of the people, annually elected, and founded on the principle of equality. To accomplish the purpose of this provision it adopted the so-called town system of representation. Every town containing 150 ratable polls was given one representative; every town containing 375 ratable polls was to have two representatives; a town with 600 ratable polls was to be entitled to three representatives: and so the basis of representation was to be determined, 225 ratable polls being the basis of increase for every additional representative. As a concession to the small towns, however, the Constitution further provided that every town already incorporated, no matter how small, was to have one representative, a right which the small towns had enjoyed ever since 1692. In the future, however, no place was to be incorporated with the privilege of electing a representative unless it had 150 ratable polls.

The town system of representation appealed to every one in 1780, since it preserved the traditional rights of the small towns and at the same time gave the large towns representation proportionate to their size. But experience soon revealed serious defects in this system. Prior to 1811, the towns had to pay their own representatives. To avoid this expense, the small towns would frequently refuse to elect any representatives when they were not particularly interested in matters pending before the legislature. This meant unequal representation of course, and was not, therefore, that "representation of the people, annually elected, and founded upon the principle of equality" which the Constitution intended. Moreover, as sixty were a quorum, the more populous towns, being so near at hand and able to attend easily, could in a thin house pass laws which would not be for the good of all the members of the Commonwealth.

To eliminate this unequal representation, an act was passed in 1811 to pay representatives for their services out of the public treasury. This legislation merely made matters worse. The population of the State and the number of towns, particularly in Maine, had been increasing very rapidly, and at the next session following the act of 1811 the number of members of the house was over seven hundred, or one for every thousand persons. Clearly a house of such a size was too unwieldy to serve as a representation of the people, and the act was accordingly repealed in 1812. But this repeal restored the old inequality in representation and also the old fluctuations in the membership of the chamber, which ranged during the next decade between 160 and 398.

Reforms in Representation Blocked (1820–1834)

The solution offered by the Convention of 1820 for this problem of the uncertain size of and unequal representation in the house was that of changing the basis of representation from ratable polls to inhabitants, and adopting a minimum unit and mean increasing number for representation which was almost ten times that of the Constitution. This proposition, however, involved a diminution in the influence of the small country towns of the western part of the State. The agrarian West, perceiving the rapid growth of the population of the industrial and urban East, was determined to prevent any readjustment which would curtail its representation. It therefore made a vigorous drive against the convention's proposition, and accomplished its rejection by a vote of 20,729 nays to 9,904 yeas. Thoroughly alarmed at this threat to its influence, it also succeeded in having another law passed making members' salaries payable out of the State treasury; and thereafter, whenever a remedial amendment passed the legislature, it sent enough members to the next legislature to prevent its getting before the people.

With the house membership exceeding six hundred again, thanks to the new law making members' salaries payable out of the public treasury, and with the conduct of State business and the enactment of popular legislation almost impossible, the demand for reform constantly increased. So strong did the agitation become, that in 1833 the house ordered a committee to consider the propriety of submitting to the people the question of calling a convention to amend the constitutional provisions relating to representation. Although indefinitely postponed in 1833, this question of calling a convention was revived in 1834. But the agrarian West in 1834 killed the bill for a convention to amend the articles of the Constitution on representation.

Reform in Size of House (1835–1857)

It being impossible to agree on a bill for calling a convention, the sole remedy was for both sides to compromise on a single amendment. This was done in 1835. In that year Article XII of the Amendments was introduced. This article did not abandon the system of town representation and ratable polls as the basis of representation. It did, however, double the unit of representation, a step which would of course reduce the membership of the House. The article was adopted by the legislatures of 1835 and 1836; and being ratified by the people, November 14, 1836, it became part of the fundamental law.

The membership of the house still remained too large, and it became apparent that the only thing to do was to try another amendment. In 1839, therefore, the Thirteenth Amendment was proposed. It was passed by the legislatures of 1839-1840, and approved and ratified at the polls, April 6, 1840. Under this article, the basis of representation was no longer to be the number of ratable polls but the number of inhabitants. Every town, city, or representative district composed of two or more towns containing 1,200 inhabitants was given one representative, and 2,400 was made the mean increasing number of inhabitants entitling it to a second representative.

In thus substituting inhabitants for ratable polls, Amendment XIII of course did improve matters in the House. Because it retained the old system of town representation, however, and neglected to adopt the principle of a fixed membership, it could not be the final solution to this problem. Seventeen years later Amendment XIII went the way of Amendment XII, and was superseded by Amendment XXI, which definitely settled the matter by establishing a House of 240 members, distributed in districts according to the number, not of ratable polls or inhabitants, but of legal voters.

Senators and Councillors (1840)

Of far greater significance than its provisions concerning representation in the house of representatives are the provisions of Amendment XIII relating to the senate and council and to the property qualifications for office holding. The Constitution had made no discrimination in the voting between the senate and council. It simply provided that the people elect forty men as "councillors and senators." The forty thus chosen, voting jointly with the house of representatives, then elected nine of their number as councillors, leaving a senate of thirty-one members. This method of electing senate and council was found unsatisfactory. In the first place, removing nine of the forty "councillors and senators" in order to make up a council, left the senate too small. Moreover, as a seat in the senate was more influential, and therefore more desirable than a seat in the council, and as party politics frequently demanded that a man elected councillor stay in the senate, men would frequently refuse to allow themselves to be elected into the council, or if elected councillors would refuse to give up their senate seats.

These difficulties were now removed by the Thirteenth Amendment. Under this amendment the cumbersome method set up by the Constitution for determining the membership of the senate and council was abandoned, and the separate election of senators and councillors established. Hereafter the senate was to consist of forty members chosen from the old senatorial districts. In addition, there were to be nine councillors, chosen from the people at large by the joint ballot of senators and representatives. The council thus ceased to be deputed from the senate. It became a popular body by the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment fifteen years later.

Property Qualifications for General Court and Council Removed (1840)

In addition to changing the basis of representation in the house of representatives from ratable polls to inhabitants and providing for the separate election of senators and councillors,—the former to be a fixed body of forty; the latter, of nine,—the Thirteenth Amendment did away with the property qualifications for holding a seat in either branch of the General Court or in the Executive Council. "No possession of a freehold, or of any other estate," provides this major amendment, "shall be required as a qualification for holding a seat in either branch of the general court, or in the executive council." The new democracy, which in 1821 had accomplished the abolishment of all religious oaths and tests and the substitution of the requirement of tax-paying ability for property qualification for the franchise, had now taken another long stride.

Demand for Constitutional Reform (1840–1850)

Because it was impossible to obtain the support of the agrarian West for the calling of a convention to revise the constitutional provisions relating to representation in the House, single amendments had to be resorted to. Still the membership of the house of representatives continued to fluctuate, and the old inequalities in representation continued, for the substitution of inhabitants for ratable polls as the basis of representation upset the old balance between "country" and "city," and proved an ideal means of enabling the constantly growing urban and industrial centers to control the State. Thus from 1840 on we see a renewal of the demand for a constitutional convention which had characterized the thirties.

The realization of this demand became possible as a result of a change which occurred in State politics in 1850. The years 1840-1850 saw Massachusetts politics in a confused condition. Three parties existed—Whigs, Democrats, and Free-soilers. Of the three the Whigs were strongest in the urban districts, while the Democrats and Free-soilers depended for support on the interior of the State.

In the struggle between these groups, the Whigs had the upper hand until 1850, when the Free-soilers and Democrats not only secured control of the legislature but so manoeuvred the election of governor that no candidate secured the required majority. Under the Constitution this meant that the election was thrown into the General Court. That is, the House had to certify to the senate two of the names voted for in the senate, out of whom the senate chose one. This happening gave the Democrats and Free-soilers the opportunity they sought to gain control of the executive. In the existing situation the executive was in the keynote position. By placing himself at the head of the movement for reform, an opportunist governor could win great popularity for himself and his party, and perhaps enable the latter to gain control of the State. Being a majority in the legislature, Democrats and Free-soilers struck a bargain. The former were to have the governor, most of the State officers, and a senator for the short term expiring March 4, 1851, and the Free-soilers were to have the senator for the six-year term. It was as a result of this arrangement that George S. Boutwell was inaugurated governor in January, 1851.

Constitutional Changes in Politics (1851–1852)

The inauguration of Governor Boutwell marked the beginning of a determined drive for the elimination of the "inequalities" in the system of representation. Acting upon the recommendations made by the governor in his inaugural message, the General Court almost immediately appointed a joint committee to investigate the problem of representation. As the amendment recommended by this committee gave the smaller towns an unfair advantage over the larger ones, it failed to secure the required two-thirds majority in the house. The coalitionists, eager to make the most of their advantageous position, immediately introduced a bill into the senate for submitting to the people the question of calling a constitution convention. This bill was passed, and November 10, 1851, was voted on by the people, who rejected it by a vote of 65,846 to 60,972.

The closeness of the vote of 1851 induced the next legislature to renew the proposition, and at the November elections of 1852 the bill for a constitutional convention won sufficient popular support to become a law. March 7, 1853, the election of delegates to the convention took place, and a little less than a month later, May 4, 1853, four hundred and twenty-odd delegates assembled at the State House to commence the work which was to occupy them for nearly three months, until their dissolution on August 1. They included such men as Nathaniel P. Banks, who was elected president, Professors Parker and Greenleaf of the Harvard Law School, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, and Robert Rantoul.

The Convention of 1853

The Convention of 1853, like that of 1820, was called for the purpose of revising or altering the Constitution of the Commonwealth. Unlike its forerunner of 1820, however, it did not confine itself to this limited task. Not only did it submit seven specific amendments to the people, but it presented them with an entirely new constitution. Despite its great efforts, the people rejected all the convention's proposals, November 11, 1853, including not only the new constitution but also the seven other separate propositions which it submitted to them at the same time.

The eight propositions submitted by the Convention of 1853 to the people and rejected by them provided for (1) a new constitution; (2) the broadening of the existing remedies by habeas corpus; (3) the giving to juries of the right to determine both the law and the facts in criminal cases; (4) the permitting of a judicial investigation of claims against the Commonwealth; (5) an increase in the existing restraints upon imprisonment for debt; (6) denial of appropriation of the school fund for the benefit of any religious sect; (7) the incorporation of businesses under general rather than special laws; and (8) the incorporation of banks under similar provisions and the redemption of bank notes in specie.

Of these eight propositions, the most important was the new Constitution. This instrument embodied several desirable changes. Thus, it provided for forty senatorial districts to take the place of the existing county representation, and also for a self-sufficient council of eight, chosen directly by the people in a corresponding number of single districts; abolished all property qualifications for voting, and also those for governor and lieutenant-governor; made the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November the State election day, so as to conform to the rule of Congress for national elections; and provided for the direct election by the people not only of such State officers as the attorney-general, treasurer, auditor, and secretary, who had hitherto been appointed by the governor or else chosen by the General Court, but also of such county officers as sheriffs, district attorneys, clerks of court, and registers of deeds and of probate, all of whom had hitherto been appointed by the executive or the courts.

Had the convention been willing to confine its new Constitution to these changes alone, or to submit them in the form of isolated amendments, undoubtedly it would have proved a success. Its wisdom was clearly shown in later years, when these changes were in fact accomplished in the form of individual amendments to the Constitution. The great difficulty with the convention, however, was that it did not know where to begin and where to end. Thus, while proposing reforms in election methods it fell down on the matter of representation, leaving that subject, which for seventy-three years had proved so contentious and which had been the real cause for the convocation of the convention, no less controversial than at the time of the opening of the convention. To make matters worse, the convention incorporated into its Constitution so drastic a change as that of altering the tenure of judges from life—dependent upon their good behavior, to be sure—to ten years for judges of the supreme court and court of common pleas, and three years for probate judges. The failure to remedy the representative system of the house was bad enough; but this change in the method of judicial tenure was too much. It brought down a veritable storm of excoriation upon the convention and its work, and resulted in the flat rejection of the whole. The people would not accept unwelcome changes for the sake of obtaining those which they wanted.

Democratization of the Governmental Structure (1855–1857)

Although it failed completely at the polls, the Convention of 1853 must be recognized as one of the most important factors in the constitutional growth and development of Massachusetts. In making the various proposals which it did, it gave the people a well-defined program of construction for matters which required change. These suggestions were appreciated by the people, and in the years immediately following the convention they were embodied in a series of amendments which are among the most significant in the constitutional history of the Commonwealth.

Of these post-convention amendments, the most important are Amendments XVI, XXI, and XXII, which relate to the council, house of representatives, and senate, respectively. The Sixteenth Amendment, which was adopted by the legislatures of the political years of 1854 and 1855, respectively, and ratified by the people May 23, 1855, finally determined the character of the council. Until 1840, this body, as we have seen, was a mere receptacle for the senate's overflow. The change made in its composition by Amendment XIII, of 1840, was its separation from the senate. The old system of election by the General Court and not by the people was still continued, however, although its members were now chosen from the people at large, and not merely from the forty senators.

The Convention of 1853 pointed out to the people what was the proper character and composition of this body. The people recognized the merit of the convention's advice and, acting upon it, adopted the Sixteenth Amendment, which gave the council its present form, providing for the division of the Commonwealth into eight districts, with one councillor elected from each district by the voters, and not by the General Court as had hitherto been the custom. Thus the council, originally a body of nine elected by the General Court from forty "senators and councillors," and after 1840 from the people at large, was now reduced to a body of eight, elected not by the General Court but directly by the people.

Two years later came the democratization of the senate. This body being intended originally as the representative of property, representation therein was, up to 1857, in proportion to the amount of taxes which the senatorial districts paid, so that the number of senators in the several districts varied. This system of special property representation was abandoned May 1, 1857, with the ratification of the Twenty-second Amendment. This amendment continued the membership of the senate at forty, and provided that the old senatorial districts be abandoned and that new districts should be laid out from time to time—each district to contain, as nearly as possible, an equal number of voters. Thus the senate, like the House, was now the representative of persons.

The same day on which the democratization of the senate was effected saw the final settlement of the problem of representation in the lower house. This great accomplishment was embodied in Article XXI of the Amendments, which was approved and ratified by the legislatures of 1856 and 1857, and adopted by the people May 1, 1857, by a vote of 31,277 in favor, to 6,282 opposed. It established the present system of representation in the lower chamber. The old system of town representation was now abandoned, and the principle of a fixed house substituted therefor. The house of representatives was to consist hereafter of 240 members, apportioned by the legislature to the several counties of the Commonwealth as nearly equally as possible, according to their relative number of legal voters. The amendment thus embodied the principles of a fixed house, and of dividing the whole State into representative districts of equal voting strength as the final solution to the problem which had provoked the calling of two constitutional conventions, and which for more than three-quarters of a century had caused so much friction, contention, and dispute. Yet this very same solution had been offered in 1780 by the obscure towns of Mendon, Spencer, Sutton, and Bridgewater.

With the adoption of Amendments XVI, XXI, and XXII, the first in 1855, the other two in 1857, the government assumed its present democratic form. In place of a General

Court, representing persons in the one house and property in the other, there were now two thoroughly representative chambers, both representing persons only. Again, in place of the old council of nine, elected by the General Court, there was now a council of eight, elected by the people directly. The governmental frame had now become thoroughly popular and representative, and therefore thoroughly democratic and responsible.

OTHER POST-CONVENTION AMENDMENTS (1855–1857)

Besides Amendments XVI, XXI, and XXII, the years 1855 and 1857 saw the adoption of six other amendments: XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. Of these, the first five were adopted on the same day as the Sixteenth Amendment, May 23, 1855, while the Twentieth Amendment was adopted May 1, 1857, along with Amendments XXI and XXII.

The first five are clearly post-convention amendments. That is, they are changes originally suggested by the Convention of 1853. Thus, Article XIV of the Amendments accomplished one of the aims of the Convention of 1853 by substituting the rule of plurality of votes for that of a majority in the election of all civil officers of the State provided for by the Constitution. This change was necessary to prevent a situation such as had arisen in 1850, when, no candidate for governor having received a majority vote, the election was thrown into the legislature. To prevent this, Article XIV of the Amendments provides that "in all elections of civil officers by the people of this Commonwealth, whose election is provided for by the Constitution, the person having the highest number of votes shall be deemed and declared to be elected." Today, therefore, a repetition of the gubernatorial election of 1850 would be impossible.

ELECTION DAY FIXED (1855–1857)

Article XV of the Amendments completed a change started by Amendment X. The latter amendment, it will be remembered, made the second Monday in November state election day. Amendment XV, however, embodying the proposal of the Convention of 1853 on this point, changed it to "the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November," thus making both the state and national election days the same, instead of a week apart, as under Amendment X.

Popular Election of State Officers (1855)

Amendment XVII effected the change in the election of the secretary, treasurer, auditor and attorney general of the Commonwealth proposed by the Convention of 1853: namely, their election by the people. In case of a vacancy between elections, the General Court if in session is to fill the office by joint ballot. If the General Court is not in session, the vacancy may be filled by the governor with the consent of the council.

Support of Sectarian Schools Withdrawn (1855)

Article XVIII of the Amendments embodies into the fundamental law the antisectarian amendment which the Convention of 1853 had submitted as its sixth proposition, and which had been defeated by only 401 votes. By the provisions of this amendment, which was intended to end the pressure for public funds from certain religious sects for the support of their denominational schools, all moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities or appropriated by the legislature for the support of public schools may be applied only to schools under the superintendence of the constituted municipal authorities, and are never to be appropriated to schools maintained by any religious sect.

Article XIX transferred from the chief executive of the Commonwealth to the people of the counties and districts the selection of sheriffs, probate registers, clerks of the courts, and district attorneys. It is significant, however, that Amendment XIX, unlike the original proposal of the Convention of 1853, does not include judges.

Literacy Requirement (1857)

Two years after the adoption of these five distinctly post-convention amendments, Amendment XX was adopted. Unlike Amendments XXI and XXII, which were adopted in the same year, this amendment is really an isolated amendment of the "miscellaneous" variety having nothing to do with the Convention of 1853. It is important, nevertheless, for it makes ability to read the Constitution in the English language and to write one's name necessary qualifications for the right to vote. Inasmuch as property and tax-paying qualifications no longer exist, this amendment contains the sole condition precedent to the franchise in Massachusetts today.

COMPLEMENTARY AMENDMENTS (1857-1917)

With the adoption of the first twenty-two articles of amendment, the chief problems raised by the Constitution in its original form were now solved. There was no longer any controversy over representation in the house and senate, and over the composition and election of the council; the church had been disestablished; the property qualifications for a seat in the general court and council had been abolished; the test oath was no longer required; tax-paying ability had been substituted for property qualifications as a prerequisite for the franchise; the office of secretary, auditor, treasurer, and attorney-general of the Commonwealth, and the county offices of sheriff, register of probate, clerk of court, and district attorney had all been made elective; a mere plurality was hereafter to be necessary in elections by the people; and last, but most important of all, machinery for amending the fundamental law had been incorporated into the Constitution.

But while the chief issues had ceased to exist, a few minor ones still remained. Thus, though the property qualifications for the house, senate and council no longer existed, those for governor and lieutenant governor had yet to be abolished. Again, while property qualifications for the franchise had been eliminated, the right to vote was still encumbered by the requirement of tax-paying ability. Still another problem was that of establishing the proper quorum for senate and House. These and various other problems were dealt with in the twenty-two articles of amendment appended to the Constitution between the adoption of Amendments XX, XXI and

XXII in 1857, and the convocation of the fourth constitutional convention in 1917.

The abolition of the property qualifications for governor and lieutenant governor was the work of the Thirty-fourth Amendment, which may be termed a "complementary" amendment—for, like the post-convention amendments of 1855-1857, it was related to the reform and democratic movements of the first half of the century. The Constitution provided that no person should be eligible for the office of governor of the Commonwealth unless, at the time of his election, he was seised, in his own right, of a freehold within the Commonwealth of the value of one thousand pounds. The requirement for lieutenant governor was the same. The elimination of these property qualifications of the Constitution, a proposal included in the new constitution of the Convention of 1853, was finally accomplished by Amendment XXXIV, which was adopted by the legislatures of the political years 1891 and 1892, and was ratified by the people November 8, 1892. Thus was completed the process of democratization, begun in 1821 with the adoption of the Seventh Amendment, which abolished the requirement that officers of the Commonwealth be of the Christian religion, and reflected in the Thirteenth Amendment which, as early as 1840, removed the property qualifications prescribed by the Constitution for the holding of a seat in either branch of the general court or in the council.

Filling of Vacant Offices (1860)

The minor difficulties which still remained concerning the senate, council, and house of representatives were ironed out by four more complementary amendments—Amendments XXIV, XXV, XXXIII, and XXXV. The first two, adopted by the legislatures of the political years 1859 and 1860, and ratified by the people May 7, 1860, provided for the filling of vacancies in the senate and council. Thus, Article XXIV provided that vacancies in the senate, which up to 1860, were filled by the legislature, should hereafter "be filled by election by the people of the unrepresented district, upon the order of a majority of the senators elected." Curiously enough, Article XXV, although adopted in the same year, did not extend the elective system to the filling of vacancies in the council, but provided that in case of a vacancy in the council, not the people, but the General Court should "by concurrent vote, choose some eligible person from the people of the district wherein such vacancy occurs, to fill that office. If such vacancy shall happen when the legislature is not in session, the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, may fill the same by appointment of some eligible person."

Question of Quorums (1891)

The most important of the complementary amendments relating to the house of representatives, senate, and council, however, is Article XXXIII of the Amendments. This amendment, which was adopted by the legislatures of the political years 1890 and 1891, and ratified by the people November 3, 1891, definitely settled the matter of a proper quorum for senate and house. The original constitutional provisions were that sixteen senators and sixty representatives should constitute a quorum for senate and house respectively. The provision relating to the house had been changed in 1857, however, by Amendment XXI, which not only divided the whole State into representative districts of equal voting strength and fixed the number of representatives at 240, but changed the low quorum for the house to 100 members, a figure proposed as far back as 1780 by some of the towns in Worcester and Hampshire counties. Amendment XXXIII now completed the evolution of the present quorum by providing that hereafter a majority of the members of each branch of the General Court was to be necessary for a quorum.

Travelling Expenses (1893)

Amendment XXXV is the last of these complementary amendments relating to the General Court and council. This amendment, adopted by the legislatures of the political years 1892 and 1893, and approved and ratified by the people on November 7, 1893, provided that "so much of . . . the Constitution of the Commonwealth as is contained in the following words: 'The expenses of travelling to the general assembly, and returning home, once in every session, and no more, shall be paid by the government, out of the public treasury, to every member who shall attend . . . ,' is hereby annulled."

AMENDMENTS AFFECTING THE FRANCHISE (1881–1912)

The franchise was dealt with by several amendments during this period. The most important are Amendments XXXII and XL, adopted November 3, 1891, and November 5, 1912, respectively. Both are complementary to the Third Amendment. The Thirty-second Amendment provided that so much of Article III of the Amendments as related to the payment of a tax as a voting qualification was thereby annulled. Thus, since 1891 the sole qualification for the franchise has been that of literacy embodied in the Twentieth Amendment, which excludes from the right of suffrage and of election to office every person who is unable to read the Constitution of the State in the English language and to write his own name. Although the work of the short-lived and violent American party, an organization founded on the assumption that the new Irish and German immigrants were unfit for the task of operating American political institutions, this amendment represents a sound policy, and very properly forms a part of the fundamental law of the Commonwealth.

Amendment XL, like Amendment XXXII, deals with the Third Amendment and the suffrage. The Third Amendment excludes from the suffrage paupers and persons under guardianship. Amendment XL enlarges this group of ineligibles by placing in that category "persons temporarily or permanently disqualified by law because of corrupt practices in respect to elections."

Amendment XXXII was the last of a series of consecutive amendments dealing with the franchise which were adopted during the years 1881–1891. The first of this group was the Twenty-eighth Amendment. This amendment, adopted November 8, 1881, was intended for the benefit of Civil War veterans, and it therefore nullified both the pauper and poll-tax provisions of the Third Amendment so far as persons who had served in the Army or Navy of the United States in time of war and had been honorably discharged from such service were concerned. In 1890, the phraseology of this amendment was changed by the Thirty-first Article of the Amendments. This amendment, ratified November 4, 1890, eliminated the word "pauper" from the Twenty-eighth Amendment and substituted therefor the words: "receiving or having received aid from any city or town." With the adoption of the Thirty-second Amendment, the special poll-tax exemption of Amendments Twenty-eight and Thirty-one ceased to be important. Since paupers are disqualified for the franchise, however, the other exception made by these amendments is still of importance.

Additional Complementary Amendments (1894–1913)

Besides these amendments relating to the franchise, the House, senate and council, and the governor and lieutenant governor, this period saw the adoption of three more complementary amendments: Amendments XXXVI, XXXVII, and XLII. The first of these, adopted November 6, 1894, withdrew from popular election the office of commissioner of insolvency.

The next, adopted November 5, 1907, provided that "the governor, with the consent of the council, may remove justices of the peace and notaries public."

Amendment XLII, ratified by the people November 4, 1913, is the last of the complementary amendments. This amendment, adopted as a result of the opinion of the justices to the effect that a state-wide referendum would be unconstitutional, empowered the General Court to refer to the people for their rejection and approval at the polls any act or resolve, or any part or parts thereof. This investing of the legislature with the power to attach a referendum clause to such measures as it might see fit was, of course, a preliminary to the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Miscellaneous Amendments (1857–1917)

The twelve amendments just considered are all of a complementary nature. That is, they either complete an evolutionary process begun with the amendments of 1821, carrying them out to their logical conclusions, or else they are related to the general reform and democratic movements which characterized the first half of the century. In addition to these complementary amendments, the years 1857-1917 saw the adoption of ten other amendments. These latter are not of a complementary but of a general character, and constitute a group of "miscellaneous amendments."

Considering these in chronological order, we find the first is Article XXIII. This amendment placed a limitation on the enfranchisement of naturalized persons of foreign birth by providing that such persons should not be entitled to vote nor be eligible to office unless they shall have resided within the United States for two years subsequent to their naturalization. This unfair discrimination against naturalized citizens proved short-lived. Adopted May 9, 1859, this Twenty-third Amendment was repealed and wholly annulled by the Twenty-sixth Amendment only four years later, April 6, 1863.

Harvard Officers Made Eligible (1877)

The Twenty-seventh Amendment, approved and ratified by the people November 6, 1877, and making the president and faculty of Harvard College eligible for the legislature, is perhaps the most remarkable of the miscellaneous amendments. The Constitution is very strict on the matter of incompatible offices. Up to 1877 the officers and faculty of Harvard College, because of the constitutional provisions relating to the University at Cambridge, were regarded as state officials and were consequently disqualified for holding certain other state offices. In 1877, however, the Twenty-seventh Amendment removed this disability and made "persons holding the office of president, professor, or instructor of Harvard College" eligible for the General Court.

Voters and Voting (1885–1911)

Amendments XXIX and XXX, adopted November 3, 1885, and November 4, 1890, respectively, deal with the questions of voting and the qualifications of voters. The Twenty-ninth Amendment empowers the General Court to prescribe rules for the conduct of State elections, while the Thirtieth Amendment provides that a properly qualified voter who changes his residence is, nevertheless, qualified to vote for governor, lieutenant governor, senator, or representative, in the city or town from which he has removed his residence, until the expiration of six months from the time of such removal.

Article XXXVIII of the Amendments makes possible the use of voting machines at elections. The need of a constitutional amendment on this matter is explained by the fact that the Constitution, in its original form, specifically provided that every member of the house of representatives was to be chosen "by written votes." When voting machines were invented, therefore, there was some doubt as to the legality of their use in this Commonwealth. The house of representatives asked the opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court on the matter. The majority of the court held that the use of voting machines would be constitutional [178 *Massachusetts Reports,* 605 (1905)]. To dispel all doubt in the matter, however, the Thirty-eighth Amendment was adopted, November 7, 1911. This amendment specifically provides that not only voting machines but any other mechanical devices for voting may be used at all elections, provided that the right of secret voting is preserved.

Taxation and Eminent Domain (1911–1915)

The remaining four amendments enlarged the taxation and eminent-domain powers of the legislature. Thus, the Thirty-ninth Amendment, ratified November 7, 1911, permits condemnation of an excess of land "for the purpose of laying out, widening or relocating highways or streets." This power of eminent domain was still further increased by the Forty-third Amendment, adopted November 2, 1915, empowering the Commonwealth to take and hold land "for the purpose of relieving congestion of population and providing homes for citizens."

The Forty-first Amendment, approved and ratified by the people November 5, 1912, enlarged the power of taxation by the General Court, giving it "full power and authority . . .

to prescribe for wild or forest lands such methods of taxation as will develop and conserve the forest resources of the commonwealth." Finally, the forty-fourth of the Articles of Amendment, which is not only the last of the miscellaneous amendments but also the last of the amendments adopted during the period 1820–1917, and which was ratified November 2, 1915, provides the General Court with full power and authority to impose and levy income taxes.

JOHN ADAMS'S DOCUMENT PREVAILS (1929)

No less than forty-four amendments to the Constitution were adopted during the period 1820-1917. Yet it is interesting to note that, despite these numerous modifications and alterations, the Constitution of 1780 remained the fundamental law of the Commonwealth. Whereas the original constitutions in every one of the other States of the Union were superseded during this period by at least one and in some cases by several new documents, Massachusetts continued to live under its first fundamental law. In view of the origin and nature of the Bay State document, this is not surprising. John Adams, the brain-father of the Constitution of 1780, was a political scientist of the highest rank. He therefore knew that a constitution for a free state, to prove enduring, must do more than merely provide for the exercise of all powers of government. It must avoid the pitfall of being too specific, and must confine itself to the declaration of broad and flexible principles, capable of ready adjustment to changing conditions and affording an ample basis for subsequent development. Knowing this fundamental principle of free-state construction, John Adams built accordingly, and therein lies the secret of the perseverance of the Constitution of 1780, not merely down to 1917 but down to this very day, for that document is still the organic law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In its original form, to be sure, it leaned towards an aristocratic rather than a democratic republic. Because it established a "free government"—or, to use the language of the political scientist, "a republican form of government"—and was as elastic and flexible as possible, it was able to grow as the community grew and to change as the community changed. With the development of democracy in the community and the acceptance of the democratic concept of the ordinary citizen as an individual instinct with civic quality, therefore, we see the steady infusion of democracy into the Constitution; and by the end of the period we find that Massachusetts has peacefully and quietly made the transition from a more or less aristocratic to a definitely democratic republic.

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CHAPTER II

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND THE BAR

(1820–1861)

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Change of Name of the Court

A previous chapter on the "Bench and Bar" included the reorganization of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1777. When the Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted in 1780, the court consisted of William Cushing, Chief Justice, and three Associate Justices, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent, David Sewall, and James Sullivan. Jedediah Foster, the other associate, had died in the previous year and his place had not yet been filled.

On February 12, 1781, the legislature of the Commonwealth passed an act establishing salaries of a fixed and permanent value for the justices of the "Supreme Judicial Court"—£320 for the Chief Justice and £300 for each of the other Justices—"the sums mentioned to be computed in silver at six shillings and eight pence per ounce, and payable either in silver or bills of public credit equivalent thereto."

On February 16, 1781, the Governor appointed and commissioned each of the four judges of the Superior Court of Judicature to be "one of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." On the twentieth, these commissions were read at the first term of the Supreme Judicial Court, held pursuant to a Provincial statute of July 19, 1775, at Dedham. On the same day the legislature passed an act empowering the Supreme Judicial Court to take cognizance of matters heretofore cognizable by the late Superior Court.

The number of justices of this court was not fixed by the legislature nor any additional judge appointed until July 3, 1782, when the legislature passed "an act establishing a Supreme Judicial Court in this Commonwealth," to consist of a chief justice and four other justices. The whole phraseology of that act is prospective; but the judges already appointed of course continued to hold under it.

Costume of the Court

Before and for about twenty-five years after the Revolution, the bar was classified into barristers and attorneys, and both judges and barristers wore wigs and gowns. Their appearance is described by William H. Sumner in his memoir of his father, Judge (later Governor) Increase Sumner, as follows: "The dress of the Judges before the Revolution, and . . . continued by them afterwards, was a black silk gown worn over a full black suit, white bands, and a silk bag for the hair. This was worn by the judges in civil causes, and criminal trials, excepting those for capital offences. In these they wore scarlet robes with black velvet collars, and cuffs to their large sleeves, and black velvet facings to their robes. . . . The use of the robes was discontinued soon after the appointment of Judge Dawes to the bench (1792). The Judge was a man of small stature, of a most amiable and excellent disposition . . . but had a slight impediment in his speech which made him lisp. Dana, the Chief Justice, was also of small stature, but had a very impressive and authoritative manner. The Chief Justice took umbrage at this appointment, on account of what he considered the undignified appearance and utterance of Judge Dawes, and alleged that it was not for his qualifications, but by the influence of his father, who was a member of Gov. Hancock's Council that he was appointed. Soon after Judge Dawes took his seat upon the bench, the Chief Justice came into Court without his robes, while the side Judges had theirs on. Upon their retiring to the lobby after the adjournment of the Court, Judge Sumner remonstrated with the Chief Justice against *his* undignified appearance without his robes, and said, 'If you leave yours off, Chief Justice, we shall ours also; but remember what I say, if people get accustomed to seeing the Judges in a common dress, without their robes, the Court will never be able to resume them.' The Chief Justice, with a remark of great asperity, persisted in his determination, and from that period the robes, which gave such dignity to the bench, were laid aside." The court sat without robes for more than a hundred years, until March 5, 1901, when as a result of a petition from leading members of the bar the present costume was adopted of a simple black silk robe.

The Constitution (1779–1780)

Every judge on the court in 1779–1780 was a delegate to the convention which framed the constitution, Chief Justice Cushing representing Scituate; Judge Sargent, Haverhill; Judge Foster, Brookfield; Judge Sullivan, Groton; and Judge David Sewall, York. Chief Justice Cushing was chosen president of the convention.

Antislavery Decision (1783)

As shown in the tenth chapter of Volume III, dealing with social life, slaves were owned, advertised, and sold in Massachusetts before and for some years after 1780 and the legislature took no action about it. But the court was not afraid to act. The first case of the most far-reaching national importance came before the Massachusetts court in 1783. Nathaniel Jennison was indicted for an assault on Quock Walker. The defendant justified his assault on the ground that Walker was his slave. The case was tried before the whole court, consisting of Chief Justice Cushing, and Justices Sargent, David Sewall, and Increase Sumner. The following extract from the original notebook of Chief Justice Cushing was read before the Massachusetts Historical Society on April 16, 1874, by Chief Justice Horace Gray, who then produced the original notebook which had been loaned to him for the purpose:

"As to the doctrine of slavery and the right of Christians to hold Africans in perpetual servitude, and sell and treat them as we do our horses and cattle, that (it is true) has been instructions in point of law, where those instructions were various and perhaps contradictory, or to object to a verdict for a misdirection, where, if the directions given by one judge were incorrect, their influence may have been counteracted by those of another which were strictly conformable to law? When so decisive an importance was attributed to the verdict of a jury, and where a jury in effect had the power of controlling the court in matters of law, it is natural to believe that every exertion of the parties and counsel would be directed to the object of obtaining a verdict. It is not difficult to perceive how strong a temptation this must hold out to litigants, eager in the pursuit and defence of their supposed rights, to resort even to unwarrantable means to influence the jury, and rather to rely on such influence than on the plain rules and principles of law for their success. Such a state of things . . . tends to disparage the administration of justice, to promote what is called 'the glorious uncertainty of the law'; to encourage litigation and even dishonest litigation. . . ."

Review of Decisions

" . . . Where there is anything like an orderly administration of justice some mode of revising a first decision seems to be necessary. . . . Reviews, therefore, were allowed as a matter of right to the losing party under certain restrictions, in all cases where one verdict only had been found against him. On such reviews the whole matter of law and fact was tried and determined by the jury, and their verdict was ultimately final.

"In practice, however, there was some departure from this course when the controversy turned principally upon matters of law, and when the parties were desirous of having the separate and deliberate opinion of the Court upon the law; and that was by waiving the right of review and bringing the case before the Court by motion, upon an agreed state of facts, or upon exceptions, or perhaps upon a report, though it is believed that it was not common for a judge to report the case. Such a state of things must have been attended with obvious and extreme inconveniences. . . .

"Still the people, replying apparently upon the maxim that in many counsellors there is safety, manifested an extreme reluctance to having their causes tried by any other than a full bench. But by the increase of population and business it became quite impossible for the whole Court to travel into each county in Massachusetts and Maine and despatch the public business with reasonable promptness, and in consequence there was a great accumulation of unfinished business and great delay in the final disposition of causes.

"To provide for this exigency . . . the legislature adopted the expedient of enlarging the number of judges to seven, so as to form two quorums, and thus enable the Court, with at least three judges, to sit at two places at the same time."

In 1802, Judge Dawes resigned from the Supreme Court to accept, contemporaneously, the vacant offices of Judge of Probate and Judge of the Municipal Court in Suffolk County, a criminal court created as an experiment for jury trials before a single judge. He presided in the latter court just twenty years.

This experiment succeeded and in 1804 a committee, composed of one member of the legislature from each county, agreed to report that one judge of the Supreme Judicial Court should be authorized to remain in a county, to try questions of fact after the business requiring three judges should be disposed of, and should then join the judges in the next county. A single year was sufficient to satisfy the whole Commonwealth of the utility of such a system.

Judge Theodore Sedgwick (1802–1813)

Theodore Sedgwick was appointed to the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Dawes. Judge Sedgwick was a national figure. The court at once began to feel and show the effect of his personality and ability. At the time of his appointment, Chief Justice Dana and Judge Paine were well along in years. Judge Bradbury was soon stricken with the illness which finally caused his removal. Judge Paine appears to have been quite deaf and irritable at this time, and his manners particularly, and perhaps those of others, were "crusty." The traditional story is that Fisher Ames, who was a sensitive person, wrote to Christopher Gore: "I went into court, to enjoy the soothing civilities of Judge *Ursa Major,* R. T. Paine"; and after an uncomfortable scene Ames made the remark, which became current at the bar, that "a lawyer should go into court with a club in one hand and a speaking trumpet in the other." The general atmosphere in the court room appears to have been charged with asperity.

In his address in 1824, William Sullivan said: "The dignified complaisance, which existed before the Revolution, and the gentlemanly courtesy, which we have witnessed for many years, were . . . unknown. It should be remembered with respect and gratitude, that when Judge Sedgwick appeared on the bench, he successfully strove to banish this unnecessary deportment. He endeavored, also, to prevent the sparring, at that time very common at the bar. Mr. Parsons and the Attorney General (James Sullivan) were often opposing counsel; and almost as often personal opponents, so far as a keen encounter of wits could make them so."

Harrison Gray Otis was in many ways one of the ablest and most popular leaders of his time in Massachusetts, at the bar, in society, and in politics. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1803 to 1805, and President of the Senate from 1808 to 1811. Various legislative changes in regard to the judiciary which preceded the appointment of Chief Justice Parsons in 1806 were largely due to Sedgwick and Otis.

Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons (1778–1813)

In 1806 Chief Justice Dana resigned, and Theophilus Parsons was appointed Chief Justice. Next to John Adams, Parsons had the most constructive mind in Massachusetts during the period from 1778 to 1813, and he had also an administrative mind and capacity which Adams noticeably lacked. Judge Story said: "Parsons was a man who belonged not to a generation, but to a century. The class of men of which he was a member is an extremely small one."

Theophilus Parsons was born in Byfield in February, 1750. As shown in chapter vii of Volume III, Parsons first became conspicuous at the age of twenty-eight, as the leading mind in the convention of delegates in Essex County, which met at Ipswich in 1778 and published their objections to the draft constitution of 1778—known as the "Essex Result." After that, he rapidly became and remained until his death the leader of the bar and one of the leaders of the Federalists in Massachusetts.

Parsons was a delegate from Newburyport to the Convention of 1780 and a delegate to the Federal Convention of 1788. His work there was described by Judge Parker, subsequently Chief Justice, as follows: "I, then a young man, was an anxious spectator of these doings. Parsons appeared to me the master-spirit of that assembly."

Parsons appears to have been the draftsman of the amendments, proposed by Hancock and adopted as suggestions from Massachusetts to the first congress, which formed the basis of the first ten amendments of the Federal Constitution; and their adoption in this way, as suggestions rather than as conditions, was the act which secured ratification of the Constitution.

Theophilus Parsons "was about five feet ten inches in height, somewhat corpulent, and of heavy appearance. His forehead was high and smooth, he wore a reddish wig (for he was bald at an early age), which was rarely placed upon his head properly. His *mind* was well adjusted, his *wig* never. He generally wore a bandanna kerchief about his neck to protect it from cold winds. His eye was clear, sharp, keen, and deep set in his head. It looked through and through you. . . . It was a glance that few men could bear to have steadily fixed upon them.

"He was not very grave. He had an abundant and inexhaustible wit. . . .

"Parsons was not merely a lawyer. He read everything. He was an excellent mathematician and a good scholar in the classics. He was fond of novels, and, like Chief Justice Marshall, would spend the night over a romance, and the next day would read metaphysics with equal delight."

Innovations by Parsons (1806–1813)

When Chief Justice Dana resigned, Judge Parker, from his knowledge of practice in Maine confirmed by a year's experience as a judge, was convinced that conditions existed which demanded reform and required an entirely new man. He was holding court in Essex County when he learned that Chief Justice Dana intended to resign. He rode over to

Marblehead and called at the home of Judge Sewall, who thought as he did. It was determined that Sewall should go the next day to Boston and represent to Governor Strong that, if Parsons could be appointed at once without consulting him, every exertion would be made to persuade him to accept the office, even if he took it for a short time only. The appointment was made at once.

Parsons at once created a disturbance at the bar by despatching business in a manner unknown before. He interrupted counsel, checked their excessively long arguments and unnecessary evidence, insisted on good pleading, and practically turned his court into a law school for both the younger and the older members of the bar. While he began the modern methods of despatching business and applied Lord Lyndhurst's view that "it was the business of a judge to make it disagreeable for counsel to talk nonsense," at first he lacked some of the discretion of Lyndhurst and showed faults as a judge which might be expected in so dominant a personality, who went on the bench at the age of fifty-six after a life of vigorous controversy as an advocate.

Parsons as a judge needed some of the discipline which he enforced on the bar, and he received it at the hands of the man who ranked next to him in the leadership of the bar—Samuel Dexter. On one occasion, when stopped in argument by the Chief Justice, Dexter remarked: "Your Honor did not argue your own cases in the way that you require us to." "Certainly not," was the reply; "but that was the judge's fault, not mine." On another occasion, after a day's struggles with the Chief Justice, Dexter produced a small book from his pocket and, addressing the court very solemnly, asked permission to read a few pages. The Chief Justice, preparing to take notes, asked the name of the book; whereupon Dexter replied that it was Lord Bacon's *Civil and Moral Essays.* He then read a passage from the essay on "Judicature," which says, among other things: "An over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal." Dexter then proceeded with his argument without any further interruption.

In the country districts, for some time the lawyers submitted their cases unreservedly, without argument, so great was their confidence in his ability as a lawyer. Often they wished him to take the whole case into his hands for disposal, because they felt unequal to discussing it adequately before him. One lawyer writes that he knew him to have done this many times, but with great reluctance.

Parsons published practically nothing except his reported opinions, but much of his work found its way into the books of other men for the use of the bar. After his death his collected opinions were published in New York, to serve as a textbook, and his forms were used as precedents.

Prior to 1805 judges had not been in the habit of writing out their decisions. If they had done so, there was no regular reporter to compile them for future reference as precedents. The first volume of *Massachusetts Reports of Supreme Court Decisions* appeared in 1805. It was fortunate that we had so able a man as Parsons on the bench when the reporting of decisions began, for he started the reports with opinions which commanded respect and steadied the course of the law. The character of his public service on the bench is emphasized when we remember that he gave up an income of $10,000 (a large sum in those days and probably the largest income at the bar) to accept a salary of $1,250.

Development of Fixed Salaries for the Court (1831)

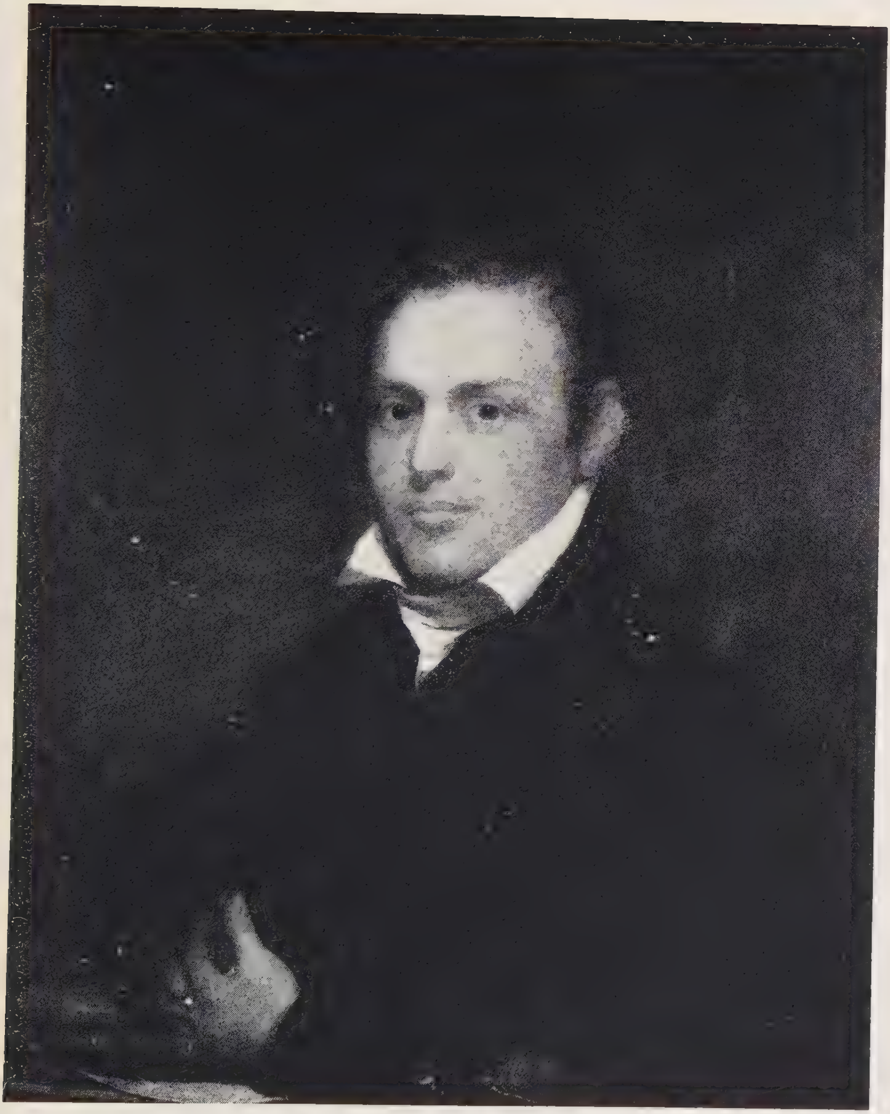
In Judge Story's brief autobiography, written in a private letter to his son in 1831, he said: "There is one measure . . . which . . . originated with me and which, without my . . . support against the wishes of my friends, would not have passed. . . . The act of 1806 raised the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court to $2,400. and of the chief justice [to] $2,500. . . . Before that . . . the salary was for the chief justice $1,250 (375 pounds) and for the other judges $1,166⅔, and the judges annually petitioned the legislature for an annual grant, which was usually given, of about $600. This kept them in a perpetual state of dependence upon the legislature, and contributed in no small degree to the retardation of any solid growth of our jurisprudence. All the judges of the Supreme Court were Federalists; and this constituted with many of my political friends a decided objection to the measure, as it gave independence to their enemies. I believed the measure right; and stood forth as its advocate at a time when it was unpopular even with many of our political opponents. It was carried. In June, 1809, finding that the salary was still inadequate, and having learned from Mr. Chief Justice Parsons that he should be compelled to resign unless it was raised, I made another effort. . . . A favorable report having been made, in the subsequent debate I was left by all those who were its friends to conduct and, indeed, to lead the debate. It encountered great opposition from several quarters, and I bore the brunt and burden of the day.

"It was triumphant; and the salaries fixed by the Act of June, 1809, for the chief justice $3,500, and for the associates $3,000, still remain [in 1831]. . . . The measure has secured to [Massachusetts] the services of some of her ablest lawyers; and in my humble judgment has contributed more to give permanence to her institutions, dignity to her jurisprudence, and steadiness to her prosperity, than any one single measure of the state during the last forty years. This achievement, however, cost me some political friendships; and it was a long time before I recovered the popularity, which was lost by a measure so odious to some of the Republican leaders of that day."

An illustration of the prejudice which Story faced and fought at this time appears in an entry in the diary of William Bentley, in 1803, quoted in Robinson's *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England,* pages 117, 118.

"Codification Fever" in Massachusetts (1800–1840)

In Dean Pound's articles on "The Place of Judge Story in the Making of American Law," he refers to the "inclinations toward French law" in this country: "Men's minds had been fascinated by the Code Napoleon and in New York, especially, as far back as 1809 we meet with more or less clamor for a civil code on French lines. . . . The [European] jurists of the eighteenth century conceived it to be their task to discover the first principles of law inherent in nature, to deduce a system from them, and thus to furnish the legislator a model code, the judge a touchstone of sound law and the citizen an infallible guide to conduct. They had no doubt that a complete code was possible which once for all should provide in advance the one right decision for every possible controversy. Lay discussions of American law in the first quarter of the



From the original by Stuart

Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum

JOSEPH STORY

nineteenth century abound in demands for an American Code."

Governor Gerry agitated the subject in a message to the legislature in 1812. Few law books were accessible, for the War of 1812 stopped the importation of English law books. Dane's *Abridgment and Digest of American Law,* the preparation of which he began in 1800, was not finished until 1826, and the first volume did not appear until 1823. There had been various compilations, but no adequate consolidated revision of the Massachusetts statutes. The "sources of law" were not accessible.

The *North American Review* began to appear in 1815, a magazine planned to appeal to all professions and to the public generally. For the next twenty years its pages contained a succession of articles in favor of general codification, a number of which were written anonymously by Judge Story, who was in favor of the idea to a considerable extent, although his later books were destined to check the movement.

On the other hand, Chief Justice Parker and the bar in general were opposed to it. The *American Jurist,* one of the first law magazines, was founded in 1829 with Hon. Willard Phillips as editor, soon after succeeded by Charles Sumner, George S. Hillard and Luther Cushing, all apparently strongly influenced in favor of codification.

In 1832 Governor Lincoln appointed a commission to prepare the first general revision of the Massachusetts statutes. This commission consisted of Hon. Charles Jackson, Ashur Stearns, and George Ashman. Ashman died before the report and was succeeded by John Pickering, a pronounced proponent of codification.

The commission reported in 1835 a revision which was so well done that it was accepted in substance, and it forms a landmark in the history of Massachusetts law. In the introduction to their report they said: "It may, perhaps, be a subject of observation with the legislature, that the commissioners have not attempted to embody in the present revision the principles of the common law, any further than has heretofore been gradually done at different periods of our legislation. This has not been the result of inattention or accident; but the commissioners, on consideration, came to the conclusion that the questionable utility of putting into the form of a positive and unbending text, numerous principles of the common law, which are definitely settled and well known, was not sufficient to outweigh the advantages of leaving them to be applied, by the courts, as principles of common law, whenever the occurrence of cases should require it.

"It has been remarked by distinguished American jurists, that the common law is peculiarly well fitted to the rapidly advancing state of our country, because it possesses in an eminent degree the capacity of adapting itself to the gradual progress of improvement among us; and that this accommodating principle, which pervades it, will adjust itself to every degree and species of improvement that may be suggested by practice, commerce, observation, study, or refinement.

"From these general considerations, which it is unnecessary to follow out in detail, it has been thought expedient to leave those important principles as they at present exist, rather than to attempt to incorporate them into the inflexible text of a written code."

In 1836 Governor Everett eloquently advocated codification of the common law in his inaugural address. The legislative committee, to whom the subject was referred, was so impressed with the idea that they thought the common law could be so condensed into "concise, chaste and elegant language in a volume or two" that it could be used in the schools and constitute the book of reading and study for the highest class.

A special commission, with Judge Story as chairman, was created in 1836 and reported the following year in favor of partial codification, including a codification of the criminal law. Governor Everett again expressed the belief that Massachusetts would lead the world in this great codifying movement.

In the midst of all this discussion, Lemuel Shaw was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court by Governor Lincoln in 1830. It seems a reasonable conjecture that one of the arguments used by Daniel Webster, when he went to urge Shaw, in the midst of a cloud of tobacco smoke, to accept the chief-justiceship, was that Shaw had the ability to explain the principles of the common law in such a way as to counteract the enthusiasm for codification, and that it was his duty to do it. The sense of perspective of the two men adds force to this conjecture, as does also a brief reference to the structure of the common law in the opinion of Chief Justice Shaw in *Commonwealth v. Temple* (14 *Gray* at p. 74), written a few months before the end of his thirtieth year of service in 1860.

In 1829, as pointed out elsewhere, Nathan Dane made it possible for Judge Story to begin to write his law books. Between 1832 and 1845 he published the following textbooks: *Commentaries on the Law of Bailments* (1832); *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1833); *Conflict of Laws* (1834); *Equity Jurisprudence* (1836); *Equity Pleading,* (1838); *Commentaries on the Law of Agency* (1839); *The Law of Partnership* (1841); *Bills of Exchange* (1843); *Promissory Notes* (1845).

These authoritative books, by a master of his profession, trained both bench and bar more thoroughly in legal principles, expanding to the needs of changing conditions. The codifying movement shifted to New York, and Massachusetts remained a common law State.

Founding of the Harvard Law School (1817–1845)

Law schools in the modern sense were unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century. Men studied law as students in lawyers' offices. Chancellor Wythe had lectured on law at William and Mary College at the end of the eighteenth century, and Judge Tapping Reeve in Connecticut had turned his office into a law school by giving lectures. But in 1817 Harvard began the experiment of a university law school by creating a professorship with funds from a legacy left by Isaac Royall in the eighteenth century, and securing Chief Justice Isaac Parker as the first professor. Shortly afterwards, Asahel Stearns, district attorney of Suffolk County, was added to the faculty. The school amounted to little, however, until 1829, when Nathan Dane devoted the proceeds of his *Abridgment* to securing Judge Story as a professor, with an opportunity both to lecture and to write law books. He also gave the money to build "Dane Hall," which was the home of the school for about fifty years. By these generous and farsighted acts Dane exerted an incalculable influence on the law not only of Massachusetts but of the entire country, for Judge Story's position as a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States not only attracted students to his lectures and gave the school a standing that it could not have secured in other ways but, more important, the encouragement to Story to write resulted in the series of textbooks, referred to elsewhere, on the leading branches of our law which guided the courts and bar for the next half century and are still in common use. Judge Story lectured until his death in 1845.

Chief Justice Joel Parker of New Hampshire, Simon Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons and, later, Governor Emory Washburn continued the school by the system of lectures, until in the early seventies President Eliot chose as dean Christopher Columbus Langdell, who by introducing the "case" method of teaching law students to think began the development of the modern school and opened the way for the great law schools of the country to take their present place of growing influence in the development of American law.

Judge Charles Jackson (1813–1836)

Charles Jackson, the grandfather of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, was "a legal genius" who is too little known to the present generation. He was born in Newburyport. After graduating from Harvard College, he studied law in the office of Theophilus Parsons and was appointed from an active practice to the Supreme Judicial Court in 1813, where he served with distinction for ten years until obliged to resign because of his health. Elected as a representative from Boston to the Constitutional Convention of 1820, he convinced that body that constitutional amendments, instead of being grouped together, should be submitted so that they could be voted on separately by the people because, as he said, only by so doing could the delegates be "fair to their constituents."

This standard of fairness in dealing with the electorate, which he established, has had a far-reaching influence, and it was largely because the Convention of 1853 departed from this standard that the work of that body was rejected by the voters. Judge Jackson's work as chairman of the committee which made the first revision of the statutes in 1835–1836 is mentioned elsewhere. While still at the bar, he was the moving spirit in founding the Social Law Library, which has since become one of the leading law libraries in the country.

He was not only a judge of the first rank but a great legislative draftsman, whose work, combined with the opinions of Chief Justice Shaw and the law books of Judge Story, helped to stabilize the law of Massachusetts at a critical period in its history. The notes of the commissioners on the Revised Statutes of 1836 still form one of the most useful of our law books.

Daniel Webster and the White Murder Case (1830)

George Ticknor Curtis said: "Nothing was more remarkable in Mr. Webster than the manner in which he kept distinct, in his own person, the characters of the statesman and the lawyer. . . . It was always observed of him, by his contemporaries of the bar, that he brought into the forum neither the habits of mind, the modes of reasoning, nor the kinds of eloquence, which belong to the discussions of statesmen; nor did he carry into the Senate the peculiarities of reasoning and analysis and proof which are alone effective in judicial tribunals. In the latter, his great renown as a public man no doubt helped to fasten the attention of judges and jurymen, and sometimes aided the ascendancy which his intellect enabled him to obtain over the intellects of those he addressed. But Mr. Webster was generally encountered at the bar by men who were able to overcome any influence of this kind, by rendering it necessary for him to exert all his powers in the mode which the forensic habit demands, and which is peculiar to the discussions in courts of justice. His ability to do so was never affected by the habits acquired in legislative bodies."

His powers in this respect were shown in the Knapp trials, growing out of the White murder in Salem in 1830.

Joseph White, one of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of Salem, was brutally murdered in his bed on April 7 of that year. Some weeks later, Captain Joseph Knapp, a respectable shipmaster and merchant, received a mysterious letter from a man in prison in Maine, which must have been intended for his son Joseph J. Knapp, Jr., saying that he knew what his brother Franklin had been doing for him and that he was extravagant in paying one thousand dollars to the person who would execute the business for him. When he showed the letter to his several sons, Joseph, Jr., after a series of stupid actions, was arrested and confessed that he, through his brother John Francis, had hired Richard Crowninshield, a desperate character, to commit the murder. Knapp's wife was a niece of the murdered man and Knapp mistakenly thought that she would inherit a large part of White's property if White died. Richard Crowninshield, his brother George Crowninshield, and John Francis Knapp were also arrested.

The situation is described by Curtis as follows: "The three were, therefore, concerned in a joint conspiracy to compass the death of Captain White, and, after the confession of Joseph, the details of this conspiracy, and the part played in it by each of them, became known to the Attorney-General, who obtained the confession by promising immunity to Joseph, on condition that, when brought into court as a witness for the State he should testify fully and truly. But, after the suicide of Crowninshield, it became necessary to convict Frank Knapp as a principal in the murder; for, as the law of Massachusetts then stood, no one could be convicted as an accessory until there had been a conviction of some one as principal. But, when it was found that Frank was to be put on trial as a principal, Joseph retracted his engagement with the Attorney-General, and refused to testify. This was done upon the calculation that, as Crowninshield alone had entered the house, the prosecution would not be able to prove that Frank's participation amounted to that of a principal in the murder. He was no nearer to the house, at any time, than a distance of three or four hundred feet; and, although he was in the street at the rear of the house, at some time during the night, and at a position from which he could see when all the lights were extinguished, it was very doubtful if the prosecution could show, by independent testimony, whether he was there before Crowninshield entered, or while the latter was within the house, or when he came out. In order to convict Frank as a principal, it was necessary for the prosecution to convince the jury that he was present in the street at the time of the murder, aiding and abetting the person who dealt the fatal blow. To produce this conviction, Mr. Webster put forth all his strength, and it was all needed. No one of less ability in the handling of evidence could have succeeded in satisfying the jury that Frank Knapp was *present* at the murder for the purpose of rendering aid, if necessary. Mr. Webster's arguments rested mainly on two positions: first, that there was a conspiracy to murder the deceased, and that Frank Knapp was one of the conspirators; second, that, as a conspirator, he was present in the street, by agreement, to countenance and aid the perpetrator. This would make him a principal. The force of Mr. Webster's argument convinced the jury that Frank was, in this sense, present at the murder. But the fact was otherwise; and if Joseph Knapp had not refused to testify, and had told the whole truth, neither of them would have suffered for the murder. It would then have appeared that, at the time Crowninshield started to commit the murder, he told Frank to go home and go to bed; that Frank did so; but that he afterward rose, from anxiety to know what had been done, went toward Captain White's house, and met Crowninshield, after the murder had been committed. If Frank had not been convicted as principal, Joseph could not have been convicted as accessory.

"On the trial of Joseph Knapp, as accessory before the fact, Mr. Webster's task was of an entirely different nature. Having refused to testify on the trial of his brother, Joseph had forfeited his right to the immunity promised him by the Attorney-General, and was, therefore, rightfully put upon trial himself. But he could not be convicted without the use of the confession which he had made under the promise of favor. Mr. Webster had to satisfy the court that the confession was admissible, although made under these circumstances. He argued that, as against himself, the prisoner's confession was admissible, because made freely and voluntarily; for, having obtained the Attorney-General's promise of immunity before he made the confession, he had no motive falsely to accuse himself, although he might have a motive falsely to accuse his accomplices. The court permitted the confession to go to the jury. Mr. Webster then had to convince the jury that the confession was creditable. The prisoner was convicted."

As a result of this case, a statute was passed changing the common-law rule and making it unnecessary to convict the person who committed a felony in order to convict an accessory, before or after the fact, as a principal in the affair.

JUDGE LEMUEL SHAW (1781–1861)

Lemuel Shaw was born in the West Parish of Barnstable in 1781. After being graduated from Harvard College, he was admitted to the bar in 1804 and began practice in Boston. His practice gradually increased and he served in the city government, the Constitutional Convention of 1820 and the State legislature, constantly impressing the bar and the community as a man of exceptionally sound, balanced judgment and strong character.

As a member of the house of representatives in 1829, Shaw was appointed a member of the committee to conduct the impeachment proceedings against Judge Prescott, of the Middlesex probate court. Pitted against that of Webster, who defended Judge Prescott, Shaw's argument made a great impression and has not yet lost its force in the description of standards of judicial conduct. Judge Prescott was convicted on two counts and removed from the bench.

In 1830, when Chief Justice Parker died, it was Webster who appears to have argued Shaw into accepting the appointment as Chief Justice, which he at first declined. Webster is quoted as considering his efforts in persuading Shaw to accept as one of his greatest public services. At all events, in the next thirty years Chief Justice Shaw acquired, and still holds, a position in the legal history of Massachusetts like that held by Chief Justice Marshall in the legal history of the nation; and with the assistance of exceptionally able associates, among whom were Samuel Putnam, Samuel S. Wilde, Marcus Morton, Samuel Hubbard, and Charles A. Dewey, the Massachusetts court became one of the most respected tribunals in the civilized world.

During that period, Massachusetts was changing from a shipping to a manufacturing State, and many adjustments of the law to modern business conditions were needed. The court's grasp and exposition of common principles contributed greatly to the public security.

In 1843, the legislature reduced the salaries of all State officers, including the judges, and the salary of the Chief

Justice, which had been $3,500 for many years, was reduced by $500. He felt so strongly about this measure that he refused to accept any salary, and in 1844 the old salaries were restored.

While it is too long to quote, Rufus Choate's description of a judge, in his speech in the Constitutional Convention of 1853, was generally recognized as inspired by his estimate of the Chief Justice. He closed his picture with the words: "Give the community such a judge and I care little who makes the rest of the constitution or what party administers it. It will be a free government, I know."

Peter Oxenbridge Thacher and the Municipal Court of Boston (1823–1843)

Thacher's *Criminal Cases* is still a valuable authority on matters of criminal law and practice. It contains the reports of important cases heard by Judge Thacher in the court which was created, as already explained, to hear jury trials of criminal cases with one judge.

Judge Thacher succeeded Judge Dawes and became a judicial leader in his field. Massachusetts is commonly referred to as the "home of the probation system" because the first statutory provision for probation officers in the district courts was made by the Massachusetts legislature in the seventies. But the modern practice of probation as part of the "equitable development of the criminal law" was begun by Judge Thacher as a judicial experiment in the administration of justice at least forty years before the statute of the seventies, which merely adopted his practice with the addition of paid probation officers as part of the equipment of a modern criminal court.

Judge Thacher's practice was merely a modern adaptation of old common-law ideas which had found expression in the process known as "binding to good behavior" and other cruder and more arbitrary practices.

Peleg W. Chandler (1839)

Chandler was one of the many strong men born in New Hampshire who have become leading men at the Massachusetts bar. Judge Hoar, a very keen judge of men, regarded him as the most effective jury lawyer of his day, with the exception of Rufus Choate.

Chandler was for a considerable period city solicitor of Boston; and while there, in Judge Hoar's opinion, he was an exceptionally wise adviser in the background of the entire city government.

In 1839, while a comparatively young man, he founded and for some years edited *The Law Reporter,* which contained reports of important cases from different States and professional articles. It was the forerunner of the modern "reporter" system by which the bar of the country is kept informed.

Trial of Professor Webster (1849)

In 1849 the community was startled by the arrest of Professor John W. Webster, of the Harvard Medical School, for the murder of Dr. Parkman, a well-known and respected Bostonian. The arrest followed the finding of parts of a human body in a refuse vault by the janitor of the school.

The case was tried before four justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, with Chief Justice Shaw presiding. Attorney-General Clifford and George Bemis represented the Commonwealth, and Hon. Pliny Merrick, later a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, and Edward D. Sohier appeared for the prisoner. Because of the prominent position of the prisoner and of Dr. Parkman, the trial attracted attention throughout the country.

The evidence in the case was entirely circumstantial. One of the most difficult facts for the government to prove was the death of Dr. Parkman or what the lawyers call "the *corpus delicti*"; for it is necessary, of course, in order to prove a man guilty of murder, that it should first be proved that somebody was killed. Reputable witnesses testified that they had seen Dr. Parkman on the street after the date when he was alleged to have been killed. Their testimony was perfectly honest and, as it turned out, was simply an illustration of mistaken memory as to the time of seeing him.

Without going into the details of the case, it was finally clinched by the production of a jaw bone and the identification by Dr. Parkman's dentist of the gold fillings which he had placed in Dr. Parkman's teeth.

Chief Justice Shaw performed the painful duty of presiding at the trial of a personal friend with the greatest dignity and impartiality. In a charge to the jury which has been cited ever since he expounded the law and, after the verdict of guilty, he performed the still more painful judicial duty of imposing the sentence of death on a man who had been his friend. In view of the fact that the evidence was wholly circumstantial and because of the common popular distrust of such evidence, the Chief Justice was vehemently abused, both by personal letters and newspaper comments in different parts of the country. He was called a "judicial tyrant" and was compared with "the bloody Jeffries." But when Professor Webster finally confessed before his execution, the tone of public comment changed and it was realized that a great magistrate had performed judicial functions, of the most distressing character, according to the highest standards of the Commonwealth.

The facts were that Webster owed Parkman money; that Dr. Parkman went to the Medical School to inquire of Webster about payment, on a Saturday afternoon when there was no one in the school; that he met Webster on the doorsteps and, in the course of a heated conversation, Webster lost his temper and struck Parkman with his cane so that he died. Instead of calling for assistance and acknowledging what he had done, a course which in all probability would have saved Webster's life, he carried the body into the school, and dissected and disposed of it, as he thought, beyond the chance of discovery or recognition, and went about his life as if nothing had happened. This cold-blooded proceeding eventually resulted in his execution.

Practice Act of 1851

The importance of the common-law system of special pleading as a training for lawyers to think out their cases carefully before presenting them to the court was emphasized by the work of Chief Justice Parsons. During the first half of the nineteenth century an exceptionally able bar developed in Massachusetts; but with the growth in numbers of the bar and the increasing variety of modern business, the technicalities of common-law pleading caused more and more criticism until about 1850, when a commission to revise the practice act was appointed.

This consisted of Benjamin R. Curtis, chairman, Reuben A. Chapman (later Chief Justice of Massachusetts), and Nathaniel J. Lord, a leader of the Essex County bar. This commission reported a practice that retained the simple outlines of the common-law system, with most of the technicalities eliminated; and the act in substance has proved satisfactory and is still the basis of Massachusetts practice.

One passage in the report of the commission, however, affords a striking illustration of the influence of traditional habits of thought upon even the ablest lawyers, for they reported against the proposal to allow the parties to a civil action to testify. Their reason was that "we do not think it for the interests of the public morals that parties should be placed in such situations." Accordingly, the common-law rule, based on the fear of inviting perjury, remained, to exclude from the witness stand the parties who, in many cases, knew most about the facts, until 1856, when the legislature disregarded the apprehensions of lawyers and passed the act allowing parties to testify. Much injustice must have been prevented by this change. Certainly no one today would think of returning to the old rule because of moral apprehensions.

Two Constitutional Conventions and the Courts (1780–1853)

The reasons for the provisions in the Constitution of 1780 that judges should be appointed by the Governor and Council to hold office "during good behavior," in order to provide judges as "free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit," were explained in our previous chapter in Volume III. As a supplement to this tenure, which protected the administration of justice against the political domination of "King Majority" as the similar provision in England had protected justice there from the domination of the Crown, our Constitution contained a provision not only for impeachment for "misconduct and maladministration" but also for removal of judges by the Governor and Council upon address of both houses of the legislature. This differed from impeachment, because impeachment involved a judicial trial before the senate, specially sworn and sitting as a court.

Removal was made a purely legislative proceeding which did not require the specification of reasons, although as a matter of practice the Massachusetts legislature has always provided for hearings. Several justices of the peace were thus removed prior to 1800. Judge Bradbury was removed from the Supreme Judicial Court for incurable illness in 1803.

When the Constitutional Convention of 1820 met, many leading members of the bar, including Story, Shaw, Webster, Jackson, and others, felt that this power of legislative removal weakened the security of the judges' tenure and thus threatened their independence. Accordingly, an amendment was proposed requiring a two-thirds vote of two houses upon address for removal. But Levi Lincoln, the younger, who was later a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court for a year or two and then Governor of the State for ten consecutive terms, with farsighted judgment succeeded in defeating the proposal in the convention, on the ground that the legislature could be trusted not to exercise the power without sufficient cause and that the existence of the power was desirable.

Webster put through another amendment, providing that no address for removal should be passed until the causes were first stated, entered on the journal, and a copy served upon the judge that he might be given a hearing. This amendment was rejected by the people; but the practice of the legislature has always followed in substance Webster's suggestions, on the ground that it was a fair method of proceeding.

When the Constitutional Convention of 1853 met, there was a strong movement throughout the country in favor of electing judges and shortening their terms of office. This idea gained such support in that convention for political reasons that, while the elective method was rejected, Benjamin F. Butler, then a young man, Hallett, and some of the leaders of the convention—including Henry Wilson, George S. Boutwell and others—put through a proposal for ten-year terms for judges. It has been generally admitted, even by the supporters of this provision, that this proposal more than any other led to the rejection of the entire work of the convention by the people. Politicians in that body found that they had made a mistake, and Massachusetts stuck to her principles instead of following the lead of other States.

In the debate on this question, Richard H. Dana, Rufus Choate, and others performed lasting service. Great advocates understand better than most men the value and importance of having men on the bench who are mentally and morally able to resist both the temptations of expediency and the ablest advocates who plead cases before them.

RUFUS CHOATE ON APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES (1853)

While space does not permit a detailed account of Rufus Choate, the Massachusetts lawyer who still attracts more interest than any other, with the exception of Webster, a picture of him in action on this occasion of his greatest public service is always interesting: "Any one who has lived in New England knows how wiltingly oppressive a July day can be. It was like a fiery furnace in the Hall of Representatives where the sessions were being held. No breath of air was stirring except from the waving palm-leaf fans of the delegates; yet Rufus Choate, suffering from illness and looking utterly wretched, rose and delivered an address which, in its reported form, covers twenty-six large pages in Brown's *Life* and took more than two hours to speak. On that day he was provided with a bottle of bay rum with which he frequently bathed his head, and, when he gesticulated violently, the drops were thrown on his neighbors. . . .

"It was, broadly considered, a carefully built argument against the election of judges by popular vote and against any limitation of their tenure of office. Opening with a description of the ideal judge as a man not only learned in the law but fair-minded and possessing the confidence of the community, he went on to prove that the existing system of executive appointment during good behavior was likely, on the whole, to be better than any other. He examined carefully the experience of British and American courts. He pointed out that the principle of executive appointment had worked well in Massachusetts, and that there was no imperative demand for a change. And then he ended with a perora-

From the photograph by Hawes

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

RUFUS CHOATE

tion, the imagery for which was drawn from remembrances of his boyhood days on the Essex County coast: 'Sir, the people of Massachusetts have two traits of character,—just as our political system in which that character is shown forth has two great ends. They love liberty; that is one trait. They love it, and they possess it to their heart's content. Free as storms to-day, do they not know it, and feel it,—every one of them, from the sea to the Green Mountains? But there is another side to their character, and that is the old Anglo-Saxon instinct of property; the rational and creditable desire to be secure in life, in reputation, in the earnings of daily labor, in the little all which makes up the treasures and the dear charities of the humblest home; the desire to feel certain when they come to die that the last will shall be kept, the smallest legacy of affection shall reach its object, although the giver is in his grave; this desire, and the sound sense to know that a learned, impartial, and honored judiciary is the only means of having it indulged. They have nothing timorous in them, as touching the largest liberty. They rather like the exhilaration of crowding sail on the noble old ship; and giving her to scud before a fourteen-knot breeze; but they know, too, that, if the storm comes on to blow, and the masts go overboard, and the gun-deck is rolled under water, and the lee-shore edged with foam, thunder under her stern, that the sheet-anchor and best bower then are everything! Give them good ground tackle, and they will carry her round the world and back again till there shall be no more sea.' "

Massachusetts Federal Judges

From 1789 to 1869 (except between February, 1801, and March, 1802) the only Federal judges were the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and the District Judges. Originally, the Supreme Court had six members, two being assigned to each of three circuits. These, together with the respective district judges, were required to hold circuit courts in each *district* (except Maine) twice in each year. Two of the three had to be present. Conditions of travel were not only dangerous, but so difficult that the Supreme Court judges had to spend a very considerable part of their time travelling over the country on horseback or in public or private conveyances. For judges of varying ages this was a serious ordeal, and it is not surprising that at this period some men declined appointments to the Supreme Bench.

The act of February 13, 1801, passed by the Federalists at the end of the administration of John Adams, while it relieved the Supreme Court justices by creating "circuit judges," was promptly repealed in 1802 by the Jeffersonians, who objected to what they termed the Federalist "midnight" judges appointed under that act.

The act of 1802 provided for six circuits, to each of which one Supreme Court justice was assigned, he and the district judge having concurrent power to hold the Circuit Court alone.

William Cushing, already mentioned, was one of the first justices of the Supreme Court of the United States appointed by Washington in 1789. He served until his death in 1810, when Levi Lincoln, the elder, of Worcester, who had been Jefferson's Attorney General, was appointed, but declined because of his health. Young Joseph Story, of Marblehead, then thirty-three years old, had already made his mark at the bar and in the legislature to such an extent that he was appointed by Madison in 1811, and he served for forty-four years. In 1851, Benjamin R. Curtis, then forty-two years old, was appointed, and he served for about six years. No other judge was appointed for Massachusetts until 1882, when Horace Gray, then Chief Justice of Massachusetts, was appointed.

In the Federal District Court for Massachusetts we also had exceptionally able men on the bench during this period: John Lowell from 1789 to 1801; John Davis from 1801 to 1841; Peleg Sprague from 1841 to 1865; and another John Lowell from 1865 to 1878.

Judicial Independence of John Davis and Joseph Story

The following striking instances of judicial independence, described by Charles Warren, deserve mention, as they are a credit to Massachusetts: "On October 8, 1808, in the Court House in Salem, a decision was rendered which probably affected the history of the nation to a greater degree than any judicial opinion ever rendered in this Commonwealth.

"John Davis, Judge of the United States District Court, was . . . an ardent and active Federalist, appointed by President Adams. All his friends and judicial associates were Federalists. Before him there was argued the question of the constitutionality of Jefferson's Embargo Law, a measure detested and abhorred by the Federalists of this state, against which the state had risen in open revolt. . . .

"Strong in his judicial integrity, though amid the opprobrium of all his party associates, Judge Davis resisted all influence, and rendered a judgement sustaining the constitutionality of the law, in an opinion so conclusive that it settled the question forever. It is interesting to surmise the strain to which the judge's conscience would have been submitted, had the judge been a candidate for reëlection at the presidential election which took place, just one month later, in Massachusetts, that fall."

The act of Joseph Story was as follows: "Story had been appointed by President Madison on the Supreme Court, only ten months previous. He was a young man of thirty-three years of age. The War of 1812 had begun, and the administration was vitally interested in prosecuting and convicting the cases of Americans who had been guilty of unlawful trade with the enemy, England. Such a case came up before Judge Story, in which the defendant pleaded that a proclamation of President Madison reviving an embargo law, under which the indictment had been found, was illegal. Judge Story was thus called upon to decide upon the legality of an action of a President who had just appointed him to office, and upon its legality as bearing upon a class of cases in which the President and his administration were vitally desirous of obtaining convictions.

"Story, in spite of his youth and his personal and political predilections, without hestitation held the action of the President to have been illegal, and the prisoner went free. 'For the Executive Department of the Government, this court entertain the most entire respect,' said the judge, but 'It is our duty to expound the laws as we find them in the records of the State; and we can not, when called upon by the citizens of the country, refuse our opinion, however it differs from that of very high authorities. I do not perceive any reasonable ground to imply an authority in the President to revive this act, and I must, therefore, with whatever reluctance, pronounce it to have been, as to this purpose invalid.'

"When one recalls the fact that a national election was to take place, that very fall, in Massachusetts and that administration forces might well have been arrayed against a judge who gave such a decision, had he been subject to the elective franchise, one may rejoice that Federal judges are not subject to such possibilities."

Benjamin R. Curtis (1809–1874)

Owing to its dramatic character, the main incident with which the name of Benjamin R. Curtis is connected in the minds of the public is his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case. Great as this service was, it was but one incident in the exceptional career of the man who helped to make life more convenient for the entire Massachusetts bar of today by his work as chairman of the commission which drew the Massachusetts Practice Act of 1851, already mentioned.

Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court described Judge Curtis as "the *first* lawyer of America, of the past or present time. . . . not as an advocate alone, nor as a counsellor"; but "as a lawyer in full practice in all the courts of the country, as engaged in a practice which embraced a greater variety of questions of law and of fact than is often to be found in one man's experience."

He was selected, at the age of forty-two, from such a bar as then existed in New England, to fill the vacancy in the United States supreme bench caused by the death of Justice Woodbury. And at that time, although Mr. Curtis had argued during the seventeen years in which he had practised in Boston more than one hundred and thirty causes before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, he apparently had not appeared in a single cause before the United States Supreme Court. However, not only do we find that the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, and the President of the United States had both thought of Mr. Curtis on the same day, and had each written to the other suggesting him as the best person to fill the vacancy, but Mr. Webster adds, in his letter to President Fillmore, that the "universal sentiment in Boston is, that the place should be filled by the appointment of Mr. Curtis."

His power of continuous labor was unusual. In the preparation of the answer of President Johnson to the articles of impeachment (a production in which he was unassisted by the other counsel, who had not yet arrived in Washington), he worked upon it for more than thirty consecutive hours without rest or sleep, and this was in his sixtieth year.

He resigned from the Court after six years of service. Then in 1868, as leading counsel for the President before the Senate sitting as a court of impeachment, he rescued the country from the political demoralization which, it is admitted, would have overtaken it had the impeachment of President Johnson been brought to a successful termination. The few Republican Senators who bravely resisted the party demands frankly confessed that it was mainly due to Judge Curtis's argument that they became convinced of the illegality of the impeachment.

The position occupied by Judge Curtis after his resignation from the bench of the Supreme Court was exceptional. The first judge to practise after his resignation from such a position, it required an unusual dignity and force of character to sustain the position with credit and honor to himself. He argued many of the most important causes before the United States Supreme Court; and it has been stated that, in every case that he argued which was decided in his favor, the decision was based upon the grounds stated in his brief. For many years before his death, the writing of opinions occupied much of his time; and so much were they valued that he became in many cases a tribunal whose decision was final.

Arbitration

In view of the current interest in arbitration as a method of settling disputes without a judge, jury, or technical rules, it may interest readers to know that by our common law practice a court has always had power to refer a case to an arbitration *at the request of both parties* after the case is in court, and that as long ago as 1786 the legislature passed a statute allowing parties to a dispute to choose one or more arbitrators to render a decision which the court would enforce.

The purpose of the statute was to avoid the delay and annoyance of court proceedings. But little use has been made of this method. Massachusetts lawyers and litigants have preferred to have their cases heard by a judge. There is today, perhaps, a growing interest in informal proceedings before a judge for those who do not like arbitration.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER AND THE COURTS

The mention of Benjamin F. Butler and his activities is still apt to start controversy in Massachusetts; but whatever his faults, he was a man of ability and very active practice who thoroughly understood our judicial system. In 1859 he was a dominating figure on the joint special committee of the legislature appointed to consider the courts. At the beginning of their report *(House Document 120* of 1859) they described the system then existing as follows: "The plan upon which our courts are now organized was established in 1820. The Commonwealth then contained but five hundred and twenty-three thousand two hundred and eighty-seven inhabitants. The theory of the courts then was, that any party was of right entitled to two trials by jury of all questions of fact in all important cases, civil, as well as criminal. The first was in the court of common pleas; either party could then appeal for another trial in the supreme judicial court. This system of trials stood till the year 1840, when Governor Morton went from the bench to the chair of the executive. In his long judicial life, he had seen the mischievous fruits of this system, in its delays and expenses. Upon his recommendation, the legislature of that year took away all right of appeal on questions of fact, and defined the jurisdiction of the two courts. Exclusive jurisdiction was given to the supreme judicial court" of practically all civil cases involving more than $300.

"All other civil actions were left in the court of common pleas. It is apparent, this division of business between the two courts had no respect to the importance of the matters litigated in either, but was based entirely upon arbitrary considerations of convenience.

"All questions of law, except upon dilatory pleas, by the same act, were made determinable in the supreme judicial court. The number of justices of that court was reduced from five to four, and the office vacated by Governor Morton was abolished. Immediately upon the passage of the act many questions arose upon the jurisdiction of the respective courts. In five several instances legislation has been had to relieve the obscurities and infirmities of this short act thus conferring jurisdiction, and to set out more clearly the matter of which the respective courts should have cognizance. Though nearly twenty years have elapsed since its enactment, the courts are yet busy in determining the powers of the various tribunals under it. And after all these acts of legislation and more than that number of decisions of the supreme court thereon, the law is now in such a state that the commissioners upon the revision of the statutes have found more difficulty, than upon any other subject, in putting these same questions of jurisdiction in an intelligible form into their report."

The committee of 1869 recommended the abolition of the Superior Court for Suffolk County, which had been an experiment for the previous ten years, and the abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas throughout the State, and the creation in their place of a superior court for the whole Commonwealth.

While of course it was not stated in the report, it is common tradition at the bar that one reason for this reorganization was common dissatisfaction with a number of judges of the courts of common pleas as incompetent; and since they could not be deprived of their offices individually, the result was accomplished by abolishing the court and creating a new one. The recommendation was followed, and the present Superior Court came into existence. It was given concurrent jurisdiction with the Supreme Judicial Court of actions at law. The Superior Court was also given ten judges, including the Chief Justice. Since that time, the jurisdiction has been constantly increased, so that it has become the great trial court of the State, as the growing amount of litigation required relief for the Supreme Judicial Court. For his constructive service on this committee General Butler deserves great credit.

There is another act, due to his influence, which was of more doubtful value and which many lawyers believe has seriously weakened the court. At common law, the judge presiding at a jury trial could talk freely in his charge about the facts, the witnesses, and the weight of the evidence, and could express his opinion about them if he believed it would assist the jury—provided he made it plain to the jury that they were not bound to his views of the facts or witnesses and that it was their function to make up their own minds. This always has been, and still is, part of the function of a judge in jury trials in the Federal courts.

Some time in the fifties, however, General Butler made a political speech in Lowell. A Lowell newspaper printed an account of it with the following headline:

"BEN BUTLER: This notorious demagogue and political scoundrel, having swilled three or four extra glasses of liquor, spread himself at whole length in the City Hall last night. . . . The only wonder is that a character so foolish, so grovelling and obscene, can for a moment be admitted into decent society anywhere out of the pale of prostitutes."

The editor of the paper was indicted for criminal libel. Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar presided at the trial. Judge Hoar was one of the ablest and most respected of our judges, but he was a conservative Whig of vigorous views who disliked Butler. On this occasion, his views and individual antipathies appear to have overcome his judicial instincts. He charged the jury that the government was bound to prove beyond a doubt that the article in the paper was intended for the Ben Butler, whose name was "Benjamin F. Butler." Having his right to express his opinion on the facts, as already explained, he went on to say: "I am at a loss to see that there is any evidence upon this point to make it sufficient. There is nothing except the article itself to prove to whom it applies." The jury acquitted the editor.

General Butler never forgot the incident; and he states in his book that when Judge Hoar, after serving on the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and subsequently as Attorney General under President Grant, was nominated as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he caused the Senate to reject the nomination.

Also, during the fifties, there was a judge of the Court of

Common Pleas, who shall be nameless, who constantly irritated counsel and their clients by his petty assumption of authority in the conduct of jury trials. When the statutes were being revised in 1860, General Butler was a member of the committee to consider the report of the revision commissioners. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the late Justice Braley, of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, both quote Butler as saying that, partly because of his treatment by Judge Hoar but primarily because of the annoyance caused by the other judge referred to, he induced the committee to report, and the legislature to adopt without discussion, the statute, which has remained on the books ever since, providing that: "The court shall not charge juries with respect to matters of fact but they may state the testimony and the law."

Ever since that time, the judges in our State courts have been to some extent "muzzled" in talking to a jury about a case, although the lawyers on each side of the case have remained largely "unmuzzled." A judge, of course, can often by the tone of his voice or otherwise let the jury know what he thinks about the facts or about certain evidence, but he is not expected to express it in words. Lawyers have very marked differences of opinion as to the wisdom of this statute, and there have been frequent suggestions that it should be repealed.

Some agree with General Butler; others believe that it would be in the interest of justice to "unmuzzle" the judge by restoring the common law rule which assumed that the jurymen were sufficiently intelligent and independent to listen to the judge's views without being overawed by them and to do their own thinking and make up their own minds after hearing what he thought. They believe that the constitutional right to jury trial was based upon the assumption of such intelligence and courage in the jurymen. Whether the laymen who serve on juries consider it a compliment not to be allowed to hear the views of the judge who heard the case with them and is expected to be impartial, is a question which they can answer as well or better than the lawyers. It is still a question of current discussion from time to time before the legislature.

Other Lawyers

Of other outstanding figures at the Massachusetts bar during the constructive period of American law, space permits a mere reference to the names of a few selected at random: Increase Sumner, judge and governor; James Sullivan, judge, attorney-general, and governor; his son, William Sullivan; John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State and President of the United States; Samuel Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury under John Adams; his son, Franklin Dexter; George Bliss of Springfield; Jeremiah Mason, who never held judicial office, whose earlier professional life was in New Hampshire and who was, perhaps, the greatest lawyer of them all; Sydney Bartlett; Chief Justice Bigelow, who succeeded Shaw as Chief Justice in 1860; Theron Metcalf, reporter and judge; Perez Morton, attorney-general about thirty consecutive years from 1810 to 1832; Benjamin F. Hallett; George S. Hillard; Richard H. Dana, author of *Two Years Before the Mast;* William H. Prescott, who later became the historian; and many other members of a great bench and a great bar.

Charles Allen, First Chief Justice of the Superior Court (1859–1867)

Charles Allen was born in Worcester, August 9, 1797. He studied at Yale, was admitted to the bar in 1818, and after twenty years or more of practice and service in the State legislature he was appointed, in 1842, Judge of the Common Pleas Court and resigned in 1844, in which year he became a member of Congress, serving until 1853. In 1858, on the resignation of Chief Justice Nelson of the superior court of Suffolk County, he was appointed his successor. The court was abolished in 1859, and he was appointed in that year Chief Justice of the new Superior Court. He resigned his seat in 1867, and died in Worcester, August 6, 1869.

A story is told of Lord Lyndhurst, a great English judge, that he was in the habit of muttering to himself on the bench in tones heard only by the clerk. In one case, as counsel began his argument, after listening for a few minutes, Lyndhurst was heard muttering: "What a fool the man is." As the argument proceeded further, he said: "Not such a fool as I thought"; and, as the argument closed: "Egad, I was the fool myself!" That is the spirit in which every judge ought to train himself to listen.

That Chief Justice Allen had the same impartial spirit is shown by the story told by a partner of the late William W. Crapo, a leader of the Bristol County bar. As a young man, Mr. Crapo tried a case in Worcester before Chief Justice Allen and a jury. The verdict was against him and Crapo moved a new trial on the ground "that the presiding judge was physically and mentally incompetent to hear the case at the time of the trial." Chief Justice Allen listened attentively to the argument for a new trial and, after considering the matter for a few days, granted the motion on the grounds stated! Shortly afterward he resigned from the bench. The explanation of this story is that he was not well; and he knew it, and was fair enough to admit it.

With this account of a standard of judicial impartiality, of which Massachusetts may be justly proud, this chapter may well close.

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CHAPTER III

POLITICAL HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS
(1829–1851)

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Changes in Transportation (1829–1845)

The decades of the thirties and forties were to Massachusetts a period of economic readjustment and political turmoil. Of the numerous economic readjustments, the most important were the shift of capital from shipping to manufacturing and the rapid growth of the factory system. Shipping had to meet not only the competition of manufacturing but also the necessity of adapting itself to iron ships and steam power. At the same time the smaller seaports along the coast were waning in importance as compared with the larger centers; and even the great port of Salem saw its capitalists and ship owners moving their offices to Boston. To these factors, so disruptive to the established shipping interests, was added a general tendency as the years went by to turn away from the sea toward the great West. The common man began to see greater opportunities in the valley of the Ohio or on the shores of the Great Lakes, and New Englanders in increasing numbers were moving toward the setting sun. Thus man power as well as capital was diverted from maritime pursuits. The westward movement, developed by the successful completion of the Erie Canal, was paralleled by a rapid growth of manufactures along the New England seaboard, with the resultant desire for increased markets. All these influences combined to create still another new outlet for New England capital. To secure for Massachusetts commerce some of the wealth flowing along the Erie and the Hudson into New York, an insistent demand arose for internal improvements, eventuating in numerous small canals in Massachusetts, and finally in the building of a group of railroads radiating north, south, and west of Boston. In 1842 was secured the charter for the Fitchburg Railroad Company, enabling Alvah Crocker to begin the great construction of a highway of commerce which ultimately achieved the penetration of the Berkshires by means of the Hoosac Tunnel. During the next decade, under the direction of another transportation genius, Chester Williams Chapin, the Boston and Worcester and the Western Railroad were united into a continuous rail communication between Boston and the West.

The Farmers (1829–1851)

While the economic interests of the capitalistic class were being radically modified, the farmer and mechanic were also feeling the influence of changed conditions. Although the Massachusetts farmer saw his daughters migrate to the new textile towns and his sons enter the mercantile life of the growing cities, he did not look upon the growth of manufacturing as an evil. The more prosperous farmers were quickly won to the protectionism of Henry Clay's "American System," and sought to readjust their farming to the needs of the developing factory towns.

No sooner, however, had the more intelligent farmer conformed himself to the new conditions than he was forced to a second readjustment by the competition of western grains and meats conveyed over canals and railroads. While the farmers in the fertile Connecticut Valley were able to save themselves by turning to tobacco and other staples, and the more favorably situated farms near the cities might be diverted to truck gardens and dairy products, the period was a difficult one for New England agriculture. And it was marked by the beginning of a process by which the least fertile land was gradually forced out of cultivation. For the farmer, therefore, these were years of storm and stress.

Labor and Population (1829–1851)

Nor was labor untouched by the economic forces affecting Massachusetts in the first half of the century.

Skilled labor found increasing occupation in the building of ships, in the construction of buildings and of new types of machinery; while unskilled labor found enlarged opportunities in the operation of textile machinery and in the building of canals and railroads. Yet labor was restless and disturbed by the increasing immigration which filled the seaboard towns with cheap labor. For a time they sought redress in the Antimasonic, Native-American, and Know-Nothing movements.

In spite of these economic cross currents and the devastating panic of 1837, the thirties and forties were years of prosperity for Massachusetts. The coast towns were ringing with the hammer of the ship-builder, and manufacturing communities were springing up on many little rivers. The population of the State increased from 610,000 in 1830 to 995,000 in 1850. Boston and its suburbs more than doubled during these two decades, Boston itself increasing from 61,000 to 137,000, while some of the inland manufacturing cities, such as Worcester, Chicopee and Lawrence, experienced an even greater relative advance.

Economic Factors in Politics (1816–1821)

It would be impossible for any people to go through such a period of economic change without political reactions, and Massachusetts was no exception. Moneyed Massachusetts began to split between manufacturers and shippers, and hence between those favoring high tariffs and internal improvements and those opposed. Likewise rivalries arose between rural democrats and city aristocrats, and also between urban labor and urban capital. Economic differences were strengthened or modified as the case might be by the general democratic movement which was making itself felt in New England as elsewhere. Other factors were the demand for universal education, for a broadening of the franchise, for a democratization of the State Constitution, and for a shift in the incidence of taxation. Finally, in the late forties and the decade of the fifties, the whole structure of Massachusetts politics was undermined by the slavery issue, which was destined to destroy the Whig party and break the power of the Democrats.

APPEARANCE OF MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRATS (1821–1826)

To comprehend in any way the political history of Massachusetts during the period 1829–1851, it is necessary to glance briefly at the preceding years; for it was the decade of the twenties that witnessed the disappearance of the Federalist and old Republican parties and the rise of the National Republican and Democratic organizations. The Federalists had maintained their control of Massachusetts politics until 1823, when William Eustis, a former member of Jefferson's cabinet, defeated John Brooks, who had been governor since 1816. The downfall of the Massachusetts Federalists was emphasized in the presidential elections of 1824, when New England Federalism turned as its only logical choice to the most conservative candidate available, John Quincy Adams, a Republican who in earlier years had bitterly denounced the Federalists. The Federalists unsuccessfully opposed the reëlection of Governor Eustis in 1824; they offered no ticket in 1825; but made a final and half-hearted effort to regain power in 1826, when they nominated Samuel Hubbard for governor.

While the majority of the old Federalists were coalescing with the more conservative Republicans to cast the State's electoral vote for Adams, certain elements from both earlier groups were organizing to back William H. Crawford. In the first place, the seacoast Federalists disliked the protective theories of Adams; and in the second place, the more radical element of the Republicans felt that Adams and his group were too conservative and aristocratic. This "amalgamation of high-toned federalists and radical democrats" accomplished little for Crawford in 1824; but it became the nucleus of that element of dissident Republicanism which ten years later formed the Democratic party in Massachusetts.

The leaders of the Crawford group, and hence the founders of the Democratic party in Massachusetts, were David Henshaw and Marcus Morton. Henshaw, a native of Leicester, in the early decades of the century migrated to Boston, where he worked his way up from druggist's apprentice to wholesaler and accumulated sufficient fortune to participate in the formation and promotion of banks. His banking interests, however, were outside the orbit of those controlled by the Appletons and Lawrences, who never welcomed the newcomer into their exclusive financial clique. Interested in economic and political problems, Henshaw was known as the author of several pamphlets and became an active political factor in 1821, when with the coöperation of certain friends, particularly J. K. Simpson, he established the *Statesman*. This paper was ably edited by Nathaniel Greene, who had received his training on Isaac Hill's *New Hampshire Patriot*. It provided an organ for the Democratic group. While Henshaw was the political organizer and manager of the new party, Morton invariably headed the ticket. Marcus Morton, who lived till 1864, represented during his public life the highest type of leadership among the Massachusetts democracy. A native of Taunton and a graduate of Brown, he earlier served two terms in Congress as a representative of the rural Republicans. Elected lieutenant governor in 1824 on the Republican ticket, he served as acting governor after the death of Eustis. Henshaw represented in 1824 the urban constituency of Crawford; Morton was the leader of the rural Republicans.

Although Henshaw and Morton backed Crawford for the presidency against a Massachusetts man, they did not yet break with the Adams Republicans. Henshaw offered his support to Adams and was rewarded with a seat in the State Senate in 1826; while Morton was reëlected lieutenant governor in 1825 on a ticket headed by Levi Lincoln.

This combination, however, was not destined to last long. Morton almost immediately resigned to accept a position on the State supreme court; while Henshaw and his followers were soon pushed out of the Adams camp.

FREE BRIDGE CONTROVERSY (1826–1827)

The immediate cause of the exodus of the Henshaw group was connected with the free-bridge question. Henshaw and some associates in 1826 received permission from the State legislature to build a bridge from Sea Street in Boston to the flats of South Boston. As Henshaw and his friends were primarily interested in real estate development, the bridge was to pay no tolls, and the State was to have the right to purchase it upon completion. Another group, known as the Warren Bridge Company, now sought similar permission to build from Boston to Charlestown; but certain interests, including those of Harvard University, vested in the Charles River Bridge Company, fought the project bitterly, and Governor Lincoln returned the bill without his signature. The Middlesex farmers, hot with wrath, refused to endorse Lincoln for governor and cast over 7,000 votes in 1827 for W. C. Jarvis, notwithstanding the fact that the latter had declined a nomination. Henshaw and his *Statesman* throughout supported the "Free Bridge men" and sought an alliance with Jarvis. Jarvis, however, would have nothing to do with Henshaw, who now found himself quite out of the Republican councils.

Massachusetts Jacksonians (1827–1828)

In the meantime the Federalists and Republicans were rapidly coalescing behind the conservative Adams in the formation of a strong state National Republican party. Protectionist manufacturers, internal improvement men, bankers, anti-Warren-Bridge Republicans, and the conservative interests in general effected a formal union. In 1827, Daniel Webster, former Federalist, came out for Adams, and was rewarded with a seat in the United States Senate, while Lincoln, the Republican governor, headed the State organization of the coalition.

Henshaw, no longer trusted by the Republicans, now took up aggressively the project of forming a Jackson party in Massachusetts; and, in this he was aided not only by the "Free Bridge men" and by the urban and rural democrats of various complexions but also by a few "silk stocking democrats" representing New England shippers and headed by the Boston merchant, George W. Lyman. When Duff Green came to Boston to raise money for the establishment in Washington of a Jackson paper, the *United States Telegram,* he collected six thousand dollars from the Henshaw group and five thousand from Lyman and his friends. Lyman had already established the *Jackson Republican* (soon merged with the *Evening Bulletin*) from whose columns he attacked Adams and Webster.

Notwithstanding the activities of Henshaw and Lyman, the Democrats accomplished very little politically in Massachusetts in 1828. Morton refused the formal nomination for governor, but was backed by the *Statesman* and received 4,423 votes; in no county were the Jackson electors able to win a majority. The election did consolidate a Democratic organization in Massachusetts; but it was a machine torn by dissension from its birth. Although Massachusetts was firmly in the hands of the National Republicans, Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828, and the Federal patronage must shortly pass to the Democrats. The question at the moment was whether the choicest plums would go to the Henshaw or the Lyman faction. Henshaw was finally appointed collector of the port of Boston; but Jackson, possibly influenced by Vice-President Calhoun, thought it wise to appease the Lyman following by appointing many ex-Federalists to office. In the end, this did not prevent the Lyman faction from drifting away from Jackson; instead it brought upon the administration the criticism of Morton, who was anxious to build up a Jackson party in Massachusetts founded on the democratic theories of Jefferson, and who felt that this plan was being imperiled by the appointment of ex-Federalists to office.

Jackson Party Consolidated (1829–1831)

While the Henshaw and Lyman factions were jockeying for power in the Democratic organization, the time approached for the State campaign of 1829. Morton, hesitating to ally himself with a single faction, again refused a formal nomination; but in a listless campaign he received approximately 7,000 votes, about one-quarter the number cast for Lincoln. Apparently encouraged by this showing, he consented to head the ticket in 1830, although he assured Calhoun there was not the slightest chance for success. His prophecy was correct, notwithstanding the fact that he more than doubled his vote (Lincoln, 30,908; Morton, 14,440). Morton was disappointed, mistakenly attributing his failure to Jackson's policy of propitiating ex-Federalists by appointment to office. He represented the rural Democracy and had little faith in the seacoast Federalists who had been enticed under the Democratic banner by the State-rights and low-tariff Calhoun. Morton eventually broke politically with his old school friend, Calhoun; and the latter's quarrel with Jackson in 1831 finally threw the Massachusetts Democrats into the arms of the Jackson faction.

Antimasonic Movement (1826–1831)

The early thirties witnessed the advent of two new parties in Massachusetts politics—the Antimasonic and the Workingmen's parties. "Two irreconcilable elements formed the basis of New England culture," says Darling in his monograph on *Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824-1848:* the advocates of "a determined and settled order, and an equally positive individualism. The friction between them gave opportunity for the growth of such religious changes as the Unitarian departure from orthodoxy, and such moral stirrings as its contemporaries, Temperance and Abolition. Antimasonry was another phase of the same conflict. The Antimasons were a restless group, swayed by the emotion of reform." The feeling that Masonry, as J. Q. Adams put it, was "a conspiracy of the few against the equal rights of the many" and an organization socially and politically dangerous had been growing for some time, when it was fanned into political activity by the disappearance and death of William Morgan in the Niagara River in September, 1826.

In Massachusetts, political Antimasonry seems to have originated at a meeting on November 1, 1828, in Fall River, which resulted in political organization for the congressional elections of that year. Some momentum was gathered in 1829, when Antimasonic votes were cast in the State election and a State convention held in December. By 1830 the movement had become sufficiently powerful to elect three State senators and from twenty to twenty-five members of the house, but as yet offered no gubernatorial candidate.

In 1831 the legislature voted to shift the date of the State election to coincide with the national contest, which meant that there would be two State elections that year. In the first, the Antimasons made no nomination, and Levi Lincoln again easily defeated Morton. The fall election, however, was more bitterly contested. The Antimasons, now thoroughly aroused, entered aggressively into the campaign. A committee waiting upon the Governor found that, although he "sincerely and earnestly" desired "the dissolution and extinction of Freemasonry," as chief magistrate he refused to unite with any "combination of men in means for its suppression." Thereupon they offered the nomination for governor to John Quincy Adams; and upon his refusal, nominated Samuel Lathrop.

Antimason Complications (1831–1833)

Both the National Republicans and the Democratic party refused to take seriously the Antimasons, but the latter succeeded in carrying Hampshire and Franklin Counties and in taking second place on the ticket. The Antimasons claimed 150 of the 490 members of the lower house, which proved that many of the rural National Republicans and rural Federalist communities had swung to the new party. The vote for governor was Lincoln, 28,804; Lathrop, 13,357, and Morton, 10,975.

With this showing the Antimasons looked forward optimistically to the election of 1832. By that time they counted several newspapers among their supporters, the most influential of which was the Boston *Free Press and Advocate,* whose editor, B. F. Hallett, a native of Barnstable and a graduate of Brown, was destined to later prominence in the Democratic party. The Antimasons were now busy perfecting their organization; they called the first national nominating convention in our history, and prepared for the national election. Their State ticket in 1832 was again headed by Lathrop. The National Republicans and Democrats were both concerned in 1832 with the strength of the new party, the former fearful that it might continue to draw some of the old rural Federalists, and the latter that it would intrigue the more radical vote, which they felt was normally Democratic.

The State election of 1832, however, was dominated by national issues, and the opposition of Massachusetts to Jackson's bank policy probably accounts for the result—Lincoln, 33,949; Morton, 15,197; and Lathrop, 14,755. Of the 10,810 votes over and above the number cast in 1831, Lincoln received almost half.

Levi Lincoln retired in 1833, presumably from fear that a combination of his opponents might bring about his defeat in the next election. The news of this decision set in motion efforts to bring about a coalition of National Republicans and Antimasons. Edward Everett, opponent of the Masonic institution, at first was a candidate for the Antimasonic nomination; but before the convention met he realized the impossibility of such a coalition, and withdrew. John Quincy Adams, prominent National Republican and backer of Lincoln in previous elections, accepted the Antimasonic nomination, undoubtedly believing that the two parties might be drawn together. But the Masonic leaders in the National Republican party were too bitter towards both Everett and Adams to consent to such a union, and called John Davis, National Republican Congressman from Worcester, to head their ticket. The Democrats, on their side, dominated by Morton and Henshaw, quite underestimated the Democratic element among the Antimasons and made no effort toward a coalition. Taking advantage, however, of the interest aroused by Jackson's visit to Massachusetts in June of 1833, they strengthened their organization for the coming election.

The Workingmen's Party (1832–1833)

In the meantime a fourth party combination, the Workingmen's party, had begun to make itself felt in Massachusetts politics. It undoubtedly drew strength from such mechanics as carpenters, masons, ship caulkers, and urban workmen of all types, groups already interested in the organization of laborers for the ten-hour day, universal education, and other reforms of distinct interest to the urban proletariat. The party, nevertheless, appears, according to Darling, to have derived its chief support from the agricultural proletariat of the rural districts. It represented an opposition not only of the producer toward the consumer but also of the country toward the city. The chief strength of the movement was in the counties of Hampshire, Franklin, Bristol, and Middlesex.

Not for years had a State election in Massachusetts aroused the interest created in 1833. With both the Workingmen's movement and Antimasonry at flood tide, the result was far from certain. Although Davis polled the largest number of votes (Davis, 25,149; Adams, 18,274; Morton, 15,493; and Allen, 3,459), he did not receive a majority; and the election under the Massachusetts law was thrown into the legislature. Adams as the second highest in the poll held the balance of power, in which position he quickly proved himself a member of the national party, which had taken on the name of Whig, rather than an Antimason.

Decline of the Antimasons (1833–1834)

Morton was more of an Antimason than Davis; but Adams had no desire to strengthen the Jacksonian democracy in Massachusetts, and withdrew from the contest, thus ensuring the election of Davis. Keen statesman that he was, Adams may have seen the impermanency of the Antimasonic structure, and he slipped out before the collapse.

Superficially, the retirement of Adams and the election of Davis appeared to effect a harmonious *rapprochement* between the Whigs and the Antimasons. In reality, this was far from the case. Davis was no Antimason and he allowed his party machine to ride rough-shod over the Antimasons in the matter of party patronage. When, in retaliation, important Whig legislation was held up, the Whig leaders realized that they had gone too far and allowed the Antimasons to conduct a harmless investigation into Masonry and to defeat certain bills of interest to Masons.

This sort of treatment antagonized the radical element in the new party, and under the leadership of Hallett some overtures were made toward the Democrats. In the meantime both Morton and Henshaw began to realize the possibilities of a coalition with the more radical Antimasons, and preliminary moves were made in this direction.

The Antimasons, however, had not quite run their course;

and led by John Bailey, an intimate friend of Adams, they entered the campaign of 1834. Opposition to Jackson's bank policy seems to have played a large part in the results, for the Whigs polled 20,000 more votes than in the previous year (Davis, 44,802; Morton, 19,255; Bailey, 10,795; and Allen, Workingmen, 2,602) and Davis was elected by a majority vote over all. Morton likewise gained; but the losses sustained by the Antimasonic and Workingmen's parties presaged their speedy disintegration.

MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRATS (1834–1838)

In spite of the rise of these two temporary parties during the early thirties, Henshaw and his able lieutenants, J. K. Simpson, Andrew Dunlap, and Nathaniel and Charles G. Greene, managed to keep the Democratic machine functioning. Their influence was founded not only on their control of Federal patronage, but also on their newspapers, the most important being the *Statesman,* edited by the Greenes. The obvious decline of the two new parties spurred them to renewed activities, in the hope of attaching Democratically inclined Antimasons and Workingmen. A strong ally had been found among the Antimasons in Hallett, who was preparing to join the Democratic ranks. The movement of the Antimasons toward the Democracy was facilitated when the Whig legislature turned down its idol, Adams, and elected Governor Davis to the United States Senate in 1835.

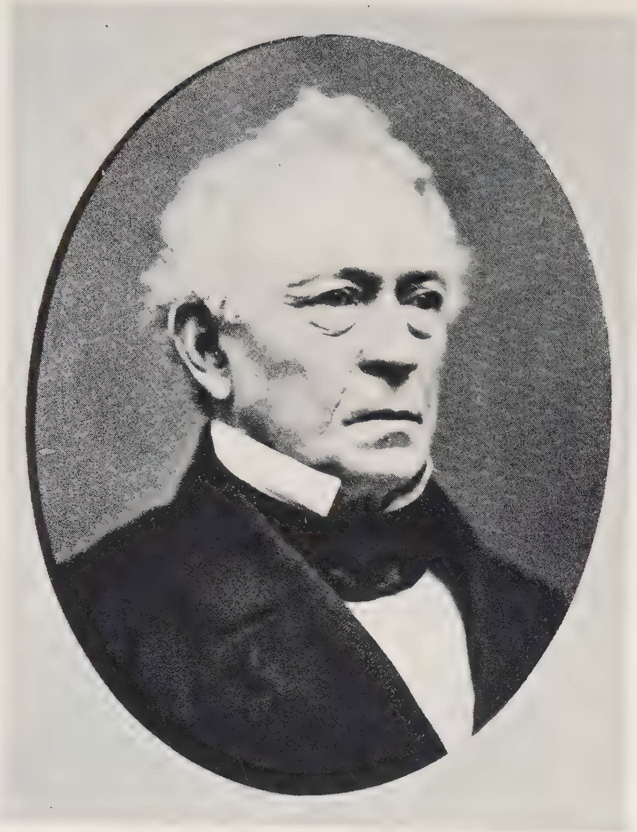
To attach the Workingmen's vote, however, was not easy, for Henshaw worked more effectively with the urban proletariat, whereas the Workingmen's strength lay in the rural districts. The feat was accomplished in part through a fortuitous frustration in the plans of Henshaw. With his eye on a Cabinet post, Henshaw was planning to retire from the collectorship of Boston and urged the appointment of his friend Simpson. At this point, Morton, who was quite independent of the machine and had never been under the control of Henshaw, stepped in, opposed Simpson's appointment, and finally importuned the administration to give the post to George Bancroft, a leader of the rural Democrats. As the strength of the Democracy in Massachusetts lay in the country districts, this seemed to be a wise move, and Bancroft received the appointment in 1838. The young historian had won the confidence of radicals in western Massachusetts, and was followed into the Democratic party by a large group of the Workingmen.

BANCROFT AND EVERETT (1835–1836)

Henceforth for some years George Bancroft, who had already commenced the writing of his famous history, was destined to play a leading role in party politics in Massachusetts and eventually to move into the national scene. Although a brother-in-law of Governor Davis and in touch with the Boston aristocracy, Bancroft threw himself unreservedly into the Democratic movement. Not overscrupulous, he skillfully followed the tortuous maze of political intrigue, securing the Federal collectorship of Boston in 1838, the nomination for governor in 1844, a place in Polk's Cabinet in 1845, and an ambassadorship in England in 1846.

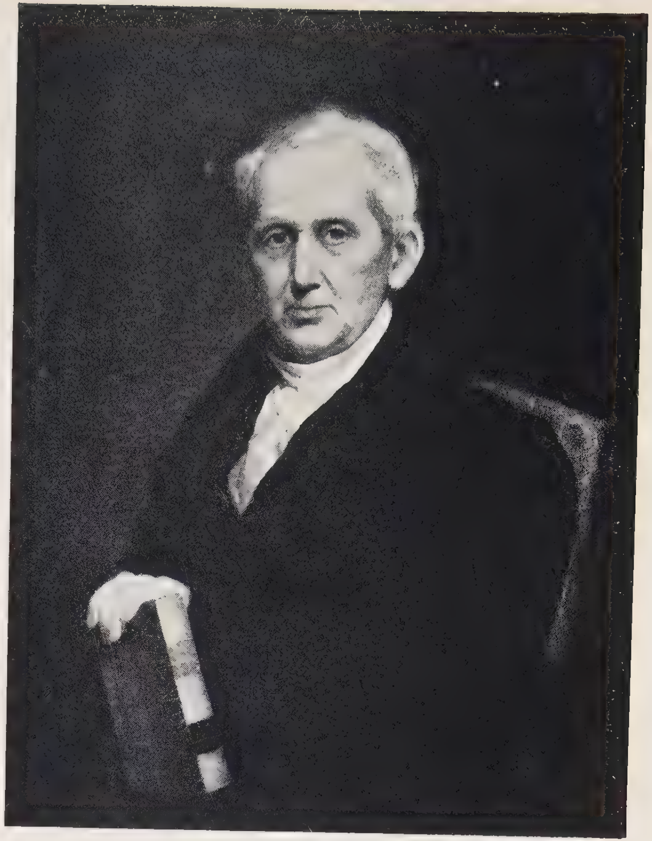
The Whigs on their part made some advances to the Antimasons in 1835 by nominating Edward Everett, a mild Antimason, rather than the acting Governor, Samuel T. Armstrong. Notwithstanding this move, Morton must have been the chief gainer from the disintegration of the Antimasons, for while there was a drop of some 12,728 in the total vote, Morton gained 5,900 (Everett, 37,555; Morton, 25,227; Armstrong, Independent, 1,901). If any large group of Antimasons voted for Everett, they were doomed to speedy disappointment, for like Adams he was more Whig than Antimason.

Except for the internal friction over Henshaw's successor to the collectorship, the Democratic party seemed in 1836 to be well situated to play a strong rôle in the coming presidential election. Henshaw for the time being held on to his post, and the party presented a united front. In the election for governor, Everett polled 42,160 and Morton 35,992, a relative gain for Morton on the national ticket; Van Buren ran 2,000 behind Morton and the Democrats elected only two Congressmen. Among those seeking seats in Congress on the Democratic ticket, who were defeated, were Alexander H. Everett, brother of the Governor, and George Bancroft.



Courtesy of Harvard College Library

EDWARD EVERETT



From the portrait by Cole

Courtesy of Mass. Hist. Society

JOHN DAVIS

DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT (1837)

Politics in Massachusetts during the year 1837 was distinctly colored by the severe panic of that year. The Whigs, of course, laid the catastrophe to Jackson's specie circular and his war upon the second United States Bank. The Democrats, seriously weakened by the economic depression, were further handicapped by a serious split in their own ranks. On the one hand Hallett in his *Advocate* voiced the feelings of the radical Democrats by urging the "Divorce of Bank and State," and by applauding Van Buren's scheme for an independent treasury; on the other hand, Henshaw and Simpson, who controlled the Commonwealth Bank, one of Jackson's "pet banks," defended the State bank and labored with might and main to prevent the radicals gaining control of the Democratic State convention.

In this they were not successful; for the convention urged that banks be compelled by law to maintain more capital and that they be separated from the State. The Whigs fought their campaign on the bank issue, at the same time denouncing Morton as a political judge who ought to be impeached. The economic depression proved too much for the Democrats, and Everett defeated Morton by nearly five to three (Everett, 50,656; Morton, 33,089).

A reorganization in the Democratic party followed the defeat of 1837. Henshaw resigned from the collectorship, and upon the death of his friend Simpson gave up the attempt to designate a successor. The choice now rested with Morton, and upon his advice Van Buren appointed Bancroft. As Morton was not interested at the time in heading a political machine, Bancroft was strategically placed to dominate the Democratic organization. To accomplish this he founded the *Bay State Democrat* under the editorship of J. G. Harris of New Bedford, one of his subordinates, and established a "reading room" as a rendezvous for Democratic politicians who formerly had forgathered in the offices of the Commonwealth Bank.

With the party patronage now in the hands of a rival faction, Henshaw's position was further weakened by the failure of the Commonwealth Bank, in which he was a dominant figure. He was partly to blame for its collapse, but his responsibility was of course greatly exaggerated by his political enemies. With Democratic politicians jockeying for place in the new party lineup, it is surprising to find that in the fall elections the party showed recovery from the effects of the panic of 1837. The vote (Everett, 51,642 and Morton, 41,798) showed that Morton had absorbed most of the increase in the votes cast.

Whig and Democratic Principles (1837–1840)

In spite of conservative Federalism, of rabid Antimasonry, of the short-lived Workingmen's party, and of the rising Jacksonian Democracy, the Massachusetts Republicans, now called Whigs, had held their own and appeared to be firmly seated in power. They were at this time represented in the Senate by Daniel Webster and John Davis; and their delegation in the House was ably led by John Quincy Adams, the only ex-President in American history to reappear in national legislative halls. The State administration was headed by the urbane and talented, if somewhat superficial, Edward Everett, who had been governor since 1835. His easy success, however, was unexpectedly halted by Morton in 1839, who after eleven trials was at last elected governor. His victory was due not to any sudden turning to the Democratic banner but rather to a misstep of Everett. The Whig legislature, coming under the influence of a powerful temperance agitation, in 1838 passed a bill which limited the sale of liquors to quantities of not less than fifteen gallons. This act, which Everett signed and which was obviously intended to eliminate the sale of drinks over the bar, was looked upon as class legislation, and the election of 1839 was a rebuke to Everett.

Although Marcus Morton was now governor, the Whigs controlled both houses of the legislature. Knowing full well that he would meet opposition at every turn, Morton announced his program in his address to the legislature of January 22, 1840: a document of great interest, because it contains the essentials of the Massachusetts Democratic attitude on political problems during the next decade. The governor asserted his belief in the independent treasury and in the necessity of basing the circulating medium upon intrinsic value. Private banks, he thought, were monopolies, and were too easily tempted to inflate the currency with depreciated paper. He asserted in no uncertain terms his distrust of special legislation in behalf of corporations, and of "perpetuities" and "mortmain estates." He questioned whether unqualified good had come from the Whig policy of state aid to railroad construction, and demanded that a policy of retrenchment be pursued in the State finances in place of increased taxation. He advised among other things a reduction in the number of supreme court justices from five to four, a reformation in the militia system, a repeal of the license system, and a revision of the criminal code to reduce the death penalty. He urged that the Insolvency Law of 1838 be made more effective; that the secrecy of the ballot be secured; that the property qualifications which circumscribed the right to vote and hold office in the legislature be eliminated, and that public educational institutions be put in the hands of town and district meetings. Most of these suggestions were in line with the ideals of the rising Democracy, and they gave an insight into the counter policies of the opposition party. They were, however, ignored by the Whig legislature.

Whig Successes (1840–1841)

Morton had scarcely been elected before the Whigs were planning for the campaign of 1840. Everett, desiring to travel, refused to run again, and they turned to ex-governor John Davis of Worcester, now a member of the United States Senate. The Boston *Atlas* and other Whig papers bitterly attacked the Jacksonian radicalism and tried to stir up a patriotic and anti-British feeling over the Maine boundary dispute, declaring that the Democrats were dilatory in their handling of this problem. The Democrats, gathering to themselves large elements of the old Workingmen's and Antimasonic parties, made every effort through Bancroft's *Bay State Democrat* to attract the mechanic and labor vote. Local issues, however, probably had little to do with the actual result, for "Honest John" Davis was swept into the governor's chair on the Harrison national landslide by a majority of

15,000. Although Morton was defeated, as a matter of fact he secured more votes than in the previous year; but the larger proportion of previously unplaced votes, which may have come from increased population or increased interest in the presidential election, were cast for Davis. Tired of twelve years of Democratic rule, the American people had just elected Harrison as an "Indignation President," and the State Democrats went down in the hurricane.

Heartened by the factional split in the national Whig machine resulting from the death of Harrison in 1871, the Massachusetts Democrats worked valiantly to retrieve their position. They denounced Davis as a remnant of outworn Federalism, and asserted that under his administration the Executive had failed to pursue the retrenchment plans advocated by Morton, and that the legislature had dangerously extended the credit of the Commonwealth to the Western Railroad. They presented a list of "rights of labor" measures, for the failure of which they held the Whigs responsible. These included proposals to hold stockholders in banks liable like partners for all funds involved, to abolish all property qualifications for voting, to extend the hours for voting until after sunset, to institute the secret ballot, to provide for the election of sheriffs and probate judges by popular vote, to revise the insolvency law, and to abolish imprisonment for debt. Notwithstanding this excellent bait and the obvious necessity for much of this legislation, Davis was again elected by a small majority (Davis, 55,974; Morton, 51,367), although there was a fifteen-thousand falling off in his vote from that of the presidential year.

THE LIBERTY PARTY (1841–1848)

One significant feature of the results of the 1841 election was the appearance on the political horizon of a forerunner of a new national party, the new Liberty party, which cast 1,081 votes in 1840 and 3,488 in 1841. This party, which appeared as a natural result of the rising antislavery opinion, functioned until absorbed into the Free-soil party in 1848. Although not supported by the Garrisonian "non-resisters," it grew in Massachusetts until 1846, practically holding the balance of power in the State election of 1843. Sufficiently strong to complicate more than one election, the Liberty Party owed its chief significance during the forties to the fact that it acted as a constant reminder of an issue destined to be fundamental in the next decade.

Democratic Return (1842)

The year 1842 saw a return to power of Morton and the Democrats; a reversal to no small extent a result of events outside the State. The democratic tendencies of the pseudo-Whig, Tyler, demoralized the Whig party and also revived its opponents. Daniel Webster, who remained in Tyler's cabinet after the other Whigs had resigned, was forced to explain the reasons for his action in the famous "Faneuil Hall Address" of September 30, 1842, and resigned under heavy pressure as soon as the negotiations with Great Britain over the Maine boundary line were completed.

The Democrats, rejoicing at their unexpected good fortune, entered the campaign of 1842 with renewed enthusiasm; but their ranks were already beginning to split; Henshaw and his friends thought they saw an opportunity to displace Morton, Bancroft, and the other Van Buren Democrats by building up a Tyler-Calhoun machine in Massachusetts. Their activities were still under cover, for only a united front could bring success in the coming election.

More potent than the national situation in its influence on Massachusetts politics was the Democratic revolution of 1842 in Rhode Island. There the "Algerine" or conservative legislature refused to recognize the will of the people as expressed in their vote of 1842 for a more liberal constitution; and the liberals under Thomas W. Dorr were forced into open rebellion. Feeling ran so high in New England that it was impossible for public men not to express themselves; and it soon became evident in Massachusetts that the Whigs were in sympathy with the conservative property-holding "Algerines;" and the Democrats with the followers of Dorr. Hence Morton, offering a reform platform which included retrenchment of expenditures, extension of education, and free suffrage, polled 1,500 votes more than his opponent Davis

(56,491 to 54,939). As the Liberty party received 6,382, almost double their vote of the previous year, there was no majority over all, but in the end the Democrats were successful in obtaining the governorship and control of the State senate.

Democratic Reform (1843)

Asserting that he had been elected by the people to reform abuses, Morton in his inaugural urged the abolition of capital punishment, except in aggravated cases of murder; the elimination of double voting; a reduction in the poll tax; and a reform in taxation which would lift some of the burden from the poor and place it upon the rich by taxing more effectively such personal property as shares in stock companies and money at interest. As in his previous inaugural, he accused the Whig administration of extravagance, and questioned the advisability of large State grants for internal improvements. Although the Senate Democrats passed bills establishing the secret ballot, eliminating the poll tax, popularizing the tenure of judicial offices, redistricting cities for representation in the legislature, and prohibiting large additions to the State debt without consent of the voters, the Whigs in the lower house refused their assent. Hence only three Democratic measures were allowed to become law: a bill abolishing the poll tax for males between sixteen and twenty, an act repealing the "sunset" law which had closed the polls at dark, and a bill introducing the principle of individual liability of stockholders.

His reform program halted by the Whig members of the lower house, Morton was further harassed by the fact that his own party was weakening itself through factional quarrels. Henshaw, supported by Robert Rantoul, Jr., Benjamin F. Hallett, and Charles G. Greene, and in coöperation with the Washington administration, was working might and main to build up a Tyler-Calhoun machine and to push from power the supporters of Van Buren, led by Bancroft and Morton. Henshaw was appointed Secretary of the Navy upon a Cabinet shift following the resignation of Webster (an appointment not confirmed by the Senate); Rantoul was made collector of the port of Boston in place of the Whig, Levi Lincoln (appointed by Harrison); and Hallett became the leader of the

Calhoun group in the State convention, which was nevertheless forced to renominate Morton.

Governor Briggs (1843–1844)

The campaign of 1843 was characterized by the most unwarranted accusations that Morton had won the previous election by bribery, and by exceptional bitterness on the part of the Whigs because of the defection of Tyler. In the place of Davis, who had retired for the moment after his defeat but was soon to return to the Senate, the Republicans headed their ticket with George N. Briggs, Congressman from Berkshire, and John Reed, of Yarmouth. Sure of their city constituencies, the choice of Briggs was a direct bid for the vote of the Democratic small farmers and frontiersmen, who had been an important element in the Democratic strength.

The result of the election of 1843 was a restoration of the Whigs to State power; the vote being Briggs, 57,899; Morton, 54,242, and S. E. Sewell (Liberty), 8,901. The causes for the Democratic reversal are hard to state with exactness, but there seems no doubt that the split in the party between the proslavery Calhounites and the Van Buren abolitionists played a part in conjunction with the rising Liberty Party.

As Briggs received only a plurality of the popular vote, his election was not consummated until the legislature met in January of 1844; but the office upon which he entered in that month he was destined to hold for seven years. "Briggs", says Schouler, "was a person of plain and simple manners, with a kind and affectionate heart, and yet a becoming dignity of bearing. He had good sense, a harmonizing disposition, and was honest as the day, temperate, and sincere. Men of the highest social importance here in Massachusetts were content to serve under him in legislature, civil office, or town and local magistracy. The voters of the State, moreover, were well satisfied with such a chief ruler. In person he was of good height, with a calm blue eye, a healthy complexion, and a well-knit figure."

Cotton Whigs in Power (1843–1849)

Briggs represented the "Cotton Whigs," men of the type of Abbott Lawrence, Nathan Appleton, and Daniel Webster, who felt that the slavery issue was best handled by shunning it. To a group who hoped to quiet the turbulent waters of the antislavery agitation, the popular and soothing Briggs seemed ideal; but to Emerson he was "an excellent middle man; he looks well when speaking, and seems always just ready to say something good, but never said anything; he is an *orateur manqué*."

With Briggs in the Governor's chair and a safe majority in the legislature, the Whigs proceeded to attack Morton's appointments and to reverse his policies. In the United States Senate they secured the rejection of Henshaw's designation to the Navy and Rantoul's appointment to the collectorship. The Tyler-Calhoun faction seemed for the moment sufficiently squelched; but the situation among the Van Burenites was little better. Morton, who so long had headed the State ticket, withdrew in favor of Bancroft, who received the next gubernatorial nomination.

In the election of 1844, such local issues as the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island and the extension of the suffrage were revived; but in reality State politics were at last dominated by the national contest. Bancroft had labored for Van Buren at the Baltimore convention; but when he found the latter's nomination was impossible, he became a leading influence in the choice of Polk. Both the Tyler-Calhoun Democrats and the Van Buren Democrats in Massachusetts were disappointed; but they smothered their differences and worked for Polk. The Democratic party was successful nationally, though it could not carry Massachusetts. The State was too strongly Whig and antiannexationist, and it cast a majority vote for Clay a week after the New York State vote had made Polk's election certain. Briggs polled 69,570; Bancroft, 54,714; and Sewell (Liberty), 9,635. The increasing Liberty vote as well as the 10,000 cast for James G. Birney began to point clearly to the force that was destined ere long to disintegrate both of the older parties.

National Influence in Massachusetts (1845–1846)

Polk, who had been a Jacksonian rather than a Calhoun

Democrat, now bestowed his Massachusetts patronage upon the Van Buren faction. Bancroft was made Secretary of the Navy, and ex-governor Morton, collector of the port of Boston. But the Henshaw-Rantoul-Hallett group could not be entirely denied; they secured minor posts, and busied themselves with intrigues to undermine the prestige of the dominant faction. Nor was all serene in the camp of the Whigs. Rufus Choate retired from the Federal Senate to allow his friend Webster to return; but Webster's close relations with Tyler had antagonized many politicians, and he no longer had the unanimous backing of the conservative Whigs. The abolitionist Whigs were becoming restive under the leadership of the "Cotton Whigs." This opposition was aggravated by the expulsion of Samuel Hoar from Charleston, South Carolina, whither he had been sent to protest against the treatment of negro seamen who were citizens of Massachusetts. The Whigs were also disturbed in the election of 1845 by the formation of a Republican-American Party which had come into prominence by the election of a mayor in Boston, and which now presented a State ticket on a platform of restriction of Irish immigration.

The State election of 1845 aroused little interest. The Democrats substituted Isaac Davis of Worcester, a zealous advocate of popular education, for Bancroft, while Briggs and Sewell ran again on their respective tickets. Each of these three received a smaller vote than in the previous year, partly due to the 8,089 votes cast for Henry Shaw, of Lanesborough, the candidate on the American-Republican (Native American) ticket. As no majority resulted from the election, the choice rested with the legislature, strongly Whig in complexion, which quickly reëlected Briggs.

Massachusetts in the Mexican War (1846–1847)

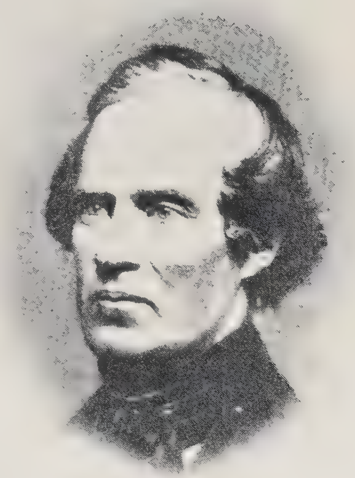
The declaration of war against Mexico in 1846 contributed to complicate the political history of the Bay State. To the factional difficulties already alluded to in the Democratic party, the War with Mexico now offered a new source of friction. Bancroft did not approve of the war, and numerous Massachusetts Democrats saw in it simply a slaveholders' plot to annex more slave territory. The Whigs were even more divided on the question. In the United States Senate, John Davis had voted against the war, though Webster had offered no opposition. Many of the younger Whigs, such as Charles Sumner, J. G. Palfrey, and Charles Francis Adams, violently opposed the war; and "their disagreement with the conservative Whigs," says Darling, "marks the beginning of the Free Soil movement." Even the conservative Governor Briggs refused to give commissions to the officers of a certain company of volunteer militia, unless they agreed that they would not march beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts. At the same time the Boston *Whig,* a leading party organ, vigorously denounced the war as a result of the alliance between the "Cotton Whigs" of the North and the slave expansionists of the South.

In the State elections of 1846, however, both parties patched their differences long enough to present a united front. Again there were four tickets headed by the same men as in the previous years, except that the Native Americans substituted Francis Baylies for Shaw. The vote (Briggs, 54,831; Davis, 33,199; Sewell, 9,997; Baylies, 3,423) showed the Democratic total lower than at any time since 1834. The Native-Americans cast less than half their vote of the previous year. The Liberty Party polled its greatest vote. The votes for Sewell and Baylies seem to have been drawn chiefly from the Whigs, the small Democratic vote probably being due to internal friction in the party.

The machinations of the Henshaw faction were so efficient that, under the chairmanship of Hallett, they were able to control the Democratic party convention at Worcester in 1847. There they set aside Davis, and nominated for governor Caleb Cushing, formerly a Tyler-Whig, and now a brigadier general in the Mexican War. They passed resolutions supporting Polk, approving the Walker tariff, the subtreasury, and Morton's policies while governor.

Slavery as an Issue (1847–1848)

Outwardly harmonious, the convention was forced to face the real issue dividing its councils toward the end of the ses-



From photographs

George Nixon Briggs

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

Caleb Cushing

sion. Amasa Walker presented a resolution, apparently based on the famous Wilmot Proviso introduced in the National House that year, opposing the extension of slavery into any territory which might in the future be acquired by the United States. This resolution was never voted on, but it pointed to a coming split in the Democratic ranks. The Whigs at their convention were confronted with the same problem when Palfrey, one of the younger and more radical delegates, offered a resolution (which was rejected) that the Whig party refuse to support any candidates for the Presidency except those known to oppose the extension of slavery. The results of the fall election were undoubtedly influenced by the Mexican War, then in progress. Briggs won a majority of the votes, Cushing polled six thousand more than had Davis in the previous election, while there was a decline in both the Liberty and Native-American support.

State politics in 1848 was inevitably influenced by the national campaign, which was much disturbed by the slavery issue in its new form, now concerned, as it was, with the terms of organization of the annexed territory. The Whigs had hoped for the nomination of Webster for the Presidency, but made the best of Taylor, and again presented Biggs and Reed on the State ticket. After the national Democratic nomination of Cass, the antislavery Democrats broke from their party allegiance, joined in the Free-soil convention, and accepted the candidacy of Van Buren on their ticket. A Massachusetts man, and son of an ex-president, was nominated for vice-president,—Charles Francis Adams, whom Morton described as "the greatest Iceberg in the Northern Hemisphere." A convention called in September to organize a Free-soil party in Massachusetts included such radical Whigs as Charles Sumner; many Van Buren Democrats of the type of John Mills, Amasa Walker, John A. Bolles and Dr. Abner Phillips; and numerous representatives of the Liberty Party.

Marcus Morton did not join the Free-soilers in this campaign, but his son played a prominent part. Their nominees were S. C. Phillips, a Whig merchant of Salem, for governor, and John Mills of Springfield for lieutenant governor. The more radical Democrats were now allied to the new party.

The regular Democrats renominated Cushing. It is doubtful whether Whigs or Democrats contributed the most to the new Free-soil party; but it is certain that the process thoroughly disrupted the Democratic organization. The vote in the election of 1848 was: Briggs, 61,640; Phillips, 36,011; Cushing, 25,323; scattering, 1,081. The Democrats were a poor third.

Free-soil Party (1848–1850)

The Free-soil party was an inevitable outcome of the War with Mexico, and it expressed the fundamental political issue of the fifties. The new party prevented a clear majority over all for Briggs, thus throwing the election into the legislature, where he had a majority. The election of the Louisianian, Zachary Taylor, as President in 1848, and with it the loss of Federal patronage in New England, for the moment badly weakened the Democratic machine in Massachusetts, and Briggs was easily reëlected in 1849. Caleb Cushing, although he had established himself in the previous year as perhaps the most influential of the Democratic leaders in the State, declined to run again in 1849. So the state ticket that year was headed by George S. Boutwell, an Antislavery Democrat, already recognized as a powerful legislative debater, then on the threshold of a long and influential political career.

The political situation of 1849 quickly changed. The compromise of 1850 with its hated Fugitive Slave Law aroused the anger of the Free-soil leaders to a white heat, and their denunciation of Webster after his "Seventh of March Speech" in 1850 knew no bounds. At a meeting in the Adams House at Boston in September, Henry Wilson, Free-soil leader and later United States Senator and Vice-President, proposed a coalition with the Democrats in the fall elections for the purpose of securing a legislature that would choose a Free-soil Senator. Although the project was strongly opposed by the prominent Free-soilers, except Sumner, it was spontaneously followed in the autumn contest. The results suggested the possibility of a Democratic-Free-soil coalition.

Election of Sumner to the Senate (1849)

As the Free-soilers were primarily interested in sending

Charles Sumner to the Senate, an understanding was soon arrived at by which the Democrats, in return for the control of State offices elected by the legislature, agreed to support Sumner. In accordance with this agreement, Henry Wilson was chosen president of the Senate; Nathaniel P. Banks, Free-soil Democrat, became speaker of the House; and George S. Boutwell was made governor. Robert Rantoul, Jr., but recently weaned from the Henshaw-Calhoun faction of Democrats, was elected to fill out Webster's term in the Senate, the latter having resigned to become Secretary of State in the Pierce Cabinet.

Although these elections progressed according to schedule, the opposition of the Whigs to this combination was intense. They received help from a small group of regular Democrats led by Caleb Cushing, now representing Newburyport in the House. In Cushing's mind, the preservation of the Union was more important than the question of slavery; and he led a group which believed that the election of Sumner would be a catastrophe for the Nation. In the Democratic caucus, Cushing presented resolutions against the support of Sumner; and when he failed there, he took the fight to the floor of the House. Between January 14 and April 24 twenty-six ballots were taken, ending with the choice of Sumner by a majority of one.

In the hope of breaking the deadlock, the Senatorship had been offered to Wilson; but the latter stood firm for Sumner, asserting that the "coalition was not formed for his personal benefit, nor for George S. Boutwell's; it was formed to give Massachusetts a state government not under control of powerful corporations, and a senator who would wake up the echoes of freedom in the Capitol of the nation; and they must keep voting till doomsday, if need be to accomplish the result."

In the length and severity of the contest this senatorial election has probably never been duplicated in any State of the Union, and it is doubtful whether any election to the Senate has been fraught with more important consequences. This coalition of 1850-1851 put in the Senate a brilliant orator to lead the Free-soil cause, and it placed the State government for the first time in the hands of a group of politicians who were steadfastly and aggressively opposed to slavery. It also gave impetus to the Democratic movement which attempted in 1853 to write a new Constitution, and succeeded during the fifties in reforming election practices. This coalition, by breaking the power of the "Cotton Whigs," and paving the way for Republican success, opened a new era in Massachusetts politics.

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CHAPTER IV

DANIEL WEBSTER, STATESMAN
(1782–1852)

By Claude M. Fuess
Phillips Andover Academy

A New Englander

For the national Hall of Fame in New York City, the first New Englander to be chosen was Daniel Webster. The decision was generally approved, for Webster, more in some respects than any other American statesman, stirred the popular imagination. Nature, when she moulded him, was in a lavish mood; as Whittier described him—

> "New England's stateliest type of man,
> In port and speech Olympian."

His imperial presence, his affluent personality, his robust masculinity were all calculated to arouse admiration, and he looked and acted like a leader. In public affairs no American of his generation made a more important or enduring contribution to history.

Daniel Webster, by inheritance, training, and temperament, was ideally qualified to represent the "upper circle" of Massachusetts society, the "solid men of Boston," merchants and manufacturers and bankers and members of the professional classes. He was never any man's tool. He was too honest and independent to be subservient to anybody. He was not even a consistent adherent of a party: although he helped to organize the Whigs, he more than once opposed their policies and he was largely responsible for their downfall. Massachusetts at that period was, in spite of an occasional radical moment, conservative in its mood; and most of its trusted citizens—men like Levi Lincoln and Caleb Cushing and John Davis and Rufus Choate, were upholders of the established order. Of this stable society Webster was the dominating voice,—a voice sonorous, clear, and reassuring. He was New England's trumpeter, always at his post to defend her against aspersion.

The Commonwealth, in return, was proud of him, gave him banquets and endorsed his notes, cast votes fruitlessly for him as President, and heaped honors upon him in profusion. In his attitude on the tariff, on internal improvements, on nullification, on paper currency, on the national bank, on Texas, and on slavery, he spoke authoritatively for his constituents. Even when he differed from them at first, his persuasive eloquence would usually bring them over to his side. His sound judgment made him a safe counsellor. Massachusetts could rely upon Daniel Webster. He seemed as substantial as the New Hampshire granite from which he sprang.

Webster a Nationalist

Although he labored always in the interests of Massachusetts, his knowledge and his ambitions far transcended his own local environment. Except for a few days' service in the Massachusetts Legislature, he never held public office except under the national government. Ten years as Congressman, nineteen as United States Senator, five as Secretary of State —that is a remarkable record of constructive service. Rhodes has said that the history of the United States for a quarter of a century before 1850 might be written from the speeches, state papers, and letters of Webster. His was a mind which comprehended the Nation as a unified whole; he visited other sections than his own and thought in terms not of North or South or West, but of an entire continent. It seemed entirely fitting that he should open his "Seventh of March Speech" with the words, "I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American." Nevertheless, his strength was always from New England, and he instinctively returned to Marshfield or Boston to renew his vitality at the sources from which it had been derived.

Early Life (1782–1795)

Although Webster is usually thought of as a Massachusetts man, he was actually born in New Hampshire, on a farm in

Stevenstown (now Franklin), near what was then the American frontier. His first colonial ancestor settled at Hampton in 1636; and his father, Captain Ebenezer Webster, was a stalwart pioneer, a tall swarthy man, with a heart "which he seemed to have borrowed from a lion." He won a commission in the French and Indian War under Lord Jeffrey Amherst and fought through the Revolution. His lack both of money and of a formal education did not prevent him from serving in both houses of the New Hampshire legislature, sitting in the State convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, and becoming a lay judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county.

After the death of his first wife in 1774, he married Abigail Eastman, by whom he had three daughters and two sons: Ezekiel, the older, and Daniel, born January 18, 1782, in a frame dwelling three miles west of the Merrimac. A year later Captain Webster moved to Elms Farm, in the present town of Franklin, about fifteen miles north of Concord. Here, not far from the river and in sight of the White Mountains, the lads were brought up.

Daniel was delicate and sickly, and therefore was excused from the heavier tasks on the farm. Captain Webster once said to his wife, "We must give him up; we can never raise this child." Nevertheless, after the numerous illnesses of boyhood had passed, he became a vigorous man, capable of enduring great fatigues. He survived his brother Ezekiel, supposed to have a much sturdier constitution, by more than twenty years. Much of his boyhood was spent outdoors, learning to love nature in even her sternest aspects. In his *Autobiography,* written in 1830, Webster declared that he could not remember a time when he could not read the Bible. Like the other children of that sparsely settled neighborhood, he trudged two or three miles daily to the town schools; and he found in the small local circulating library such works as the *Spectator,* Pope's *Essay on Man,* and *Don Quixote.*

School and College (1796–1801)

In May, 1796, Captain Webster, who perceived his son's promise, took him to the Phillips Exeter Academy to be taught under that great preceptor, Benjamin Abbot. A shy sensitive youth, not particularly well dressed, he did not mix with his schoolmates. He was encouraged by his teachers to continue with his education, though nervous timidity prevented him from speaking before the school; and he was unable to participate in the formal declamation exercises. After nine months at Exeter he was placed under a Boscawen clergyman. He entered Dartmouth, rather poorly prepared, in the autumn of 1797.

He was at fifteen years of age a slender lad "of swarthy skin, spare of frame, thin-faced, with prominent cheek-bones and piercing black eyes." His roommate, Bingham, said of him, "He had an independent air and was rather careless in dress and appearance, but showed an intelligent look." For the first two years of his course his record was no more than commonplace. Then he seemed suddenly to find himself, and, as a junior, wrote essays and verses and won praise for his public speaking. He developed gradually, acquiring self-confidence as a result of normal growth. Investigation has revealed that, as an undergraduate, "he read much, but did not seek or reach the highest honors." Still he was sufficiently outstanding to be selected in 1800 by the citizens of Hanover to deliver an Independence Day oration, and he acquitted himself with credit. He graduated in 1801 with some distinction.

Apprenticeship in the Law (1801–1812)

Webster now commenced the study of law in the good old-fashioned way in the office of a Salisbury attorney. Meanwhile his brother Ezekiel had entered Dartmouth, and in order to aid him financially, Daniel accepted employment as head of an academy at Fryeburg, Maine, in the shadow of the White Mountains. Not yet twenty years old, he spent the winter days in teaching and the evenings in copying deeds, at one shilling, six pence, for each document. When the session was over, he was urged to remain at Fryeburg; but he wisely resumed his studies at Salisbury, spending his leisure hours by himself in the woods and along the streams. "When thinking is to be done," he wrote later, "one must, of course, be alone. No man knows himself who does not thus sometimes keep his own company."

Seeking a wider field, Webster in 1804, went to Boston and, through the impression made by his unusual personality, secured a place in the office of Christopher Gore, a wealthy and polished gentleman who later rose to be Governor and United States Senator. In March, 1805, on Gore's motion, he was admitted to practice law and set out at once for New Hampshire. There, unwilling to abandon his now infirm father, he hung out his shingle in the village of Boscawen. For two years, in a society which had for him no charms, he devoted himself to "a life of writs and summonses," earning about $600 annually in fees, but consoling himself by hard study. When his father died in April, 1806, Daniel turned over his Boscawen clients to his brother and moved to Portsmouth, where, in May, 1807, he was entered as a counselor of the Supreme Court.

Webster's extensive reading and lonely meditation were now valuable assets, and his experience in Salisbury and Boscawen had familiarized him with technical legal procedure. In the professional competition which he faced at Portsmouth, he held his own from the beginning, and his powers developed rapidly as his opportunities broadened. With other members of the bar, such as Jeremiah Smith and Jeremiah Mason, he followed the circuits of the Superior Court from one county to another, with such success that he was soon conceded to be one of the leading advocates in the State. His income jumped almost at once to approximately $2,000 a year. Now financially independent, he married, May 29, 1808, Grace Fletcher, daughter of a Hopkinton clergyman, a woman of gentle nature and unmistakable charm. Webster was probably never happier than from 1808 to 1819.

THE ROCKINGHAM MEMORIAL (1812)

Webster's entrance into practical politics was unpremeditated. Under his father's instruction, he had been brought up with a high regard for Washington and Hamilton and a reverence for the Constitution, which he first read as a boy from the print on a cotton handkerchief. In a period of strong party feeling when every intelligent man had to take sides, Daniel Webster's inherited conservatism made him a Federalist. As a resident of a prosperous seaport, he deplored the policies of President Jefferson, especially the Embargo Acts, which threatened to destroy the commerce of the coast States. In 1808 he published a thin pamphlet in which he argued against the constitutionality of an unlimited embargo, but it failed to gain attention.

June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on England. Webster by that date had become one of Portsmouth's foremost citizens, and his Independence Day oration a few weeks later was listened to with sober attention. Courageously pointing out that the offenses of France had been just as flagrant as those of Great Britain, he exposed the war as inexpedient and wrong. This address was widely circulated as antiwar propaganda; and the orator, representing Portsmouth at an assembly of the people of his county, drew up the so-called Rockingham Memorial, in which he dwelt upon the danger to the Union from the action of a "small but heated majority," and went so far as to say: "We shrink from the separation of the States, as an event fraught with incalculable evils" ; and he concluded: "The Government may be assured that the tie which binds us to the Union will never be broken by us." Nothing in the Rockingham Memorial is inconsistent with Webster's later views on the inviolability of the Federal Union.

Member of Congress (1813–1817)

The Rockingham Convention led to Webster's nomination and election to Congress. He took his seat at the special session opening May 24, 1812. Henry Clay was then Speaker and John C. Calhoun was a member of the Military Committee, both ardent supporters of the war. Webster himself was named on the Committee on Foreign Relations, but was displaced at the beginning of the second session. Although not much over thirty, he had come out at once as a leader of the opposition, his first speech being a discussion of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, in which he examined the causes of the war with England.

Throughout that conflict he was a gadfly to the administration. He attacked a proposal for increasing the bounty on enlistments; he fought a plan for a compulsory draft of soldiers, arguing that individual States alone had the right of conscription; he spoke against a plan for doubling the land tax; he criticised the conduct of the war, urging the military leaders to abandon their "futile projects" for the invasion of Canada and to "go to the ocean." When the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts were repealed (April 7, 1814), he broke into a chant of triumph. Stopping always just short of sedition, he did all that he could to embarrass President Madison and his Cabinet. On the other hand, he disapproved of the strong New England movement for separation from the Union; and he urged New Hampshire not to send delegates to the Hartford Convention.

During his two terms in Congress, Webster spoke frequently on matters of national policy. When a national bank was proposed, he, as a true Hamiltonian, blocked a plan for irredeemable paper money and advocated a specie-paying institution. Although he could not prevent the passage of the original bill, he did succeed in eliminating some objectionable features. Business men found in Webster a champion of their interests, a leader ready to succeed Hamilton as the opponent of the agrarian philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. On the tariff, however, Webster showed himself to be, like most of the New England Federalists, a theoretical free trader. At that period the prosperity of the Northeast was dependent mainly on its commerce, and the development of manufacturing was only just beginning. More than a decade passed before practical considerations made Webster a reluctant convert to the doctrine of protection for "infant industries."

Return to the Law (1816–1818)

When the Fourteenth Congress expired in 1817, Webster was established as a resident of Boston, once more a lawyer and determined to abandon political life. Not thirty-five years of age, he had reached the pinnacle of his profession in New Hampshire, and craved a wider field. In August, 1816, the Websters took up their abode on Mount Vernon Street. He fitted into Boston society as if he had been born on Beacon

Hill; and for the remainder of his career he was regarded as a true Bostonian.

While in Congress, Webster had not relinquished his legal practice. During the winter of 1813-1814 he argued several cases before the Supreme Court. He took his place at once among the most sought-for attorneys. When he opened an office in Boston, he was received by his competitors as an equal. Curtis estimated that his fees from 1818 to 1823 could not have been much less than $20,000 a year—a large professional income for those days.

Like most of the lawyers of his time, Webster occasionally accepted criminal cases, and some of his pleas have become classics. Notable was his successful defense of the Kenniston brothers, accused in 1817 of assaulting and robbing a man named Goodridge. In 1821 he was counsel for Judge Prescott, when he was impeached before the Massachusetts Senate on the charge of corruption. His most notable achievement was the securing of the conviction, in 1820, of Francis and Joseph Knapp for complicity in the murder of Captain White of Salem. Rufus Choate, and later George S. Boutwell, maintained that Webster's most thrilling oratorical effort was his summing-up in the trial of Francis Knapp, in which he concluded: "It must be confessed, it will be confessed; there is no refuge from confession but suicide, and suicide is confession."

Brilliant though he could be before a jury, Webster was even better suited to argument before a court, and it was his destiny to be identified with controversies which settled momentous constitutional questions. In a series of important suits, Webster defended the power and jurisdiction of the Federal Government, thus enabling Chief Justice John Marshall to add one stone after another to the firm constitutional structure which he had been erecting ever since his appointment in 1801. Of these great cases, the first was that of Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward.

The Dartmouth College Case (1818)

This celebrated case goes back to the charter of Dartmouth College issued by King George Third in 1769. The institution continued without interruption under the charter after the Revolution. When national parties were formed, the trustees of Dartmouth proved to be Federalists in the State party struggle. The Democratic Legislature, in the spring of 1815, passed an act creating a new institution, to be called Dartmouth University, and transferring to it all the property and powers of Dartmouth College. The college trustees put up a vigorous fight. Defeated before the Supreme Court of the State, they appealed, on a writ of error, to the Supreme Court of the United States. Webster, as counsel, was virtually the sole reliance of the plaintiffs; but he fully justified their confidence. In March, 1818, in an argument more than five hours long, he shrewdly stressed the point that it was an attack by the evil forces of democracy on the institutions of conservatism—an argument which would appeal to Marshall. The technical point which he raised very late in the case, and most insistently stressed, was the claim that the Dartmouth charter was an irrevocable contract contrary to the Federal Constitution, which stipulated that no State could pass an act impairing the obligation of contracts.

In an audacious mood at the end of his formal speech, he appealed to the emotions of the judges:

"Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out, But if you do so, you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those greater lights of science which for more than a century have thrown their radiance over our land. It is, sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it. . . ."

Here, we are told, his voice broke, and his glowing eyes were suffused with tears. The court listened eagerly to his closing words:

"Sir, I know not how others may feel, but, for myself, when I see my *alma mater* surrounded, like Cæsar in the senate-house, by those who are reiterating stab after stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me and say, *Et tu quoque, mi filli! And thou too, my son!*"

The debt which Webster owed to Dartmouth was repaid in full then and there. Justice Story, who had been counted as one of the opponents of the college, was converted by Webster's eloquence; and, when the decision was rendered by the Chief Justice himself in February, 1819, it established the principle that a private charter creates a corporation under the protection of that clause in the Constitution which prohibits States from passing laws impairing the obligation of contracts. This doctrine, which immensely widened the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, has been cited in more than a thousand subsequent cases, and has been sustained on every occasion when it has been questioned. After the decision, Joseph Hopkinson wrote to President Francis Brown, of Dartmouth, "I would have an inscription over the door of your building, 'Founded by Eleazar Wheelock, Refounded by Daniel Webster.' "

Webster as a Constitutional Lawyer

The Dartmouth affair was the first of a long series of cases in which Webster appeared as an interpreter of the Constitution, usually upholding the authority of the Federal Government over the individual States. Fifty-four of these are cited by Wheeler in order to show the influence of Webster in the field of constitutional law. One of the most significant was Gibbons *v.* Ogden (1824), testing the validity of a New York statute granting to Fulton and Livingston the exclusive right of steam navigation on all the waterways in the State. Webster was summoned unexpectedly to appear before the Supreme Court on the following morning. After working for eleven consecutive hours to complete his brief, he addressed the Supreme Bench in one of the most lucid and forceful pleas he ever made. It was his thesis—later sustained by the Court—that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce is complete and entire, and that no State can grant a monopoly over its waterways.

Among other cases of hardly less importance was McCulloch *v.* Maryland (1819), in which Webster used the famous argument that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and the Court duly denied the right of a state government to tax the United States Bank. The case of Ogden *v.* Saunders (1827) settled the question as to the relative jurisdiction of

Congress and of the States in the matter of bankruptcy. Charles River Bridge *v.* Warren Bridge (1837) involved the right of a State to charter a free bridge in competition with a previously chartered toll bridge. In Rhode Island *v.* Massachusetts (1846) Webster, associated with Rufus Choate, won a victory for their state in a dispute over a boundary line. The Passenger Cases (1849) brought Webster for the last time before the Supreme Court on a constitutional problem—the authority of a State to impose a tax on alien passengers brought within its borders. Through his arguments in these and many similar cases runs a consistent and clear theory of a strong central government, supreme over the whole people, with rights and powers which must be respected and obeyed.

Webster's Legal Reputation

Webster as an advocate had his failures, among them the Girard Will Case (1844), in which he argued unsuccessfully that the bequest of Stephen Girard for a college in Philadelphia was not a charity because it provided for an institution in which the teaching of Christianity was forbidden. On the whole, he rendered an extraordinary service in his arguments for a strong, just, and stable government. While he was, perhaps, less learned in precedents than some of his opponents, he was aided by his legal acumen and an amazingly accurate memory. In one or two departments he was undoubtedly excelled by other men—Choate, for instance, being his superior with a jury. But Webster, although he was not fond of protracted investigations and often was impatient regarding details, had a rare faculty for seizing upon the real point at issue. When the facts had been outlined by a junior counsel, Webster would scan the brief and toil at top speed in preparation for his argument. He was not easily stirred to action; but, once aroused, he was irresistible.

In the midst of a life devoted so largely to legislative duties, Webster could not labor unremittingly at his profession. In the intervals between Congressional sessions, he could always be sure of important clients and large fees. At the Supreme Court session for January, 1830,—the month in which he delivered his Reply to Hayne,—he argued thirteen cases involving a variety of principles. As to his prestige there can be no doubt. William H. Seward asserted that "fifty thousand lawyers in the United States conceded him an unapproachable supremacy at the bar." He is probably more quoted, even today, than any other American lawyer.

Webster's Great Orations (1820–1826)

The Dartmouth College Case gave Webster a national reputation as a constitutional lawyer. The "Plymouth Oration," December 22, 1820, at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, established his fame as a public speaker. The slender youth had developed into an imposing man, with a large and noble head, an enormous chest, "Jove's own brow," and a voice of great compass and carrying power. His mere presence aroused awe among those who listened to him. His style, which had formerly been sometimes bombastic and florid, was now a pleasing combination of simplicity and grandeur. He was praised as a man

"Whose words, in simplest homespun clad,
The Saxon strength of Caedmon's had,
With power reserved at need to reach
The Roman forum's loftiest speech."

He did not always escape being platitudinous—what orator does? But Webster, with his sonorous tones, could make even a platitude sound like a declaration from an oracle. The "Plymouth Oration" was conceived on a giant scale, and he ranged without difficulty over "vast spaces of time and thought." George Ticknor described Webster as being "conscious of his own powers," and it is probable that he never, in all his career, reached a more exalted height.

The address delivered on June 17, 1825, at Bunker Hill, on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, has made a more lasting impression, possibly because its balanced sentences have been memorized by so many generations of American school boys. It was spoken in the open air, and it was estimated at the time that at least fifty thousand people heard him distinctly. Curtis was struck by the quality of his voice, which, though high-pitched, was never shrill, and had unusual richness of tone. Some of the paragraphs, especially the sections addressed to the veterans of the battle and to Lafayette, were composed by Webster as he waded down Mashpee Brook casting for trout; and with all of it he had taken the utmost pains, correcting and revising. In unity, logical continuity, and poetic imagery it is an improvement on the Plymouth Oration.

Somewhat more than a year later, August 2, 1826, he delivered in Faneuil Hall his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, containing the masterly imaginary speech of John Adams so often declaimed by embryonic orators in our schools. These three addresses, considered in conjunction with some of his later speeches, won him the foremost position among American orators, and his preëminence has never since been seriously questioned.

WEBSTER'S REPUTATION IN ORATORY

Webster, as an orator, created the taste which he gratified. He was a student of elocutionary technique. To a natural earnestness and depth of feeling, he joined a knowledge of all those devices by which the hearts of men may be stirred and their souls be lifted up. He knew when to pause, when to repeat, and when to slacken his pace, and he did not allow his audience to become weary or bored. Emerson said of him in 1834 that

"When he launched the genuine word,
It shook or captivated all who heard."

It may well be questioned whether people today would listen patiently to an address two hours in length. For Webster, everybody sat spellbound. In his old age, we are told, he was sometimes ponderous on ordinary occasions. Even then, if something happened to rouse him, he would glow with the former fire. Edward Everett was probably more studied; Rufus Choate was more brilliantly imaginative; Wendell Phillips, at his best, may have been more emotional. Yet if the effect produced is a fair test of oratory, no one in the United States has ever surpassed Daniel Webster.

Return to Congress (1823–1825)

It was inevitable that Webster, so intimately acquainted with political matters and so widely known among influential people, should be drawn into public life in Massachusetts. In 1820 he was chosen as a member of the State Constitutional Convention, where he was welcomed as a leader of conservative sentiment. He favored the removal of a religious test for officeholders, and gained his point; he argued successfully for the retention of the clause apportioning the members of the State Senate on the basis of the taxable property in the districts; and he spoke valiantly in support of certain measures intended to protect the independence of the judiciary. Impressed by Webster's active part in the debates, Judge Story wrote of him, "He was known before as a lawyer; but now he has secured the title of an eminent and enlightened statesman."

In 1822, with some honest reluctance, Webster was elected to Congress from the Suffolk District, in Boston. It was a period of uncertainty in government affairs, when Massachusetts was involved in what Webster called "this miserable, dirty squabble of local politics," and it is difficult to say just what party he represented; on the floor of the House he avoided partisan quarrels, showing an interest only in business which concerned the nation at large.

His first long speech was made on January 19, 1824, in behalf of the Greeks, who were then struggling to free themselves from Turkish domination. For this appeal Webster had made careful preparation, and when a collection of his works was later published, he wrote to the editor, "There is nothing in the book which I think so well of as parts of this speech." One of his chief motives was to present a conception of the American Union as a strong nation, unafraid to exert its rightful influence on public opinion throughout the world. That he failed to get tangible results was due to the timidity of his colleagues, who would not let his resolutions come to a vote.

As a legislator, Webster was most industrious. He finished the winter of 1824-25 "as thin as shad," with much of his energy depleted. Henry Clay, as Speaker, appointed Webster chairman of the Judiciary Committee, in which capacity he promoted some important measures, including the "Crimes Act," in which the whole body of Federal criminal law was for the first time codified and digested. He introduced a farsighted bill for the improvement of the Federal judiciary, only to have it blocked by the votes of Western Senators.

SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS (1827–1829)

Webster earnestly desired to succeed Rufus King in 1826 as minister to Great Britain; but President Adams was not disposed to further his ambition. After some consultation with his friends, Webster allowed himself to be elected in June, 1827, Senator from Massachusetts. In December, leaving his wife ill in New York, he took his place in that historic body where he was to win his most enduring triumphs. From that moment he was always "Senator" Webster to Massachusetts people; and the office was his at any time for the asking. Indeed he became almost a Massachusetts institution, like Faneuil Hall or Plymouth Rock.

Webster had hardly qualified for his seat before he was recalled to New York, where his wife died, January 21, 1828. She was buried in Boston, beneath St. Paul's Church, beside her two children, Grace and Charles. Three others—Fletcher, Julia, and Edward—survived her; and Webster, entrusting them to the care of friends and relatives, returned to the capital, a sad and lonely man.

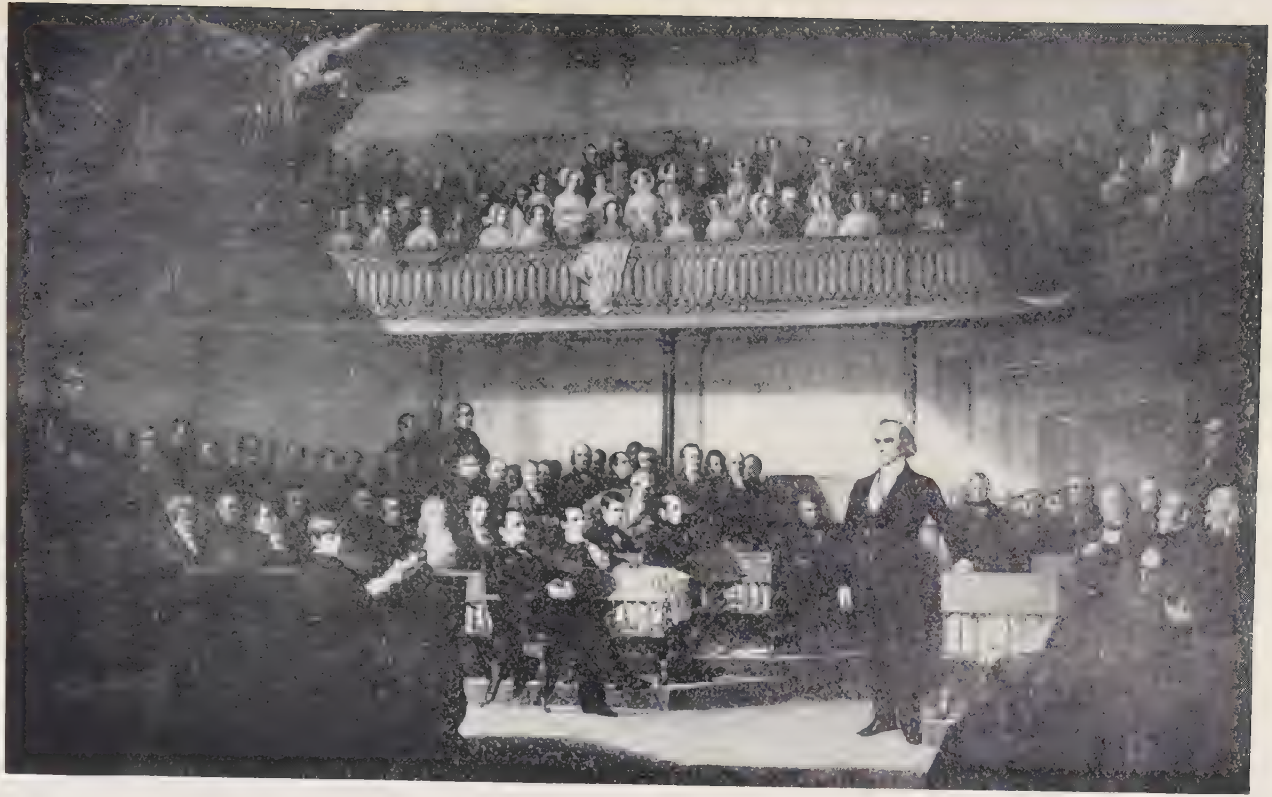
In April he was awakened from his melancholy lethargy by the debate over the Tariff of 1828,—sometimes called the "Tariff of Abominations,"—which was strenuously opposed by the South, especially South Carolina. As the acrimonious discussion drew to a close, Webster, while acknowledging that the bill did not meet with his unqualified approval, announced himself as prepared to vote for it. Massachusetts, he declared, had not originally favored protection; indeed she had opposed the "American System" in 1824; but in view of the increased prosperity brought to New England by its adoption, he was now obliged to admit its benefits to his own section.

Much has been made of Webster's rather sudden change of heart on this question. Essentially he considered the tariff to be a problem not of morals but of expediency. So long as he could see that a protective policy was injurious to New England shipping and importing, he opposed it; but when commerce declined and manufacturing increased, Webster adapted himself to altered conditions. In theory, he had no great enthusiasm for the "American System" ; but he was convinced that, everything considered, it had restored prosperity to New England. The opinions of his constituents differed with regard to his vote; but he was greeted on his return, June 5, 1828, with a public welcome in Faneuil Hall, the first of several such occasions.

The Tariff and Nullification (1830)

The dispute over the tariff undeniably gave Webster his opportunity to stand before the country as the "Defender of the Constitution." South Carolina, in an irritable mood, denounced the "Tariff of Abominations" and, through the "Exposition of 1828" (written by Calhoun), justified nullification as a remedy for her grievances. The matter was not brought before Congress until January 18, 1830, when, in the midst of a prolonged debate on the public lands, Senator Benton, of Missouri, delivered an able speech criticising the attitude of the East towards the West and South. He was followed on the next day by Senator Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, who spoke for Calhoun, who, as Vice-President, was the presiding officer of the Senate. It was then that Webster, who had heard Hayne but not Benton, came forward as the representative of New England.

Webster's "First Reply," delivered January 20, was occupied chiefly with the refutation of the charge that the East had been hostile to the interests of the other parts of the country. Hayne, without any delay, insisted on answering Webster and attacked him in no gentle language, pointing out his apparent inconsistency on the question of tariff. Then, to Webster's delight, Hayne developed at length the theory of nullification held by Calhoun and himself. January 26, Webster rose to speak, with the galleries and the Senate Chamber packed with people. Hayne's speech was forcible, and there were those who felt that Webster had met his match.



From the original by Healy

Webster's Reply to Hayne

Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

When the Massachusetts orator had finished, after four hours of splendid eloquence, the audience was left gasping, and victory was undoubtedly with the North. According to Lodge, this speech marked "the highest point attained by Mr. Webster as a public man." Blaine declared it to be "like an amendment to the Constitution," and McCall said that "it compacted the states into a nation." Certainly its effect upon the nation was and has been more far-reaching than that of any other similar utterance in our history.

Reply to Hayne (1830)

The "Reply to Hayne" was a statement in popular language of doctrines which Webster had already expressed in more technical terms before the Supreme Court. The so-called "compact theory" of the Union held by Calhoun and Hayne was not at all new. Although not explicitly avowed by the signers of the Constitution, it was undoubtedly in the minds of many of them, and it was approved both by the promulgators of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions in 1799, and by some of the delegates to the Hartford Convention of 1814. Secession from the Union was openly discussed by New England during the ten years preceding the War of 1812; and Webster himself, in the Rockingham Memorial, had hinted at its feasibility. From several points of view Hayne was supported by history.

As the government slowly grew in strength and as the momentous decisions of Chief Justice Marshall built up a new conception of the nation, the dangers involved in nullification became more evident. It was Webster's function, in such controversies as the Dartmouth College Case, to expound his view of the supremacy of the Federal Government over an individual State. Now he appeared at precisely the right psychological moment as the champion of an indivisible Union. When he announced "that the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities, but a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people and creating direct relations between itself and individuals," he may not have been historically incontrovertible, but he was speaking a statesmanlike doctrine, which the average patriotic citizen could comprehend.

If we had only this speech on which to base a judgment, Webster would still be America's greatest orator. He employed every conceivable device—sarcasm, logic, pathos, humor, and invective. The sentences were usually short and crisp, but the style was so varied that it did not become monotonous. The imagery was beautifully suited to the subject matter. The magnificent concluding paragraph has been exceeded in popularity only by Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. And back of the speech itself was the magnetic personality of Webster.

Calhoun and Nullification (1832)

The two answers to Hayne must be considered in connection with the battle with Calhoun in 1833. South Carolina, undismayed, passed in November, 1832, the Nullification Ordinance virtually nullifying the revenue laws of the United States, only to learn that President Jackson would urge Congress to adopt a measure authorizing the Executive to enforce the laws by means, if necessary, of the Army and Navy. This "Force Bill," as it was called, was supported by Webster, who on February 15, 1833, replied to Calhoun in a long and carefully constructed speech, which he called "The Constitution not a Compact between the States." It was an able and convincing exercise in sheer logic, less spirited, perhaps, than the Reply to Hayne, but supplementing admirably his previous utterances. As he concluded, after evening had fallen and the lamps had been lighted, the galleries rose and cheered. Jackson wrote to Poinsett that Webster had handled Calhoun "like a child."

Webster vainly opposed Clay's bill for the reduction of the tariff by gradual stages; and, when the Tariff of 1832 was passed, Calhoun had reason to feel that, from the practical point of view, he had achieved his object. In his attempt to compel the Federal Government to relieve his State from what he considered to be unfair taxation, he was in a degree successful. Incidentally, he had drawn from Daniel Webster a statement of the conception of the Union which was later to win the Civil War and defeat all that Calhoun held most dear.

WEBSTER AND THE PRESIDENCY (1832–1841)

Except for his temporary alliance with Jackson against Calhoun on the nullification issue, Webster was by nature an anti-Jackson man. In spite of overtures occasionally made to him by the administration, he fought the President on the United States Bank, attacked his financial policy, and voted for the Senate resolutions censuring the Executive. When the Whig Party was formed, it was inevitable that Clay and Webster should be its conspicuous leaders, and Webster was a hopeful candidate for the presidency in 1836. He was duly nominated by the legislature of Massachusetts, but he declined to yield to the demands of the anti-Masons, thus losing strong support in Pennsylvania. When General Harrison was made the Whig candidate, Webster withdrew his name; but Massachusetts insisted on casting her fourteen electoral votes for her favorite son. It was a futile gesture, for the Whigs were beaten from the very opening of the campaign.

Webster's personal popularity was never more apparent than in 1837, when he announced his intention of resigning from the Senate. He needed money badly, for his expenses were heavy, and while he had been battling with Jacksonism his professional income had dwindled. He may also have had an eye on the Whig nomination in 1840. Whatever his motives, his friends rose and protested. The Massachusetts General Court appointed a committee to dissuade him, and he finally agreed to remain in the Senate. His New York admirers gave him a dinner at Niblo's Garden, where, in March, 1837, he discussed the Constitution and the Union, drawing up a scathing indictment of the Democratic party. When he made a western tour in the spring of 1839, he was greeted everywhere as if he were the hero, not merely of Massachusetts, but of the nation at large. In the summer of 1839 he took his only trip across the Atlantic, being received cordially by such personages as Sir Robert Peel, Wordsworth, Dickens, Macaulay, and Carlyle. His daughter, Julia, was married in September, in London, to Samuel A. Appleton; and Webster landed on December 29 in New York, to learn of the nomination of General Harrison by the Whigs.

It seemed to be Webster's unfortunate destiny to get the cheers and applause while others gained the ballots. In spite of the loyal endorsement of Massachusetts, Clay had not been enthusiastic for Webster, and the party leaders wanted Harrison. Without a trace of disgruntlement, Webster threw himself heartily into the "hard-cider campaign," making notable speeches at Saratoga, Bunker Hill, New York, and Richmond, and Harrison was elected. Clay having declined the Department of State position, Webster accepted that. All looked auspicious for the hungry Whigs. And then the weary old general, beset by place-seekers, died, and the White House was occupied by John Tyler, of Virginia.

Secretary of State (1841–1843)

The events which followed proved Webster's independence of spirit. In the quarrel which quickly developed between the autocratic Henry Clay and the no less stubborn half-Democratic Tyler, Webster avoided attachment to either side. After Tyler's veto of the "Fiscal Corporation"—an act for which he has often been unjustly condemned—four Whig members of the Cabinet withdrew; Webster, however, stayed in the State Department, offering as a reason the fact that he was occupied with delicate negotiations which he could not abandon without precipitating a crisis. Denounced by the Whig press, he consulted the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, who agreed—to quote John Quincy Adams—"that Mr. Webster would not be justified in resigning at this time." With these friends to back him up, he placed his duty to his country above his obligations to party and to Henry Clay.

Webster soon revealed himself as a diplomat of the first class; indeed Rhodes, who was not inclined to exaggeration, said he was our greatest Secretary of State. He inherited from his predecessors an accumulation of complicated questions which in the aggregate seriously threatened the peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain. In 1840, Alexander McLeod, a Canadian who had openly boasted of the murder of Durfree at the time of the burning of the

Caroline in 1837, was arrested and thrown into prison in New York State; the British authorities protested on the ground that McLeod was obeying military orders. The northern boundary of Maine was still unsettled, and there was a dispute over England's right to search vessels engaged in the African slave trade. The two Anglo-Saxon nations were perhaps not far from war, and ardent jingoes on both sides of the Atlantic did their best to provoke a clash of arms.

Webster, for his part, was resolved that peace should be preserved. With careful eyes he watched the trial of McLeod at Utica, and was pleased when the latter, having established an alibi, was freed. He took advantage of the fall of the Melbourne Cabinet to reopen negotiations. Finally, in 1842, Lord Ashburton, one of the most urbane and liberal-minded of Englishmen, was accredited to Washington and empowered to discuss all controversial matters between the two peoples. The ensuing negotiations were prolonged, but marked by the most amicable feeling on the part of the two diplomats. Regardless of his annoying hay fever, Webster worked late into the spring, in the heat of the capital, and was able to complete a treaty which, although not altogether satisfactory to American Anglophobes, was probably the best obtainable under the circumstances. During the course of the negotiations Webster wrote to Lord Ashburton a letter concerning the impressment of American seamen, stating emphatically that "the practice of impressing seamen from American vessels cannot hereafter be allowed to take place." Never, since that communication, has England attempted to impress sailors from our ships. Although the Ashburton Treaty was attacked severely both in the Senate and in Parliament, good sense eventually prevailed, and it was ratified August 9, 1842.

Chinese Treaty (1843)

This negotiation completed, Webster turned his attention to China and succeeded in inducing Congress to pass a bill authorizing a special mission to that empire. Presumably Webster hoped to persuade his friend, Edward Everett, then minister to England, to accept the Chinese mission, thus opening up a way through which Webster could escape gracefully from the Department of State by going to the Court of St. James. Everett was not disposed to let himself be thus summarily exiled to a remote part of the world, and respectfully declined the appointment. In the end, Caleb Cushing was named as Commissioner to China and negotiated the important Treaty of Wang-Hiya in 1843. Meanwhile Webster tried in vain to get Congress to approve "a special extraordinary mission" to England, to which he might be appointed; but this plan also was blocked in committee.

RECONCILIATION WITH THE WHIGS (1843–1845)

For many months partisan Whigs had been demanding Webster's resignation. A Massachusetts Whig convention, in September, 1842, daringly attempted to read him out of the party, but his supporters held a public reception for him a few weeks later in Faneuil Hall, at which he appeared, tanned by the Marshfield breezes and garbed in the famous blue dress coat with brass buttons. Without any apology for his conduct, he said, "I am, gentlemen, a little hard to coax; but, as to being driven, that is out of the question." When he added, "I give no pledges, I ask no intimations one way or the other," the cheering of three thousand men showed that Boston would not abandon the worship of her idol. Some of his critics have maintained that he was arrogant, but it is fairer to say that he was proudly conscious of his power. He continued in the Department of State until May, 1843. His full program was carried through, and he resigned. For the first time in fifteen years he was without a public office.

It was impossible for Daniel Webster to be nothing more than a private citizen. He returned to his law practice, visited "The Elms," and cheerfully cultivated his farm at Marshfield; but he prepared and delivered a Websterian address on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1843. He spoke at Andover in November, where he was formally reinstated in the Whig Party and tried to bring harmony to its ranks. He was urged to let himself be brought forward as a presidential candidate, and he was offered again his seat in the Senate, Choate having announced his readiness to resign. In the campaign of 1844 he supported Clay through a series of forceful addresses; but the latter Western statesman, by his vacillation on the question of Texas, lost to Polk, who knew and declared precisely where he stood. After Polk was elected, Webster could no longer withstand the importunities of his friends, who made him Choate's successor in the Senate. There he took his place once more in March, 1845.

Webster and Slavery (1830–1848)

It was inevitable that Webster, always in the public eye, should be brought face to face with the problem of negro servitude, which during his last years threatened at critical moments to split the nation asunder. Like most intelligent Northerners, he instinctively disapproved of slavery, and he denounced the African slave trade in a frequently quoted passage in the "Plymouth Oration" of 1820. In the "Reply to Hayne," a decade later, he specifically declared slavery to be "one of the greatest evils, both moral and political," but joined with it the observation that slavery in the South "has always been regarded as a matter of domestic policy left with the States themselves, and with which the Federal Government has nothing to do." In his "Niblo's Garden Speech" of 1837 he described slavery as "a great moral, social, and political evil," adding that he should do nothing "to favor or encourage its further extension"; but he also continued: "Slavery as it exists in the States is beyond the reach of Congress. It is a concern of the States themselves." In October, 1840, in Richmond, he repeated, "There is no power, direct or indirect, in Congress or the General Government to interfere in the slightest degree with the institutions of the South." Thus over a period of many years he made a series of statements, perfectly consistent, and representing the typical conservative Northern point of view. He deplored the existence of slavery; but he had no intention of wrecking the Union in order to eradicate it from American soil; and he did not foresee the disruptive force of an institution opposed to the great American principles of equality before the law and personal freedom.

Because he did not wish slavery to spread into other sections of the country, Webster did virtually everything in his power to block the annexation of Texas. With the Mexican War, which followed, he was, like most of the Whigs, rather unsympathetic. He was unavoidably absent from the Senate when Congress declared, in May, 1846, that "a state of war exists" between Mexico and the United States. He voted all needful supplies for the troops, but was unreservedly opposed to the acquisition of any Mexican territory. By one of life's tragic ironies his second son, Edward, enlisted, and later died near Mexico City from disease brought on by exposure. A few days later Webster's only surviving daughter, Mrs. Appleton, died of tuberculosis; and the two were buried in the same week, in May, 1848. Only one son, Fletcher, was now left to him, besides his second wife, Caroline Le Roy, whom he had married in December, 1829.

Webster's innate conservatism was accountable for his dislike of what he considered to be fanatical abolitionists. He listened to their political creed and realized that they were quite willing to let the Union be destroyed if only slavery could be eliminated, he was horrified. How could he sympathize with a man like Garrison, who wrote, "I am for the abolition of slavery, therefore for the dissolution of the Union" ? Lodge maintained that Webster missed a golden opportunity by not heading the newly-formed Freesoil party in 1848 and separating from the Whigs on a moral principle. To have done so would have been to sacrifice all his most cherished convictions. As a practical statesman, he was working for the preservation of the Union, and he was the last man to assume the leadership of a group of radical thinkers, who seemed to him to be guilty of incipient treason.

Once more, in 1848, Webster was not averse to receiving the Whig nomination for the Presidency, and there were moments when the prize seemed almost in his grasp. Some of his close friends, without telling him of their intentions, turned unexpectedly to General Taylor, a war hero with no political enemies. In the convention Webster, on the first ballot, received twenty-two votes, but that was his maximum strength.

When Taylor was named, Webster was in a quandary. In September, 1848, at Marshfield, he confessed that the nomination was "one not fit to be made" ; but he added that, between Taylor and Cass, the Democratic candidate, he was bound to choose the former. Taylor was victorious, and Webster returned to the Senate, hoping, if we are to judge from his letters, that he might once more become Secretary of State. Instead he was about to confront, as an old man, the most serious crisis of his life.

Slavery Crisis of 1850

The additional territory acquired by the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the dramatic rush of thousands of American citizens to California after the discovery of gold in the Sacramento valley naturally reopened the question as to how far slavery was to spread beyond the Mississippi. In January, 1850, when the tension between North and South was ominous, Clay called upon his old comrade, Webster, and suggested to him a possible plan of compromise. Webster, who was fearful of civil war, indicated his general approval of the proposition, and within a week the details were before the Senate.

California was to be admitted as a free state; territorial governments were to be organized in the newly acquired sections without any reference to slavery; the slave trade—but not slavery itself—was to be abolished in the District of Columbia; and the Fugitive Slave Act was to be more sternly enforced. With the purpose and theory of these proposals Webster could sympathize, for they did constitute a possible basis of agreement among reasonable men, whether living in Massachusetts or in South Carolina. The three "elder statesmen"—Clay, Calhoun, and Webster—representing different sections and opinions, had lived through more than one slavery crisis, and they were convinced that the situation in 1850 was more disturbing than it had ever been before. Clay immediately made a formal argument in favor of the compromise measures; Calhoun's statement of the rights of the South was read for him on the floor of the Senate by Senator Mason. Then Webster, the youngest of the triumvirate, rose on March 7 to deliver the speech which he preferred to entitle "The Constitution and the Union."

Seventh of March Speech (1850)

Under its more common title of "The Seventh of March Speech," this declaration was, and has been, the subject of heated controversy. In substance it was an unrhetorical and dispassionate statement of certain facts and certain conclusions regarding slavery. It did not stress the moral iniquity of slavery—that Webster took for granted. It dwelt chiefly on the constitutional aspects of the question. His words were actually much like those which he had used in earlier utterances, and he stood before the country once more as the advocate of the doctrine that the Union must, at any cost, be preserved.

The most vulnerable spot in this speech was his justification of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. But Webster was aware that a compromise, in order to be accepted, must in some degree satisfy both sides to a dispute; and he also knew that the South was within its constitutional rights in insisting on such a concession. It is doubtless true that he argued like a lawyer resorting to technicalities, but he had a noble end in view.

One cannot measure or estimate men's motives with absolute certainty. Nevertheless Webster's previous record and his stainless public life ought to permit us to accept the more charitable of two interpretations. The speech in its entirety can be explained on the basis of his love for his country; and Rhodes, after a dispassionate investigation of all the evidence, gave as his final judgment that the mainspring of the action of Clay and Webster was "unselfish devotion to what they believed to be the good of their country." With this verdict most unprejudiced historians now agree.

Webster's Responsibility (1850)

From the standpoint of practical statesmanship, Webster's conduct was sagacious. That there was, in 1850, real danger of civil conflict cannot be doubted. Men like Rhett and Cheves, of South Carolina, Stephens, of Georgia, and Yancey, of Mississippi, had expressed themselves as favorable to secession; and the Compromise blocked their aims and hopes. The war was postponed for ten years, until the North was proportionately stronger than the South and better equipped for the struggle. Webster could not, of course, have foreseen the tremendous influx of Germans and Irish to the Northern States during the next decade, but he must have realized that time was on the side of those who opposed slavery extension. When war finally broke out, many conservative thinkers adhered to the North with the feeling that every practicable concession had been granted; and this would not have been the case in 1850. The Civil War was won, not because people were ready to lay down their lives for the abolition of slavery, but because they could not see that Union severed which Daniel Webster had done so much to keep intact.

Webster's speech made a far greater sensation than he had expected. He was praised and denounced intemperately by extremists. Whittier wrote his epitaph in "Ichabod":

"From those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

Sumner declared that he had placed himself "in the dark list of apostates" ; and the unstable Theodore Parker compared Webster's conduct to "the act of Benedict Arnold."

However, that conservative Boston from which he drew his strength took another stand, and a testimonial from eight hundred of the substantial citizens, including Curtis, Ticknor, Prescott, and Choate, thanked him for his "broad, national, and patriotic views." The various items of the compromise plan were passed one by one during the summer. But, before this work was accomplished President Taylor died, and Webster on July 23, 1850, accepted the post of Secretary of State under President Fillmore.

Close of the Public Career (1850–1852)

During his second incumbency in the Department of State, Webster was responsible for the Hülsemann letter (December 21, 1850), in which he administered a sharp rebuke to the

Austrian representative in this country and vindicated the American policy of gathering information in Hungary regarding the status of its revolutionary government. Although Webster admitted that his communication was "boastful and rough," its tone was justified by Hülsemann's previous impertinence. When Kossuth, the Hungarian liberal leader, came to America in December, 1851, Webster exhibited consummate tact in greeting him warmly without doing anything to cause a breach with Austria.

In 1852 his old rival, Henry Clay, was out of the presidential race. Webster, although he was over three-score and ten, was not without hope of securing the Whig nomination. Once again, however, as in 1848, a military hero, General Winfield Scott, was brought forward, and Webster could command only twenty-nine votes on the first ballot. In vain did Rufus Choate plead with all his magnetic eloquence for the cause of his friend. The rank and file of the Whigs did not want "old Webster" as their candidate. In the heat of a Baltimore June, General Scott was nominated; and Webster returned to his desk, a disappointed man, who advised his followers to vote for Franklin Pierce, the Democratic standard bearer. There is something infinitely tragic in the spectacle of Webster lamenting the loss of an honor which came so unexpectedly and easily to Pierce. Never again was Daniel Webster to be engaged in practical politics.

Webster's Personal Characteristics

Almost from his infancy Webster was a lover of the outdoors; and he spent as many hours as possible in the open air. He climbed Mount Washington, not far from the Old Man of the Mountain, whom he was thought to resemble. He liked to hunt and sail a boat; and he cast a fly into such widely different waters as the trout brooks of Cape Cod and the Great Falls of the Potomac. He enjoyed nature, and had a scientific knowledge of various species of flora and fauna. In 1824, after he was well established in Boston, he commenced spending his summers at an estate in the town of Marshfield, owned by Captain Thomas, from whom, in 1831, he bought the farmhouse and land. Gradually he acquired adjoining property until he owned more than two thousand acres and created a fruit and stock farm which was the envy of his neighbors. Into its maintenance and improvement Webster poured the fees from his law cases, attending personally to many of the details of management. When his duties at Washington were over each spring, Webster, usually racked by his chronic hay fever, would return to the peace of Marshfield, with its pure air and aromatic pine forests.

Webster reveled in the life of a gentleman farmer. He was up early, before five o'clock, "to test the freshness of the early dawn," feeding his prize cattle with ears of corn from his own hand and going out often with the laborers into the fields. Until a year or two before his death he was a crack shot, supplying his friends frequently with duck and woodcock. He kept a well-equipped fishing boat in a harbor only a few hundred yards from his house. Like Walter Scott, whom he resembled in other respects, Webster was most hospitable, and there were always guests under his roof. He took pride in playing the role of lord of the manor, and no one could have assumed it more gracefully. Part of the day he spent in his library; but in the evening he gave himself up to his visitors, telling stories and occasionally making a fourth in a rubber of whist. He had a keen sense of humor which was shown in impromptu verses; and in his more exuberant moods he could be heard singing and shouting about the house.

Webster had an adequate appreciation of his own picturesqueness and rather enjoyed the impression which he created. In his later days he was often followed in the street by an admiring throng, and at the inauguration in 1848 of Edward Everett as President of Harvard College it was Webster who drew the attention of the spectators. When offended, he could be very haughty, and some dramatic stories are told of his arrogance to lesser men who had been so unfortunate as to offend him. On state occasions he liked to appear in a court dress, with gigantic brass buttons and a beautifully starched neck-cloth.

Webster did not need gorgeous attire to make him the center of interest. He walked this earth, as someone has said, "clad in the panoply of an imperial manhood." Carlyle described his eyes as "dull anthracite furnaces, needing only to be blown." He was called by Sydney Smith "a small cathedral all by himself." Even Emerson, who never quite trusted Webster, spoke of him as "the old Titanic Earth-Son." By sheer magnificence of personality he dominated every gathering which he attended; and the adjective "godlike" sometimes used with regard to him did not seem extravagant or ridiculous. "In all the attributes of a mighty and splendid manhood," said Senator Hoar, "he never had a superior on earth."

WEBSTER'S FINANCES

In his journal for February 7, 1843, Emerson mentions what were said by Webster's critics to be his three rules of living: "(1) Never to pay any debt that can by any possibility be avoided; (2) Never to do anything to-day that can be put off till to-morrow; (3) Never to do anything himself which he can get anybody else to do for him." The second and third of these involve charges which are not difficult to refute. The first, however, cannot be ignored.

Webster was generous and open-handed with money—too much so, undoubtedly, for his own good. He was careless in his expenditures, he was seldom out of debt, and he died virtually insolvent. Although he received at some periods a large revenue from his profession, he saved nothing, and he could rarely produce any considerable sum without appealing to his friends. He had about him something of the glamor of Charles James Fox or Charles Stuart. Blinded by his splendor, men forgave him his indiscretions. No one, however, has ever been able to prove him guilty of corrupt practices; his willingness to use the money of others was the fault of a man who was himself ready to bestow his last dollar on a needy friend.

Several transactions have subjected Webster to criticism. In 1834, in the midst of the controversy over the United States Bank, he wrote Nicholas Biddle, president of that institution, telling him of a refusal to take a case against the bank and adding, "I believe my retainer has not been renewed or refreshed as usual." In 1846, Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, angered at a speech made by Webster in defense of the Ashburton Treaty, accused him of having made unlawful use of the secret service fund at his disposal when he was Secretary of State; but an investigation showed that, while Webster had unquestionably been negligent in balancing his accounts, the money disbursed was covered by vouchers and there was no proof whatever of defalcation. Even as late as 1851, Charles Allen, a Free Soil Congressman, asserted that Webster, through collusion with a group of Eastern bankers, had lost the government $30,000 through some financial arrangements in connection with the last installment of the indemnity due to Mexico under the Treaty of 1848. Once more he was completely vindicated; but there are still those who have not forgotten the imputation of corruption.

Webster had no scruples about accepting large sums of money from his supporters, notably in 1848, when a group of business men in Boston subscribed $37,000 to provide him with an annuity as partial compensation for the professional income which he renounced when he reëntered the Senate. Impartial investigators will not find it difficult to forgive Webster for receiving this gift, which was assembled without his knowledge and which certainly did not in the slightest degree affect his votes on public questions.

A well-authenticated story establishes that William W. Corcoran, of Washington, after reading the newspaper account of the "Seventh of March Speech," was so delighted that he sent to Webster some of the latter's notes aggregating $6,000, together with his personal check for $1,000; and Webster's letter of gratitude for the donation was, according to Lodge, in existence in 1900. Here again no bargain was struck, and there would seem to be no imperative reason why Webster should have declined the badly needed accession to his bank account. After his death, one hundred citizens of Boston gave $1,000 each towards a trust fund for his widow. In the course of his career, Webster sacrificed a large professional income—in 1848 at least $20,000 annually—in order to serve the state, and he doubtless satisfied his conscience with this fact. We must deplore his lack of thrift,—what Emerson called his "expensiveness,"—but he must be acquitted of the charge of dishonesty.

WEBSTER'S ALLEGED INTEMPERANCE

No man prominent in American public life can escape calumny, and Webster undoubtedly laid himself open to attack. The stories of his drunkenness were backstairs gossip during his lifetime and have been repeated more openly by some of his biographers. Like most gentlemen of those days, he had an excellent cellar and served wine, generally Madeira, at his table. He ordinarily drank in moderation, though there were occasions when, as Curtis admits, he was visibly affected by overindulgence. It is absurd to state that he was frequently intoxicated or that he was a sot. No drunkard could possibly have done the work which he managed to accomplish. Gamaliel Bradford writes in a commonsense point of view: "To me Webster's love of the sunrise and habit of five o'clock in the morning work are quite inconsistent with serious dissipation." The legends about Webster were so grossly exaggerated that, if he were seen taking a glass of brandy, the report soon spread that he was drunk.

Even statesmen of the ascetic type have not escaped charges of licentiousness, and it is no wonder that similar accusations were brought against Webster. Vague tales passed from ear to ear without the vestige of any proof to support them. Biographers who have examined the evidence are bound to conclude that Webster was untainted by this vice. His affection for his two successive wives was so apparent to his friends as to make any charge of immorality seem grossly improbable. He was adored by his household, devoted to his children, and in his home was, according to Ticknor, "as gay and playful as a kitten." Unhappily he outlived all his children except Fletcher, who as a Federal colonel was killed at the second battle of Bull Run in 1862.

Few public men have had more loyal friends than Webster. Edward Everett, who was for a short time his pupil at a private school in Boston in early days, admired him and followed him, edited his speeches, and after his death defended his memory against aspersion. Caleb Cushing and Rufus Choate, the two brilliant attorneys from Essex County, appeared in court under his patronage and welcomed his advice; later they lent him considerable sums of money—often knowing that they would never be repaid—and sacrificed their own interests for his. Among the merchants and bankers of Boston he was almost idolized, and he was regarded with a similar affection by the county folk around Marshfield. Political enemies Webster indisputably had, especially after the Seventh of March Speech alienated from him the abolitionists; but few could come under the spell of his personal charm without loving him.

The Last Days (1851–1852)

After the Ashburton Treaty, Webster lost ground physically. The hay fever which was chronic with him every spring left him exhausted, and he was no longer so quick in recuperating. The loss of his two children, Edward and Julia, was a devastating blow. Furthermore a disorder of the liver compelled him to resort to oxide of arsenic and other stimulants prescribed by his physicians. His strong constitution wore down but slowly; when he was nearly seventy years old he continued to meet public engagements and carry on his law practice. He made a notable address on July 4, 1851, at the laying of the cornerstone of the addition to the Capitol in Washington; and in February, 1852, he delivered before the New York Historical Society one of his finest addresses, "The Dignity of Historical Compositions." He followed this by an argument at Trenton, New Jersey, against Rufus Choate, in the Goodyear Rubber Case. On his return to Marshfield in early May, however, he was thrown from his carriage and severely bruised and shocked. Although he was only dimly aware of it, this was the prelude to the final chapter in his career.

He did drag himself somewhat painfully to Faneuil Hall, May 22, 1852, to make his last appearance in the auditorium where he had so often been welcomed by his fellow citizens in Massachusetts. The results of the Whig Convention in Baltimore a few weeks later left him depressed. He was in Washington when the nomination of General Scott was announced, and a vast crowd, headed by a band, marched to his home to serenade him. In what came to be known as his "midnight speech" he said, "You may be assured there is not one among you who will sleep better to-night than I shall." But this was the forced bravery of a disappointed and actually dying man.

July 9, Daniel Webster was accorded a public reception in Boston, as a spontaneous tribute from the people whom he had so long represented. Massachusetts has never sponsored a spectacle more imposing—not even the greeting to Washington in 1789, or that to Lafayette in 1824. A military parade passed along a route of which the streets were adorned with banners and packed with cheering throngs. He addressed a vast audience in a temporary amphitheatre on Boston Common—the only place which could hold the thousands who wished to hear and see him. It was an exhausting ordeal, but he was still able to proceed to "The Elms" at Franklin for a farewell visit to his boyhood home, and then to Washington.

THE LAST HOURS (1852)

It was not until September 8 that, after disposing of some diplomatic business, he returned to Marshfield. From the moment of his arrival he grew steadily worse, but he faced the end without faltering. Almost his last words were, "I still live." He died shortly after midnight, on the morning of October 24, 1852. Emerson, writing in his journal at Plymouth, noted, "The sea, the rocks, the woods, gave no sign that America and the world had lost the completest man."

Upon the nation, however, the effect of the news of Webster's passing was profound. John Fiske, thinking back, said, "A godlike presence had gone from us. Life seemed smaller, lonelier, and meaner." William A. Stearns in recollection said, "The impression created in my youthful mind was that there was now no help for the land but God." At the funeral thousands of people made their way to Marshfield, where he lay in state for hours under the open sky, death making him seem, in his familiar dress, even more majestic than in life. A neighbor, passing the coffin, was heard to mutter, "Daniel Webster, the world without you will seem lonesome." After a short and simple service at the house, the body was borne on the shoulders of his neighbors to the secluded family graveyard not far from the sea. The four stages of his life were ended:

"A roof beneath the mountain pines;
The cloisters of a hill-girt plain;
The front of life's embattled lines;
A mound beside the heaving main."

Resolutions and memorials were passed by dozens of organizations with which he had been connected. Distinguished men, including President Fillmore and Edward Everett, joined in lamenting his death. In the following August, at Dartmouth College, Rufus Choate spoke what is undoubtedly the finest commemorative oration ever delivered in this country, a glowing heartfelt tribute to his departed friend. No New England leader—not Samuel Adams or John Adams or Edward Everett—has left a more enduring memory. For some years after his death his friends gathered in Boston on his birthday and observed the occasion with appropriate ceremonies.

At the centennial of his birth, in 1882, there was a succession of memorial meetings, concluding with the Webster Historical Society celebration at Marshfield, on October 12, attended by President Chester A. Arthur. Dartmouth in 1901 observed the centenary of his graduation with many commemorative speeches and the laying of the cornerstone of Daniel Webster Hall.

Retrospect

Lives of Webster,—some good and some very poor—have appeared from time to time. Statues of him stand in public places and portraits of him adorn legislative chambers. In Faneuil Hall the immense canvas of Healy, depicting the "Reply to Hayne," preserves there the memory of the man who, more than any other Massachusetts man before or since, was qualified to speak from that platform. Daniel Webster is far from being a "neglected statesman." Indeed it may be argued that his reputation has never stood higher in America than it stands today.

In the course of his career as "the first citizen of Massachusetts," Webster played many parts. As an orator he still holds the supreme position among Massachusetts and American masters of eloquence, and in the world of oratory his only peers are Demosthenes, Cicero, and Burke. As a lawyer he can be assigned no rank below the first, where he takes his place beside Pinkney and Choate. As Secretary of State, he has the distinction of having in two periods of service maintained our national dignity and honor before the world.

Webster's imperishable contribution to history was his insistence that the United States is a centralized nation, not a confederation of separate units. He appeared in a position of leadership at a period when there was honest doubt as to the exact intention of the signers of the Constitution. Courageously he espoused the cause of a strong and indissoluble Union, and in law cases, in Senate debates, and in public addresses, through a time of bitter controversy, he upheld by his speeches and acts the doctrine of an inviolable American nationality.

He died at a moment when it seemed as if all his energy had been spent in vain. Yet, when the Civil War broke out, it was largely the nationalistic sentiment created and fostered by Daniel Webster which carried the North to victory. Ultimately his theory of the Union triumphed over that of Jefferson, Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis. This country owes more to Daniel Webster than to any other statesman of his epoch the blessing that its citizens are today under one flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific, "from sea to shining sea." This statement is more than rhetoric: it is the simple truth!

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CHAPTER V

THE IMMIGRANTS
(1830–1929)

By Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer

Director, Division of Immigration and Americanization, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Colonial Immigration

The history of immigration in Massachusetts is a curious one and unique in comparison with other States; for, while the State now has the second largest foreign-born population in the Union in proportion to its population, it was the last to welcome the immigrant and clung tenaciously for many years to the belief that it could keep its people substantially of English extraction.

Massachusetts, as a colony, was not favorable to immigration. While the Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Germans and French were settling the central and southern colonies, Massachusetts strove by means of rigid legislation to restrict immigration and keep the colony a Puritan commonwealth. In 1637, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony ordered that no town or person in the Colony should receive or entertain any newcomer for longer than three weeks without permission of the authorities. Severe laws with penalties of whippings, imprisonment, and banishment were aimed to prohibit the coming to the Colony of Quakers and non-Protestant immigrants from Great Britain and western Europe. In 1682, the Colony granted land and special privileges to a group of French Huguenot refugees. These people made acceptable material for citizenship; and in 1730, because of their good behavior, they were naturalized by a special legislative act. Such procedure was unusual, as the general policy of the Colony was strictly opposed to immigration. In 1720 the General Court of the Colony resolved: "Whereas, it appears that certain families recently arrived from Ireland, . . . have presumed to make a settlement . . . that the said people be warned to move off within the space of seven months, and if they fail to do so, that they may be prosecuted by the attorney general by writs of trespass and ejectment."

From the beginning of the Colony there was much fear, evidenced by legislation, of the immigration of paupers. In 1700 a law was passed providing that "no lame, impotent or infirm persons" be admitted to the Colony unless under bond, with a penalty of deportation if security was lacking. Similar colonial statutes regulated immigration into the Colony in the decades prior to Independence.

Partially because of these stringent immigration measures, but also because of the climatic conditions, Massachusetts entered the Union in 1788 as a commonwealth of almost entirely British stock, her racial make-up being more homogeneous than any other of the original thirteen states.

In 1790, according to *A Century of Population Growth 1790–1900,* published by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1909, the nationality of the white population of Massachusetts was as follows:

English	354,528
Scotch	13,435
Irish	3,732
French	746
Dutch	373
German	75
Jewish	67
All others	231
Total	373,187

Regulation Prior to Federal Action (1789–1872)

In the nine and a half decades that preceded the passage of the Federal immigration laws, immigration to Massachusetts was regulated only by State laws. The colonial legislation was replaced by an act of 1837, which authorized public officers to examine the condition of alien passengers entering ports and to require bonds of indemnity against such passengers becoming a public charge within ten years, to collect a tax of $2.00 for each passenger landing, and to compel pilots to anchor vessels at places appointed. Successive acts, in the years 1840, 1843, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1865, 1866, 1869, 1870, and 1872, made further regulations concerning the admission of newcomers.

In 1849, the United States Supreme Court ruled that State laws regulating immigration and prescribing a head tax were unconstitutional, as being a regulation of foreign commerce. Hence Massachusetts and New York, the two States that had endeavored to regulate immigration, were forced to cease this supervision. From 1850 until 1882, when the first comprehensive Federal immigration legislation was passed, there was little if any regulation of immigration by any State. Massachusetts, like New York, has always been a gateway of immigration. Naturally, the problem of the incoming stranger has been viewed with varying attitudes of mind. Apprehension of the danger of assimilation of immigrants unequipped with material goods and alien in religion and outlook, seems to have been the predominating viewpoint. In 1856, an act was passed to create a board of commissioners on alien passengers and State paupers.

Immigration of Paupers

The problem for caring for immigrant paupers was undoubtedly a severe one. It had become a practice for certain districts in England, Ireland, and Scotland to furnish free transportation to paupers in their respective parishes. Such poor persons were often sent by way of Canada, to avoid inspection at the border ports of New York and Boston and also to avoid the head tax and bond. These newcomers commonly did not remain in the Canadian Provinces, however, but entered by land and settled, usually at the community's expense, within the United States. Massachusetts, because of her proximity to Canada, suffered much from such practices. The following extract from the 1835 *Report of Artemas Simonds on Almshouses and Kindred Institutions in Several of the North and Central States* shows the situation: "As nearly as can be ascertained, the number of persons supported for longer or shorter periods of time, in the year 1834, in the almshouses of the four principal American cities were as follows:

	Americans	Foreigners
New York	1893	2093
Philadelphia	1676	1895
Baltimore	675	479
Boston	542	841

"It is thus seen that Boston is more burdened by poor emigrants than any other Atlantic city, in proportion to population. . . . The bulk of these foreigners are from Great Britain; in Philadelphia and Baltimore a small proportion are Germans." It was unnecessary for the British Poor Law Commissioners of 1833 to recommend "that parishes be authorized to pay the passages of paupers out of the country." Such was already extensively the practice. Capt. John S. Davis of Portsmouth, N. H., a respectable and intelligent shipmaster, states that in May, 1829, he was in London where he saw in the North American Hotel, two English gentlemen who stated that they were Wardens of a parish; that they had procured the passage to New York of about thirty of their parish paupers, had persuaded them to go, clothed them, paid their passage money, and made them up a small purse. They further remarked that this was the most economical disposition that they could make of their poor. At that time, says Capt. Davis, the exportation of parish paupers had become in England a well-known and regular business, and certain American vessels were called the "Workhouse Line."

Practically all the immigrants coming in the years from 1850 to 1890 were attracted by the industrial opportunities of the State. It was a period of industrial expansion. The mills eagerly accepted workers from the British Isles and Canada and, as expansion further indicated the need of additional workers, sought them from southern and southeastern Europe.

NATIONAL REPRESENTATION (1850–1890)

The classification according to nationality is not available from the census records before 1850. In the decades beginning with 1850 and extending through 1890, the period of pre-Federal immigration regulation, the figures are not available showing the numbers of immigrants according to the country of origin; but the census figures indicate that those of Irish birth continued to predominate in the foreign-born population of the State. They rank first in numbers for each census as follows:

1850	115,917
1860	185,434
1870	216,120
1880	225,700
1890	259,902

This last figure is the highest recorded for that nationality to date, the number decreasing every subsequent decade to the present time.

Another group which shows an interesting growth is the Canadian. No separate figures were recorded for the Canadian French prior to 1890, when those of that extraction totaled 96,286. The total Canadian residents in the State, excluding French Canadians, from 1850 on are as follows:

1850	15,029
1860	27,069
1870	70,580
1880	119,302
1890	115,029

The immigrants born in England show in this period a striking increase:

1850	16,685
1860	23,848
1870	34,099
1880	47,263
1890	76,400

The last figure is almost five times the number in 1850. The Scotch, too, show a steady growth;

1850	4,469
1860	6,855

1870	9,003
1880	12,507
1890	21,909

Of the non-English-speaking groups, the first to show a decisive gain were the Germans:

1850	4,417
1860	9,961
1870	13,072
1880	16,872
1890	28,034

From small beginnings in 1850, the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark grew as follows:

1850	503
1860	1,069
1870	1,955
1880	5,971
1890	22,655

The growth of the French group showed a small increase:

1850	805
1860	1,280
1870	1,629
1880	2,212
1890	3,273

From these figures it is clear that the foreign nationals showing important gains in the years prior to 1890 were either English speaking or from northern Europe. Of southern European countries, the first to show a decided increase was Italy. Census returns recorded:

1850	196
1860	371
1870	454
1880	2,116
1890	8,066

For Portugal the figures were:

1850	290
1860	988

1870	735
1880	1,161
1890	3,051

Immigration after Federal Action (1890–1914)

State legislation continued after a Federal system of restriction was inaugurated in connection with Federal statutes and supervision. In 1883, the General Court passed a resolution authorizing an agreement relating to immigration entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity. In 1892, a second resolution authorized an investigation of immigration into the Commonwealth of criminals and paupers. The problem of pauperism, insanity, and health as it relates to the immigrant is quite evidently not a recent development of the immigration question.

The problems confronting the newly arrived immigrant in the days of mass immigration are too lengthy to enumerate here and not particularly inherent to his arrival in Massachusetts. Since Massachusetts has always been an immigration State and Boston has been usually second in importance as an entrance port to the United States, the problem became an important one and aroused the thoughtful consideration of serious-minded persons.

Perhaps the first serious consideration of the matter developed as a result of a conference held at New York by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association in February, 1907. Following this conference the North American Civic League for Immigrants was organized. Boston was selected as headquarters for the society. The conclusions of the league from its investigations were: (1) since 1880 the immigrants entering the United States had come largely from Italy, the east of Europe, and Asia; (2) seventy per cent remained in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; (3) the majority of the newcomers did not learn English; (4) few tried to learn English.

The Civic League began work on a solution of the problems presented, and during the mass immigration did valiant work in awakening public opinion to the seriousness of the question, besides doing much to alleviate the immediate needs of the immigrant.

NUMBERS AND RACES (1907–1914)

With the opening of serious Federal regulation of immigration in 1892 came the flood tide of the immigration stream. A number of factors, both here and abroad, combined to make an immigration increase to the United States, and Massachusetts participated.

In 1907 1,285,349 immigrants came to the United States, the largest number that had ever arrived in any one year. This figure was not equalled again until 1914. Since the World War, conditions both abroad and here have never allowed such an influx. With our present immigration laws it is exceedingly unlikely if such large numbers will ever again be allowed to enter. It is interesting to note that the number allowed to enter the United States in the immigration year closing June 30, 1926 was 304,488. To parallel it in size we must go back to 1899. In the year closing June 30, 1929, there were admitted 279,678 immigrant aliens, the smallest number to come in any year since 1899 except in the years 1918 and 1919.

In 1907, the year when immigration was at full tide, Massachusetts received 85,583 immigrants. Only two other years brought larger numbers; 1913 with 101,674 and 1914 with 93,200. Aside from the vast numbers of the newcomers, a change was apparent in the racial make-up of the influx. The numbers from northern Europe and Great Britain decreased, and those coming from southern Europe increased by leaps and bounds. This added to the problem of assimilation the serious difficulties of diversity of language, strangeness of customs and lack of sympathy with American ideals of government. Prior to 1883 about ninety-five per cent of the immigrants came from England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, and Sweden. In 1907 at least eighty-one per cent came from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Spain, Syria, and Turkey.

Government Investigations (1912–1919)

The difficulties encountered by the individual immigrant, and by the State and the community which endeavored to assimilate him, reached proportions sufficiently great to demand attention from the national government. A Federal Immigration Commission in 1907 headed by Senator Dillingham, made an exhaustive and nation-wide survey of the immigration question, with a view to progressive legislation. The commission's investigations included all phases of the problems of the immigrant. Needless to say, Massachusetts was visited and surveyed. Perhaps some of the best and most scientific studies of the immigration problem as it exists in the Commonwealth are contained in the forty-two volumes of the monster report.

The publication of the Federal Government's survey of Massachusetts conditions stimulated local opinion as to the necessity of a full investigation of the problem existing within the State. A Commission on Immigration was authorized by the General Court on May 2, 1913, to consist of five citizens of the Commonwealth. It was authorized to make a full investigation of the status and general condition of immigrants within the Commonwealth. The Commission was given one year in which to make its report; and it made extensive investigations of immigrant conditions throughout the State, employing a corps of trained investigators headed by Miss Grace Abbot, who was loaned to the State by the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago.

The Commission submitted an exhaustive list of legislative recommendations, the most important of which, the creation of a permanent bureau of immigration to care for the needs of the foreign-born residents, met with approval; and in 1917, the legislature passed a law creating the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration, whose duties were set forth as:

"It shall be the duty of the Bureau to employ such methods, subject to existing laws, as in its judgment, will tend to bring into sympathetic relations the Commonwealth and its residents of foreign origin, to protect immigrants from exploitation or abuse, to stimulate their acquisition and mastery of the English language, to develop their understanding of

American government, institutions and ideals, and generally to promote their assimilation and naturalization."

The Bureau began its activity in the period when America was in the midst of the World War, the office opening in July 1917. Until December, 1919, the Bureau existed as a separate independent state department, functioning in meeting the everyday needs of the immigrant and the special needs caused by the war conditions. During its entire existence, immigration conditions were not normal, as the war caused cessation of the use of Boston as a port of debarkation for immigrant ships, and war conditions caused unprecedented wages for immigrant workers, and the normal moving about of immigrant population was largely curtailed.

On December 1, 1919, the Bureau of Immigration was abolished as a separate department, due to the consolidation of state departments into twenty major departments. The Bureau continued its existence under the name of Division of Immigration and Americanization, of the Department of Education.

Massachusetts Division of Immigration and Americanization (1919–1929)

The Division has its main office in the State House at Boston and branch offices in cities of the Commonwealth which have large numbers of immigrants. The branches are located at Springfield, that office covering the entire western section of the State and as far east as Worcester; New Bedford, which covers the Cape; Fall River, covering Attleboro and Taunton also; and Lawrence, reaching the Merrimack Valley.

That the Division meets a need among the foreign-born is evidenced from the fact that, since the Commonwealth opened its offices for the service of the immigrant, 226,751 problems have been brought to it by foreign-born residents. During the past year (1928), 28,682 persons sought its help for the solution of the problems of their new life.

The Division assists the foreign-born resident in the technical difficulties which he encounters in completing his citizenship, filling out and filing blanks for that purpose, suggests preparation for the naturalization examination, supplies booklets of instruction, etc. Assistance is given in filling out many blanks required by the Federal Government for immigration purposes, and the laws regulating immigration are explained to those desirous of bringing relatives here.

Boston is still an important port of entry for the newcomer. The Division sends a worker to meet all incoming European boats and to assist the newly arrived persons to make the necessary connections with waiting relatives and friends. In the past year over ten thousand aliens entered America through the port of Boston. All immigrants destined to Massachusetts are circularized by the Division and offered information and assistance. The names of those who do not speak English are sent to local superintendents of schools so that the opportunities for educational advancement may be successfully followed up.

Educational Work with Aliens (1919–1929)

The earlier surveys of the immigrant problem in Massachusetts—*i.e.,* those made by the North American Civic League for immigrants, the Federal Immigration Commission, and the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration—all indicated that there was a great need for educational work among the immigrant population, particularly for foreign adults for whom English was not the mother tongue.

Certain educational facilities had been available in Massachusetts for almost a half century, but in no field of work for the immigrant has such progress been shown as in education in the past ten years. Since 1870 evening schools have been mandatory in Massachusetts in cities and towns having a population over ten thousand. English was not made a subject which must be offered, however, until 1898. Since 1887, now forty years, there has been a law compelling school attendance for illiterate minors who are employed. The great need, as evidenced in the survey of 1914 by the Commission on Immigration, was classes in English for adults.

By a law enacted in 1919, the education of adult aliens was provided for under the supervision of the adult alien division of the University Extension. This law authorizes reimburse-

From the Author

Immigrants in Process of Inspection

From the Author

Immigrants Awaiting Baggage Examination

ment to the local communities for one half the cost of instruction and supervision of Americanization classes. The intent of the statute is to stimulate local communities to furnish class instruction in English and in citizenship for the foreign-born. Under the law, the local school committee must vote to accept the provisions of the law and appropriate sufficient money to carry on the work.

State reimbursement is made at the end of the school year. The last available figure of reimbursement made by the State to cities and towns accepting the act is for 1926, when the State reimbursed $168,936.20. This means that twice this amount was expended for adult alien education throughout the State. The growth of the work is indicated by the following record:

Adult aliens attending Americanization classes in 1919, 3,000.
Adult aliens attending Americanization classes in 1924, 32,000.

In every one of the cities of Massachusetts, and in one-fifth of the one hundred and thirty-six towns in Massachusetts, programs are provided for adult foreign-born residents.

Classes for immigrants are held in evening schools, factories, homes, and under club auspices. The largest percentage attend the evening-school classes. Factory classes are held in about one hundred industries each year. The immigrant mother is ordinarily unable to attend evening classes because of home responsibilities. Obviously, the most convenient place for her schooling is the neighborhood where she lives. Approximately twelve hundred immigrant mothers were enrolled in one hundred and seventy-nine home classes during the past year.

The State supervises the work of instruction, prepares courses, suggests proper texts, and each year maintains training classes and institutes for the special training of teachers for immigrant classes. The following quotation from a report issued by the State Division indicates that the sympathetic understanding of the problem has met with a suitable response from the foreign-born.

Unusual School Records

"The eagerness of all nationalities for education and the sacrifices they are willing to make to acquire it are both inspiring and pathetic. One man rode ten miles after a hard day's work, often without his supper, to attend the evening school. In Shirley, a group of Polish men attended class three nights a week, and stayed at home with the children on the other two nights so that their wives could attend. At Peabody, in a class of fifty Russian men and women, 93 per cent attended the entire term of forty sessions.

"There is evidently no sex line in the thirst for knowledge, nor does there seem to be an age limit. A great-grandmother of sixty-three years, living in Leominster, had spent many hours of her life praying that she might learn to read. Now, thanks to the evening school, she can both read and write—'a gift from God,' she says. One woman, sixty-two years old, has missed only one night at school in three years, and now that school is closed she attends an afternoon class. A man who came to Webster in 1898, and is now seventy years old, deciding at last that he should never return to the old home, entered the evening school, learned to read and write English, and has passed his citizenship examination with a mark as high as that of the youngest pupil.

"The attendance records in many cases have been remarkable. Cambridge reports two hundred and twenty pupils who attained one hundred per cent, while Lowell reports one entire evening school and one factory class as having the same record. In all industrial classes in Worcester, over ninety-eight per cent of the men who enrolled at the beginning of the term and are now employed in the plants are still members of their classes."

Library Work with the Foreign-Born

At the request of the Free Public Library Commission, the General Court of 1913 authorized the appointment of a special agent by that commission for work among foreigners. Since August, 1913, there has been a trained librarian assisting and advising the public libraries of the Commonwealth in the purchase of proper books for foreign readers. Every town and city in Massachusetts has a public library. In the past year 4,758 books in foreign languages were loaned to libraries throughout the State. The State Free Library Commission reports that Polish books are in great demand; French and Italian, next. Lithuanian, Finnish, Bohemian, Chinese, Greek, Swedish, Armenian, Syrian, Portuguese, Spanish, Yiddish, Russian, Hungarian, German, Slovak, Norwegian, Hebrew, and Dutch are also asked for, in addition to English for adult beginners and for Americanization workers. The increasing value of the service is shown by a circularization gain of five hundred and fifty-three over the previous year. Foreign books in twenty-two languages were lent to ninety-nine libraries. The work from the State is largely in the stimulation of local libraries. The past year's report shows that requests for book lists, lectures, conferences with librarians and others interested in the immigrant, were an important feature of the work. An example of how the public library functions to aid in Americanization is taken from the annual report of the Division of Public Libraries of the Department of Education.

"LYNN: Following its custom of the last two years a visit to the library has been part of the program for each of the Americanization, Naturalization, and Mothers' classes. The class meets in the staff room where it is easier to create an informal, question and answer sort of meeting than in the larger lecture hall. The librarian talks with the class about the library,—its use, support, and what it has for them, illustrating the last by specific books. The class is then divided into small groups, each of which is shown about the library by a member of the staff. Usually some slight refreshment is served when the groups return to the staff room. Application cards are given out and members of the class allowed to register if they wish. Although only a small fraction of these people develop into regular patrons of the library, all have a better and more friendly understanding of its purpose as a result of these visits. A collection of books in easy English has been shelved near the foreign books in the Reading Room. It contains readers, arithmetics, histories of the United States, lives of our famous men and other books of like nature."

IRISH GROUP OF IMMIGRANTS

The last available census is that of 1920, prior to the passage of the immigration law of 1924. The figures show, as the largest group of any one nationality in Massachusetts in 1920, the Irish with 183,171; the next in numerical importance, the Canadians (not French), with 153,330; the third group numerically considered, the Italians, with 117,007; the fourth group, Canadian French, with 109,681; and the fifth group, natives of Russia, with 92,034.

In the years for which nationality figures are available from 1850, the Irish have been the leading race numerically in Massachusetts. For the country at large, the Irish have been losing in numerical importance since 1860. In 1920, there were for the whole United States 835,000 fewer Irish than in 1890. The high death rate of the Irish is partially responsible for their decline in numbers. The same comparative diminution is apparent in Massachusetts. While the Irish still rank highest numerically among the foreign-born residents of the State, there were 183,171 Irish-born recorded by the Federal Census of 1920 in comparison with 259,902 recorded in 1890.

The Irish were among the earliest settlers in the Commonwealth. During the two years 1736-1738, ten ships are recorded as coming to Boston from Ireland, bringing a total of nearly 1,000 passengers. In 1737 forty "gentlemen of the Irish nation" residing in Boston formed the Charitable Irish Association for the "relief of . . . their poor indigent countrymen." Among the poor unfortunates who were hung as witches in the persecutions of 1688 was a laundress, one Mrs. Glover, "one of the wild Irish." On being brought to court and accused of witchcraft, she claimed to be able to speak only Irish. Cotton Mather interrogated her, visiting her twice in the jail. She could not say the Lord's Prayer in English, as was required to prove she was not a witch, but could say it in Latin. Cotton Mather reported that she always became confused in one portion, however. After a long trial, she was convicted and hanged as a witch on November 16, 1688.

The heaviest Irish immigration to Massachusetts was in the years from 1840 to 1870. In the forty years preceding the Civil War, two million Irish came to the United States; and of that number a large proportion landed and settled in Massachusetts. They were used for creating railroads, canals, and rough manual labor. The Irish girls did domestic work, as their successors continue to do, and also went frequently into the mills in Lawrence and Lowell. The Irish in Massachusetts have always been an urban population, and this is characteristic of them throughout the United States.

Among the outstanding Irish immigrants who have made Massachusetts their permanent home John Boyle O'Reilly, poet and patriot, who began life in Massachusetts in 1870 ranks perhaps first in dramatic appeal. In 1866 he was arrested in Dublin for participating in the Fenian outbreak, sentenced to twenty years, and transported to the penal colony in Australia. Escaping from that colony in a small boat in 1869 he was picked up at sea by Captain Gifford of New Bedford who put him on a boat bound for England. At Liverpool he shipped as an American sailor on an American ship landing in Philadelphia. He was then twenty-five years of age, young and hopeful, and knew not one single soul on the American continent. He made his application for American citizenship the day that he landed and after a short stay in Philadelphia came to Boston where he engaged in literary work, for years acting as editor of the *Boston Pilot*. He contributed also to the Atlantic, *Scribner's* and *Harper's*. He did more perhaps than any other individual to foster sympathetic understanding between native Americans and the Irish immigrants of his day. His successor in the field of promoting understanding between the immigrant and the native born is Denis McCarthy, also an Irish immigrant and poet who is the present day exponent of the Americanism that rests on sympathetic understanding.

The Irishmen who have entered the political field are legion. Patrick Collins, several times Mayor of Boston, stands foremost in the group in the universal respect in which he was held.

There has been a gradual diminution of the Irish giving their destination as Massachusetts since 1899, the first year the Federal figures are given by races. The figure for 1899 is

8,515. The smallest number coming in any one year was in 1918, when only 672 came; but since the war there has been a gradual increase; and since the Quota Law, the figures indicate a return to the earlier rate.

CANADIANS AND ITALIANS

Those born in Canada of non-French stock rank next in numerical importance. The Canadian French were not separately noted until the census figures of 1890. Those born in Canada have been second numerically since the census of 1860; in the 1850 census they ranked third. The racial stock of the Canadian immigration is mainly British. Those coming since 1870 were frequently descendants of such Irish and Scotch immigrants as landed in Canada in the great exodus of 1840-1850. Of the Canadian population of the United States, the largest per cent is in the State of Massachusetts. This concentration is due, no doubt, in part to the fact that there has been for years a regularly established steamship transportation between Boston and the Canadian maritime provinces. Many Canadians come by rail, also, but the non-French immigration is largely by boat via Yarmouth and St. John.

For years there was no restriction whatsoever of Canadian immigration. Even now, immigrants born in Canada are exempt from the quota laws. Because of the ease of entry, and the nearness to home, many Canadians have registered on entry as visitors and after a trial stay determined to make the Commonwealth their future home. Under the present naturalization rulings, this first arrival as a "visitor," if it occurred subsequent to 1906, is not a legal arrival sufficient for naturalization purposes. Factors of this sort have perhaps aided in retarding the naturalization of the Canadians resident here. Remedial legislation passed by Congress in 1929 may prove beneficial. In *Americans by Choice,* John Palmer Gavit gives as the average interval preceding naturalization after arrival for Canadian adults sixteen and fourteen years. This is the longest interval of waiting prior to seeking citizenship of any race in the United States.

Italians form the third group in numerical importance shown by the 1920 census, having a total of 117,007. This is the first year in which the Italian-born took the first place numerically. They were sixth in 1910, eighth in 1900 and 1890, ninth in 1880, thirteenth in 1870. In 1860 only 371 were recorded; and in 1850, only 271. It was not until 1880 that over a thousand Italian-born residents were recorded. The advance has been in the past thirty years. The figures for the United States show that the Italians have made the greatest numerical gain of any nationality in the past seventy years.

The figures for the Federal Immigration Bureau record races of those coming only after 1898. These figures show that 4,015 Italians gave their destination as Massachusetts in 1899. The numbers show a fairly steady increase with the exception of the year 1908, and reached the peak with a total of 24,790 destined to Massachusetts in 1914. Since that time the war and immigration laws have combined to reduce the numbers. In the year closing June 30, 1921, came the greatest number, 16,695—showing that, if the quota law had not been passed, Italian immigration would have equalled prewar figures. The law of 1924 fixes the quota as very low indeed. Only 403 persons born in Italy are recorded as entering Massachusetts in 1925; and 531 in 1926.

French Canadians

The Canadian French, showing a total of 109,681 in the census of 1920, rank fourth in numerical importance. Separate figures for the Canadian French are not recorded until 1890. The migration antedated this period, however. In a report on the Canadian French in New England made for a legislative committee of the Massachusetts General Court in 1881, the number of Canadian French resident in Massachusetts is given as 46,453. The report indicates that the immigration in appreciable numbers began in 1870, and was largely to mill cities where the Canadian French found occupation in textile work. There was considerable hostility to the Canadian French in labor circles in the early days of their residence in the United States; but the succeeding years bear witness to their frugality, thrift, and good qualities. The language barrier and their desire to retain their own speech have been a barrier against citizenship. The difficulties experienced by Canadians in general in regard to legal records of arrival are intensified in the case of French Canadians who came to the country largely by land routes—and frequently, prior to 1917, without any inspection.

Russians and Hebrews

The fifth classification in the 1920 census is that of natives of Russia, showing a total of 92,034. Obviously, only a small part of this total is that of real Russian stock. The larger portion includes members of races subject to the Czar before imperial Russia fell. A number of Letts, Lithuanians, and Poles are probably erroneously listed as born in Russia, because their homelands were subject to Russia at the time of their birth. The largest proportion of the number born in Russia, however, are the Jews. Of those born in Russia, the year 1850 shows only 38; 1860, 61; 1870, 154; 1880, 462. In 1890, 7,325 are recorded. The persecutions in Russia due to the May laws undoubtedly accelerated the Jewish migration. In 1900 the number is 37,919. In 1910 the greatest number, 117,261, is shown. The lower figure in 1920 is perhaps caused by a more careful separation of the Poles from the Russian figures than by any diminution in the racial stock.

In the Federal Census, Monograph VII, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1920,* states that at least 56.5 per cent of the Russian-born foreigners in this country are Hebrew. Less than four per cent of the population of Russia is Hebrew; but the Hebrews were a bitterly oppressed people, which accounts largely for their migration.

The figures of the Federal Immigration Bureau show as destined to Massachusetts numbers never less than 2,500 Hebrews per year in the years between 1899 and 1915. The largest number, 9,097, came in 1905. The war reduced these, although they never ceased completely. They came in large numbers again in 1921, that year showing 3,884; 1922, 3,409; 1923, 2,248; 1924, 2,354. Since the operation of the Quota Law, the numbers have dropped to 404 and 387 for 1924 and 1925 respectively.

The majority of the Jewish race have congregated in the cities. Boston has the largest number. Many of them have entered professions.

The number of real Russians in Massachusetts is a matter of estimate rather than statistics. M. Vilchur in his book *The Russians in America,* written in the Russian language in 1918, estimates the number of Russians in Massachusetts as 40,000, rating Massachusetts as third among the States in Russian population.

According to the racial classifications by the Federal Census Bureau, 56 Russians gave Massachusetts as a destination in 1899, and more came in small numbers until 1907, the figure not passing the thousand mark until then. There was a noticeable growth until 1914, when the largest number recorded, 4,787, came.

The Russian immigration has been practically cut off since 1915. Only 37 Russians entered Massachusetts in 1926.

The bulk of the Russian migration was of working people, and was largely male. The Russians have done heavy work in mills and leather factories.

MINOR GROUPS

The following various national groups make up the Massachusetts foreign-born population below the fifth group in numerical importance. The respective rank of the different nationalities as indicated by the 1920 Census is shown in the following table:

Sixth, England	86,895
Seventh, Poland	69,157
Eighth, Portugal (inclusive of 25,230 from Atlantic Islands)	43,545
Ninth, Sweden	38,012
Tenth, Scotland	28,474
Eleventh, Germany	22,113
Twelfth, Lithuania	20,789
Thirteenth, Greece	20,441
Fourteenth, Finland	14,570
Fifteenth, Armenia	8,640
Sixteenth, Austria	8,098

Seventeenth, Newfoundland	7,165
Eighteenth, Syria	7,128
Nineteenth, France	7,120
Twentieth, Norway	5,491
Twenty-first, Denmark	3,629
Twenty-second, Belgium	2,238
Twenty-third, Czecho Slovakia	2,238
Twenty-fourth, Netherlands	2,071
All other countries	15,228

The migration of English aliens to Massachusetts has been a small but steady stream. The figures of the Federal Immigration Bureau show 2,928 destined to Massachusetts in 1899. The highest figure of the gradual increase was reached in 1910 with 7,405. The figures decrease gradually again until 1919. Since that time there has been a decided increase. The figure of 16,026 for 1924 is the largest ever shown for English destined to Massachusetts. The two years succeeding the Quota Law show numbers of 8,476 and 7,740. Many of the English immigrants are destined to New Bedford, which has always been a great center for that race.

The figure shown as born in Poland, 69,157, is subject to the same modification in regard to racial components as the figure for Russia, a large number of those listed as born in Poland being of the Jewish race.

The estimate of the number of Poles resident in Massachusetts according to the Polish National Alliance Calendar for 1910 was 240,000, a number much in excess of the Federal census of 1920.

The bulk of Polish migration to the United States came in the fifteen years prior to the World War. The figures of the Federal Immigration Bureau show 1913 to have had the largest number for any one year—13,627.

Portuguese

The Portuguese in the Massachusetts foreign-born population number 43,545—25,230 being Portuguese from the Atlantic Islands. For the most part, the migration of Portuguese to the United States has been comparatively recent and has gone either to California or New England. A very thorough study of the Portuguese settlers was made by Donald R. Taft in one of the Columbia University Studies in History and Economics, called *Two Portuguese Communities in New England.* A quotation from it gives some historical data as follows:

"Isolated cases of Portuguese settlers are reported as early as the seventeenth century, but it was not until the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century that they began coming in any numbers, and the great rush has been since 1890. Probably the first groups came as sailors aboard the whaling ships which used to land at Fayal and bring back natives as part of their crews, to New Bedford and Cape Cod. In 1765, we are told, restrictions were put on fishing by the Governor of Labrador and in the following year he decreed that any vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence coming from the Plantations and found to have any fish but whale aboard should be confiscated. This action drove the fleet from these seas and they pursued their calling along the edge of the Gulf Stream, Western Islands, Cape de Verdes and Brazil Banks. Commercial intercourse between New Bedford and the Azores began about 1830 and immigration with it. That a number may have come on the whaling ships is evident when we remember the size of the whaling industry in New Bedford. At its height in 1857 the New Bedford fleet numbered 329 ships and employed 10,000 seamen. By 1867 the Portuguese of New Bedford became sufficiently numerous to warrant the sending of a priest to care for them, and two years later they are said to have numbered eight hundred. As late as 1889, however, they are not specially mentioned as cotton mill hands along with the English, Scotch, Irish and French Canadians, although they doubtless are included under the caption 'a few of other nationalities.' They must have entered the cotton mills not long after this, for in 1899 Mr. Borden wrote: 'The nationality of the operatives [of New Bedford] has undergone radical changes . . . Portuguese and French Canadians predominating.' Today there are perhaps 30,000 Portuguese or people of Portuguese descent in New Bedford.

"The Portuguese immigration to Fall River, however, has been much more recent, practically all having come within the last thirty-five years. Despite their late arrival they have increased rapidly in numbers until now they are only less numerous there than in the New Bedford colony, and make up about a fifth of the population.

"The first contacts of the Azores with America were, as we have seen, through whaling ships which stopped at the port of Horta in the island of Fayal. It is natural, therefore, that the early comers to New England and California as well were from that island and others of the more westerly group. The large immigration of recent years to Fall River and vicinity, at least, has been from the more easterly islands of St. Michael's and St. Mary's. Mrs. Caswell, writing in the seventies of work among the Portuguese of Boston, is apparently referring to Fayalese women when she says that a Portuguese woman 'abhors dirt and rags. Her home is tidy, however poor.'

"Turning to the region of our special interest we find the Portuguese of New England very largely in south-eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In 1870 the early comers were found distributed chiefly in the following counties of Massachusetts listed in order of importance: Bristol, Suffolk, Barnstable, Essex, Middlesex, and Norfolk. This shows the importance of the early settlements in and near New Bedford, Boston and on the Cape. Today the order of importance is: Bristol, Middlesex, Plymouth, Essex, Barnstable, Suffolk, Hampden, with less than 500 each in any of the other counties. The relative importance of Bristol County has increased due to continued growth of the settlement in New Bedford and the rise of the only less important group in Fall River. Despite many Portuguese on the farms this growth has followed the development of industrial cities and has been especially marked in the cotton mill centers."

SCANDINAVIANS

Immigration from the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark totals 47,122 in the 1920 census—the largest group being the Swedes. This immigration is small in proportion to the migration of these races to the Western States; and most of it has come since 1880, when the total Scandinavian population was 5,971.

Of the remaining races enumerated, the Lithuanians and Finns each show a considerable number. The larger migrations of these races are in other States, however. Since 1914, because of a combination of local conditions and restrictive laws, the Lithuanian migration has been at a practical standstill. Not 500 Lithuanians have come in any one year since 1915.

GERMANS

Both the Scotch and the German elements of the foreign-born population of the Commonwealth are immigrants of the so-called older group. For both races, however, there are still a considerable number arriving each year. The German migration in 1924, 1,847, was larger than for any single year recorded since 1899.

The beginnings of gymnastic work in America were made by German immigrants. Three German scholars, exiles from the fatherland because of their political activities, Carl Beck, Carl Follen, and Francis Lieber, entering America in the early nineteenth century at a time when there was a growing interchange of educational impetus between Germany and America, had a dominant effect on American educational life. Two of them, Carl Beck and Carl Follen, arrived in the United States on Christmas Day in 1824. Both went immediately to teach at the Round Hill School at Northampton where under the direction of Carl Beck the Round Hill Gymnasium, probably the first of its kind in the United States, was instituted. Carl Follen, after teaching at Round Hill for a short time was called to Harvard as professor of German. His first German class, started in 1825 at Harvard, consisted of eight pupils. There were no German textbooks available and Professor Follen wrote his own textbook, stressing in it the progressive German thought of his day. He was a master of English, a brilliant orator and a keen philosopher, lecturing at Harvard in philosophy and ethics as well as acting as professor of German. He founded the gymnasium at Harvard and instituted the "Turnerei" or German gymnastic exercises there. He was in Harvard from 1824 to 1826 and subsequently became a Unitarian minister located at Lexington. The third of this famous trio, Francis Lieber, began his career in America in 1827. He organized his famous swimming school in Boston and when Dr. Warren, a professor at the Harvard Medical School founded the Tremont Gymnasium in Boston he was called to it as director. His influence in the intellectual circles in Boston was important as he numbered among his intimate frends Charles Sumner, George Ticknor the publisher, and the poet Longfellow. Other later professors at Harvard have continued in the tradition of Professor Follen. Among the notable professors of German birth have been Professor Münsterberg, one of the leading psychologists of his day; Professor Hanus who has been professor of Education from 1891; Professor Kuno Francke whose work in Germanic literature is noteworthy.

The effect of German thought on educational institutions was not confined to collegiate work as the kindergarten movement emanating from Germany under Froebel had a wide development in the United States. The first kindergarten in this country was opened at Watertown in 1855 by Marghareta Meyer (Mrs. Carl Schurz).

The first prominent orchestra in the United States founded in 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society, was instigated largely by a German immigrant in Boston, Gottlieb Graupner. Carl Zerrahn; another German, served as its conductor for forty years beginning his work in 1854.

The intellectual effect, therefore, of the German immigration has been exceedingly vital in the educational life of Massachusetts."

Races From the Eastern End of the Mediterranean

Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians are not so important numerically as components of the foreign-born population of the State, but they have their largest numbers in the United States within this State.

Out of a total of 55,057 Armenians who have come to the United States since 1899, 17,391 gave their permanent destination as New York State, 14,192 as Massachusetts, making this State the second in popularity for Armenian stock. *The Armenians in America* lists as cities in Massachusetts having an Armenian "colony" of more than 100 Boston, Worcester, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, Hopedale, Middleboro, Malden, Newton Upper Falls, Newburyport, Whitinsville, Watertown, Chelsea, Brockton, Bridgewater, Salem, Somerville, Springfield, Peabody, Cambridge, Fitchburg and Franklin. Syrians also chose Massachusetts as the State of their destination, the Commonwealth ranking second in the Union for the number of Syrian residents. The first year of the Federal immigration records, 1899, shows that 502 of a total of 3,708 gave their destination as Massachusetts. The largest number in any one year came in 1913, when 1,692 were recorded.

The cities in which Syrians are settled are Boston, Worcester, Fall River, Lawrence, and Springfield. The Syrians are natural merchants. Only in a few mill cities have Syrians gone into factory work in any number. Lawrence, Fall River, Lowell, New Bedford, and Worcester number them among their mill operatives. The Greeks estimate their own number at a higher figure than that indicated by the Federal Census. Undoubtedly, some members of the Greek race are recorded at natives of Turkey. They estimate 45,000 to 50,000 Greeks resident in Massachusetts, making the Greek population of this State not far from one-seventh of the entire country.

Distribution by Races

The 1920 census indicates that the largest number of the foreign-born in the State are what is called "old immigration" —there being 656,747 from countries of the old-immigration groups, as follows:

Scotland Ireland England Canada Newfoundland	English-speaking countries	459,035

Austria Belgium Canada (French) France Germany Netherlands Scandinavian Other countries	Northern Europe or Canada	197,712

The larger proportion is English-speaking. The remaining 420,787 of the new immigration stock come from Italy, Poland, Greece, Armenia, Syria, Russia, Finland, Portugal, and divers other countries.

Effects of the Present Immigration Laws

The days of mass immigration, similar to that of 1907 and 1913, are probably forever ended. The new period in immigration legislation was begun by the Immigration Act of 1917, which by its literacy test caused a serious drop in the immigration figures from southern and south-eastern Europe, countries backward educationally. The war itself checked immigration for some years. Postwar conditions in Europe indicated that an exodus similar in numbers to the years of maximum immigration was impending. To prevent this influx, the first percentage immigration act was passed as a temporary measure in May, 1921, and with certain minor changes was extended until July 1, 1924.

The present law, which went into effect July 1, 1924, is even more stringent in its rulings than the law of 1921. It allows to enter the United States a quota of immigrants from each European country. The law makes a drastic cut in number admitted from Europe. It still allows Canadians, Mexicans, and natives of South and Central America to enter outside the quota. Under this present law, 307,255 immigrants entered the United States in the year ending June 30, 1928. Of these 20,461 gave their permanent destination as Massachusetts.

To indicate the restriction which the law has placed on certain nationalities, let us compare the figures of those arriving in the State of the given race for the past year with the year 1913, the peak year for Massachusetts.

	1913	1928
Armenian	2,367	192
English	6,541	5,458
Finnish	2,239	47
German	938	689
Greek	5,919	251
Hebrew	6,109	364
Irish	6,607	4,934
Italian	23,769	1,074
Lithuanian	3,957	28
Polish	13,627	200
Portuguese	9,002	202
Russian	5,266	38
Scandinavian	2,374	681
Scotch	3,090	2,861
Syrian	1,692	52

It is evident that the new law has affected most seriously the races coming from central Europe, southern Europe, and the Near East.

For the year ending June 30, 1928, the four races sending the largest number to Massachusetts are English, with 5,458; Irish, with 4,934; French (mainly French Canadians) with 2,957; Scotch, with 2,861. Italians come in the next group with 1,074; Germans follow with 689; Scandinavians with 681 and no other nationality has more than 500 persons for this year. The law practically limits immigration to northern Europe.

This short history of immigration in Massachusetts shows that, with the ever-changing tide of human affairs, a great and conservative State can keep her standards and her somewhat conservative individuality and yet absorb great numbers of different races; and with the present careful selection and the elimination of dangerous elements, it is safe to believe that Massachusetts will be in the future as she has in the past the standard bearer of high ideals, fine traditions, and the deepest loyalty to the Union.

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION (1820–1890)

By Albert E. Winship
Editor of The Journal of Education

Educational Conditions (1820)

History is the most fascinating phase of human nature. Education creates history because it is responsible for human nature.

Civilization is history that has ripened and been harvested and marketed.

Civilization is always alive; and history is the most vitally alive functioning of human nature.

Educational history is the story of the creation of all history.

The New World is so young that it is possible to appreciate the action of education upon every heart throb of its history.

Massachusetts has been so vitally related to every significant feature of progress in the New World that the educational history of the State reveals the secret of its dominant influence especially in the three-score years and ten from 1820 to 1890.

Educational history deals with complex conditions, defying solution. This problem must be solved by some commanding group of personalities under dominant leadership, and must result in significant institutional creation.

Massachusetts in 1820 presented a civic, social, and industrial condition demanding wise, heroic, and immediate educational attention.

There was no public-school spirit. There was no emergency spirit, demanding change in the peaceful order of things. There was no illiteracy, and no lack of general intelligence.

The common school, twelve weeks in the year, with a teacher in whom the public had confidence, was adequate for universal ability to read, write, and use numbers as much as was needed in that day. Even geography was regarded as superfluous. A very moderate schoolhouse was adequate for the limited use to which it was put.

Public sentiment made it impossible for any family to neglect a common-school education for all of the children.

An academy was available for every boy who had exceptional ability. The expense was very light, and every community had some young people in an academy every year.

The academy toned up the manners of every community through the young people, who brought back from the academy the ideas of good language, respectability in dress, and general culture.

Attendance for a time at an academy was absolutely necessary for any civic, social, or religious prestige. There was a community aristocracy which distinguished, with autocratic severity, young people whose language, dress, and manners testified to an appreciation of the influence, direct or indirect, of the academies.

Every academy was affiliated with some church organization, and every young man who would be a credit to the church was sure to have it made possible for him to go to the academy of his family church connection.

Neighborhood conditions produced a self-satisfied state of public mind, so that there had been no successful appeal for public taxation for public schools.

Influences Favoring Education (1820–1840)

There had been industrial and commercial forces at work which culminated in 1820. Community centers had been developing. Seaports had always been thrifty community centers, where stores were common, more or less of a wholesale nature, dealing in West India goods, especially rum and spices. In the thirty years following the Revolutionary War, flour and some other foods were commercialized, and cloth, yarns, and threads were manufactured, so that mills and factories were established. This tended to create centers of population, so that by 1820 every seaport was thrifty and places like Worcester, Springfield, and villages on streams that had water power came to be important social and commercial centers.

All this promoted better farming. There was a market for milk, butter, and eggs, for vegetables and fruits, so that by 1820 Massachusetts was decidedly different from what it had been even a few years before. It was bringing into the community centers a different class of people; not many of any one class in any one community, but the change was attracting attention.

There were circumstances which made a public-school spirit desirable and ultimately inevitable. The condition was ideal for the discovery of this public-school spirit. All that was needed was a group of men of influence, with a leader around whom they would rally. Human nature is as sure to respond to such a need as fruit buds to blossom when the season favors.

Horace Mann

In 1826, at thirty years of age, Horace Mann, who had been equipping himself for just such responsibility, came to Dedham, Massachusetts. He was a man of brilliant talent, who had never been a part of any community. He had come to that community to establish himself in the profession of law, had come to sell himself to that community; and on the first opportunity, with his first public address, he captured the community completely. He was immediately elected to the legislature, and his initial speech made him the legislative leader of Massachusetts.

The public-school spirit was not dependable; but there was a public spirit that would be responsible to a specific appeal, and there was in Massachusetts a group of men intensely in earnest to relieve suffering humanity. Horace Mann appealed to the legislators to "open the eyes of the blind," and a State school for the blind was easily secured.

Then came his brilliant appeal to "unstop the ears of the deaf and loosen the tongue of the dumb," and a school for the deaf and dumb was speedily voted.

Then he made an irresistible appeal for those whose minds were unbalanced, and an institution for the insane was created.

His next plea was for neglected and wayward boys, and a home school for them was the result.

When all this was achieved, Horace Mann went to the State senate, and was at once elected president of that body. It was natural that he should champion the cause of all children and youth.

Progress in Education (1821–1858)

That Massachusetts was ripe for the great awakening of 1820 is evident from the fact that Boston had the first really free public high school in the New World: the English High School in 1821, and the first high school for girls in 1825.

In 1827 the legislature permitted the support of public schools for all children for twelve weeks in the year, but it was 1858 before there was compulsory schooling for all children from eight to fifteen.

The teaching of geography was required in 1826. This was more than ten years before there was a State board of education, before Mr. Mann was in the State legislature. There are many evidences that educational history was budding before the great blossoming was apparent.

Boston was far ahead of the rest of the State, and certainly led all cities in the New World. This had its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Boston was proud, even conceited, so that it refused to profit by any of the spirit of the great awakening between 1820 and 1845.

One of the notable creations in the educational history of this period was the promotion of supervision. In nothing was Mr. Mann more heroic than in his appeal for professional supervision of the schools of cities.

Springfield had the first city superintendent of schools in Massachusetts, in 1840.

Massachusetts State Board of Education (1837)

Educational history was ready to ripen when the Massachusetts State Board of Education was created. On May 27, 1837, the governor appointed eight men as the State Board of Education. Mr. Mann was one of these. He believed this Board to be like a mountain spring, almost imperceptible, but destined to deepen and widen as it descended, diffusing health and beauty in its course till people should dwell upon its banks. He considered it the first great movement towards an organized system of common-school education.

Mr. Mann demonstrated his sincerity by accepting the secretaryship, on June 29 of that year. His dramatic consecration to the creation of a State common-school system is without a parallel in the educational history of America. "My law library is for sale. I'll let the next generation be my client." "God grant me an annihilation of selfishness, a mind of wisdom, a heart of benevolence. . . . I must not irritate. I must not degrade any one in his own eyes. I must not present myself as a solid body to oppose an iron barrier to any. I must adapt myself to tastes, opinions, habits, manners so far as this can be done without hypocrisy or insincerity, or a compromise of principle . . . .So long as I hold this office, I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind."

Mr. Mann's enthusiasm received a severe shock immediately when he entered upon his new work. He had been the most popular speaker in the State for ten years, and he expected to win immediate and universal support to his appeals for better schoolhouses, for the use of maps and globes and school apparatus, for better books, better teachers, and better teaching.

When he made a political speech in Westport, everybody came to hear him, and a hundred people came from New Bedford; but when he had an address on education a few evenings later, almost no one came to hear him. Naturally he was exasperated at the universal indifference to his appeals.

From 1789 to 1837 academies and private schools had developed almost miraculously. When Mr. Mann consecrated himself to the creation of a common-school system in 1837, $328,000 was paid in tuition to private schools and academies in Massachusetts and only $2.81 of tax money was expended per child on public education. The entire tax for public schools was $465,228. The $328,000 was paid in tuition for one sixth of the children of the State.

Academies, High Schools, and Local Districts (1820–1870)

The academy (named from a suburb of Athens where Plato met his students) was a vital factor in the educational history of Massachusetts from 1820 to 1870, but slackened its pace of progress when the free public high school intensified its popularity after the Civil War.

The academy was really a creation of the Revolutionary War period. Phillips Academy was established at Andover by Samuel Phillips in 1778. In 1820 there were 26 incorporated academies in Massachusetts. In 1840 there were 114.

The high school, first named in Boston about 1824 and recognized by law in 1827, had a hard time competing with the academies. In 1840 there were only 18 high schools. In 1861 there were 102 high schools, in which Latin and Greek were taught.

Phillips Academy never suffered from high-school competition; but many other Massachusetts academies suffered greatly from the competition, because the high school prepared students in Latin and Greek for college, and at the same time had commercial and other departments which appealed to the public.

In 1827 the local school district was legalized and made a political institution. Until then it had been a convenience, with no State provision for its action.

George H. Martin, in his study of the Massachusetts public school system, says that this legalizing of the local school district was the high-water mark of modern democracy, and the low-water mark of the Massachusetts school system. Each school district became the center of semi-political activity. Mr. Martin said, "Questions involving the fate of nations have been decided with less expenditure of time, less stirring of passions, less vociferation of declamation and denunciation, than the location of fifteen-by-twenty district schoolhouses."

Massachusetts Influence on the Nation (1830–1889)

A vital factor in the educational history of Massachusetts in the quarter of a century following 1820 is its influence upon national educational history.

Probably the most effective single educational address ever made in the New World was by Thaddeus Stephens in the Pennsylvania legislature, in 1834, which saved the modest attempt to promote public education in that State.

In 1844, New York State, which had resisted the noble appeals of Governor De Witt Clinton for a quarter of a century, followed the lead of Massachusetts. The New York Legislature reprinted the fifth annual report (1841) of Horace Mann for extensive free circulation in the State, an honor never conferred on any other educational publication of Massachusetts by that legislature; and it bore important fruit.

In 1844 New York established at Albany the first State normal school outside of Massachusetts. New York went still further in its appreciation of Massachusetts and came to that State for a principal for the first normal school—David P. Page, who was an assistant teacher in the Newburyport high school. There were many New York aspirants for the position, all men with academic attainments, and Mr. Page had no college training. This came near jeopardizing the normal school project in New York State.

The second year that Mr. Mann was secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Mr. Page, a young man, an assistant teacher in the Newburyport high school, read a paper at an educational meeting on "Duties of Parents and Teachers." In it were sentences like these: "We should ask for sympathy,—for soul-cheering sympathy on the part of the parents of those we are called to instruct . . . . Let parents give their sympathy and cooperation to the teachers of their children, and the profession would soon be filled with devoted and talented men, who would be willing to live and die in their work: and when from their last pillow they should cast back a lingering look to the scene of their labors, the roses would amply conceal the sharpest thorns."

Mr. Mann said this was the ablest educational address to which he had listened; and he published it at public expense, sending a copy to all teachers in the State. This address made Mr. Page principal of the Albany State Normal School six years later.

All vitalized educational history in the New World is traceable to Massachusetts in the quarter of a century from 1820 to 1845; and this is centered on the vision, courage, and wisdom of Horace Mann and his associates.

Supporters of Reform (1836–1874)

No man creates history any more than one general wins a battle. History is made by civic, industrial, social, and religious conflict. Horace Mann would have made a sorry picture in educational history but for the heroic support that he received from Edward Everett, orator, statesman, and president of Harvard College; Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston; Charles Sumner, eminent statesman; Rufus Choate, famous lawyer; Samuel G. Howe, of international fame; John G. Whittier, Martin Brimmer, and John G. Carter, champions of professional education of teachers. Mr. Carter was the original promoter of the State normal school idea. He was one year older than Mr. Mann, and a graduate of Harvard College, three years earlier than Mr. Mann graduated from Brown University.

Normal Schools (1827–1889)

The year that Mr. Mann was elected to the Massachusetts legislature, Mr. Carter petitioned for an appropriation for the establishment of a State normal school. The failure of this bill led Mr. Carter to open a private normal school at Lancaster, Massachusetts. He was a member of the legislature in 1835, and drafted the bill which created the first two State normal schools in Massachusetts.

Edmond Dwight, Mr. Mann's most ardent supporter in the establishment of normal schools, was a member of the first State Board of Education; and when the bill for the establishment of the first State normal school was passed, he gave $10,000, and the legislature appropriated an equal amount.

Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston, gave Mr. Mann $1,500 for the promotion of normal school activities.

The Bridgewater State Normal School, under Nicholas Tillinghast, gave a tone to normal schools which has had a vast influence all over the country. The Bridgewater Normal

School was the first to continue in the place where it was established. The Lexington Normal School moved to West Newton and then to Framingham, and the Barre Normal School moved to Westfield; and each of them changed principals early.

Horace Mann's theory was to use the normal schools for the spread of his gospel of the new education. As a result, students could attend school for a short time each year, keep account of the time they were there, and get their certificates of graduation when their attendance equalled three terms, which counted for a year.

Tillinghast was a scholar and an educator. He was a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, had taught in that academy, had been a principal in Boston. He was principal of the Bridgewater Normal School from its opening in 1840 until 1853.

Tillinghast insisted that a State normal school should prepare students to teach successfully, and that it was impossible to achieve that unless a student remained in the school at least three consecutive terms, or one year. When he had been principal six years and had been unable to secure this standard, he resigned as principal, giving this as the reason. The State Board of Education refused to accept his resignation, and put all three schools on the continuous attendance program.

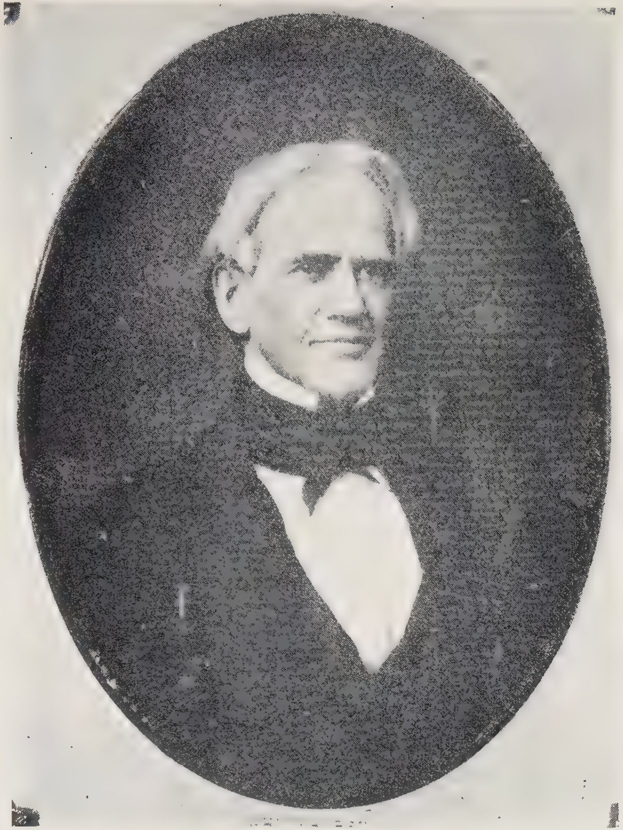
Albert G. Boyden was principal of the Bridgewater Normal School from 1858 to 1906, by far the longest term that any head of any educational institution has been in service. His eldest son, Arthur C. Boyden, in 1929 was serving his twenty-third year as the successor of his father.

Educational history of Massachusetts must always follow the movement from the common schools to the academies until 1820; from the academies to the colleges from 1820 to 1870; from the high schools to the colleges after 1870.

The academies harvested the promising boys of the common schools, and the colleges marketed the promising boys of the academies.

Educational Reports (1836–1841)

In the first years of Mr. Mann's devotion to the creation of a public-school system, Massachusetts led the New World as



Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

Horace Mann

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

Mark Hopkins

wholesomely as it did brilliantly. His first five annual reports, as secretary of the State Board of Education, are the most important five books on public schools that have been written. Search the libraries, run down the visions of all the philosophers, psychologists, and methodologists of a century, and you will find no five books that have rendered service comparable to that exerted by these five annual reports.

Horace Mann's fifth annual report was read in part in the British Parliament at a critical time in the promotion of public education, and saved legislation which was being bitterly opposed. Germany had Mr. Mann's fifth annual report translated and reprinted for general circulation. Never has any State in the Union had as great influence at home and abroad as had Massachusetts from 1820 to 1845.

State responsibility for the best schools for all children was idealized in State normal schools, and the first three in the New World were in Massachusetts. It was a hazardous adventure, because it necessitated an indictment of the teaching of the times and was a condemnation of the academies in which the teachers of the day had been educated.

Despite the troublous times in which these State normal schools were born, they made educational history for the New World; and today there is no State in which teacher training is not required. These three State normal schools of 1839 and 1840 are today in evidence in every nook and corner of every State and Territory.

Boston Schools and Schoolmasters (1843–1844)

The controversy between Horace Mann and the thirty-one Boston masters in 1844 is an illuminating chapter in the educational history of Massachusetts, but nothing has been written that makes it historically intelligible.

It is always referred to as an attack upon Horace Mann by the Boston masters. This was in no sense true until the final chapter in the controversy.

Mr. Mann made a fierce and furious attack upon the Boston masters in his seventh annual report, 1843. He felt justified in this because of their attitude toward the State normal schools, then only four years old.

The Boston schools were far above the common schools which the State normal schools were establishing. The State normal schools were established to educate the people to appreciate ideal school conditions, and they were used primarily, in those first years, for propaganda purposes. The two primary issues were teaching children to read as all children are taught to read now, and to abolish corporal punishment.

The Boston schools were primarily character-forming and social-creative institutions of an academy type. For a child to learn to read was a mere incident: he was to get the school atmosphere, as it were.

Whipping was not a cruel affair—was rarely, if ever, used severely in Boston. It was merely a means of making boys manly; "behavioristic" it would be called now.

The creation of the normal schools in 1839 and 1840 was the cause of great annoyance to Mr. Mann. Much glory as there was in it because of the public appreciation and personal financial gifts by Charles Sumner, Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston, Edmund Dwight, and many others, there was opposition bordering on ridicule by teachers and the public.

Naturally, the argument for State institutions to provide teachers was based upon the fact that those now teaching were incompetent. This inevitably led to bitter resentment by those who were teaching.

New England had church academies and seminaries, whose students quite generally taught; and this led these institutions and the churches they represented to resent the attitude of Mr. Mann.

Mr. Mann had no satisfactory opportunity to meet this opposition till his seventh annual report, 1843, which was prepared after six months spent in England, Germany, and Prussia.

He made the issue the fact that untrained teachers taught the alphabet and punished pupils, neither of which was the practice in Prussia. Unfortunately, he attacked the Boston Schools directly and vehemently on those two issues.

THE BOSTON CONTROVERSY (1843)

This provoked the controversy. The thirty-one Boston Masters signed the "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report," which were so brilliant that Mr. Mann said frankly that he lost sleep and reputation in consequence.

His "Reply" to the "Remarks" was most unfortunate in spirit and in matter. The fact was that he had no support, even from his best friends. No one cared whether the alphabet was taught or not. Everybody had learned the alphabet, and it had done them no harm; and mothers and fathers resented the suggestion that spanking was a crime.

The pulpit proclaimed the Bible as authority on Solomon's insistence that the rod should not be spared; and here was the head of the school system of Massachusetts insisting that the rod should be spared.

All in all the "Reply" of Mr. Mann left the controversy a triumph for the Boston masters. Had there been a popular vote on the alphabet and spanking, there would have been few school districts in his favor.

The "Rejoinder" of the Boston masters changed the whole situation. Some of the writers of the famous "Remarks" had declined to continue the controversy; and younger men, who wrote in the "Rejoinder," turned from the alphabet and spanking, and attacked Mr. Mann's record on the ground that he had accomplished nothing, ridiculing Dr. Samuel G. Howe and Martin Brimmer for their support of Mr. Mann.

Immediately there rallied to Mr. Mann's support, with intense bitterness towards the Boston masters, Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, Josiah Quincy, John G. Whittier, Henry Wilson, and many others who had the public's confidence. No one dared to support the Boston masters in this new rôle; and at an election held to elect a school board, the strongest supporters of Mr. Mann were elected. This dramatic victory of Mr. Mann had no possible reference to the controversy over the alphabet and the use of the rod, and yet it is quite common to hear eminent educators speak in glowing terms of Mr. Mann's triumphant victory in the alphabet-punishment contest. "The Answer" of Mr. Mann was every way worthy of him and of the occasion. Unfortunately, the result of the controversy established an impassable gulf between Mr. Mann and the teaching force of Boston; and they remained in action, while Mr. Mann and his enthusiastic supporters detoured into the sectional political morass.

Education for Girls (1820–1875)

Educational history took an entirely new departure in opening an academic world for girls after 1820.

Boston deserves high praise for having the first academic high school for girls in the New World.

Ipswich, Massachusetts, made a desperate effort to establish a seminary for girls. Mary Lyon devoted six years of brilliant teaching and intense activity, trying to have the Ipswich seminary financed; but she failed, and the seminary was closed.

No story has been oftener told and no chapters in educational history have been better written than the wonderful achievement of Mary Lyon in the creation of Mt. Holyoke Seminary. She was born in western Massachusetts, one year after Mr. Mann was born at Franklin in southeastern Massachusetts.

Mary Lyon had as noble a vision for women as he had for children and youth. At forty years of age, when the Ipswich Seminary failed because Rufus Choate, with all his fame and brilliant appeal, could not enlist financial support, Miss Lyon returned to the Berkshires and from the farmers and their families raised $68,500, which she invested in land and buildings in South Hadley and opened a seminary for girls. She insisted that she would never accept more than $200 a year and board for her service, and would provide as good education for girls for $60 a year—tuition and board—as any boys had.

There were accommodations for eighty-five students, and more than three hundred applied. In the twelve years that she lived to conduct that seminary, there were 2,324 young women in attendance and every State was represented.

It was more than twenty years after Mary Lyon died in 1849, at the age of fifty-two, before a woman's college functioned in Massachusetts—Wellesley and Smith, 1875.

After Wellesley and Smith were functioning, a woman was elected on the School Committee of Boston, whom the courts would not allow to qualify because only men could direct the education of children and youth. It required an act of the legislature to make it possible for children in school to have the benefit of a woman's counsel.

Advantages of the Boston Schools (1875–1890)

Educational history moved much faster in Massachusetts from the establishment of Wellesley and Smith Colleges to 1890, than from that of Mount Holyoke in 1837 to 1875.

Boston's educational history was never any part of the educational history of Massachusetts. It was never a small city and never had any common-school conditions. It never had any short school year; never had any schools for the express purpose of teaching reading, writing, and numbers.

The Boston grammar schools were primarily academies. The Boston master was in the same class as the principal of an academy. The pupils attained good manners and health suggestions, and gave attention to their personal appearance as definitely as the pupils in any academy.

No pupil was hide-bound by any course of study. The Boston master was as much elated when he could help a boy upon graduation into a position of responsibility as was any academy principal. There was no Boston master who did not point with pride to a number of men in business whom he had started on their careers. A grammar school reunion was a home-coming of men of distinguished success.

Massachusetts Colleges (1820–1870)

There was little distinctive educational history made in Massachusetts colleges from 1820 to 1870. Williams College in the extreme west and Harvard in the east—the latter religiously liberal, and the former mildly orthodox and highly missionary—were the leaders. Williams College had its prestige centered in its famous president, Mark Hopkins; who was a professor from 1829 to 1836, president from 1836 to 1872, and professor from 1872 to 1887. No other collegiate leader was such a vital educational force for fifty-eight years as was Mark Hopkins. His writings were more abundant and more influential than those of any other collegian. He was famous as a teacher, eminent in religious leadership, with the confidence of all classes, lay and clerical.

Harvard's prestige from 1820 to 1870 was largely due to its professors, among whom were Longfellow, Holmes, Agassiz and Asa Gray.

Academic educational history of Massachusetts was largely merged with other New England colleges until 1870—Brown and Yale in southern New England and Dartmouth and Bowdoin in northern New England.

From 1870, Massachusetts played an independent part in collegiate educational history.

Educational history requires a special civic, social, and religious atmosphere, which never functions in flood tide or ebb tide of political or military warfare.

Educational history developed slowly for twenty years from 1846 to 1865. Public thought was at white heat in religious, racial, and sectional antagonism.

Theodore Parker's brilliant oratory was ready to see America go to war in the issue of religious freedom. Henry Wilson came into national prominence in the "Know-Nothing" racial issue, and Massachusetts elected a governor on that ticket. In 1856 the religious and racial antagonism gave way to the sectional controversy which rent North and South so fiercely that a terrific civil war was inevitable. Not until the war clouds had begun to disappear did Massachusetts regain composure.

New Colleges and Technical Schools (1861–1890)

During the war-time educational lull, the Catholic Church established Holy Cross College, in Worcester, and Boston College; the west welcomed the land-grant college idea; and Massachusetts was one of the first States to experiment with an agricultural college, which failed to function vitally until 1890.

The western agricultural zeal aroused the industrial-service spirit of Massachusetts; and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Worcester Polytechnic Institute budded promptly, and by 1890 Massachusetts "Tech" was an international institution rivaling Harvard University in influence.

Not until the approach of 1870 did it dawn upon Massachusetts that she had really made American history.

In 1820 there was no educational virility anywhere in the country; but every movement of Horace Mann in Massachusetts had touched a live social and civic nerve in Pennsylvania and Ohio and was vibrating sympathetically from those States west and north.

New Educational Spirit (1869–1889)

The first birth throe of the new collegiate educational history was the election of Charles W. Eliot to the presidency of Harvard in 1869. He had been one of the famous seven educational scientists in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his issuance of the Eliot and Stores "Laboratory Chemistry" on "Qualitative Chemical Analysis" was the first great thrill of the new collegiate education in Massachusetts.

Under President Eliot, Harvard was the first Massachusetts college to attempt to try to guide the public-school spirit of the State. Harvard had been leading in the direction of public sentiment through eminent men on the faculty for a quarter of a century. No other institution had for as many years men like Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, Henry W. Longfellow, Nathaniel S. Shaler, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Edward Everett, and Josiah Quincy on its faculty.

America had a new birth in 1870, and this was nowhere in evidence more impressively than in educational history. From 1845 to 1870 the public was too intensely interested in the great political and military conflict to give appropriate attention to any other issues.

The stabilizing of public finance in the early 'seventies gave a marvelous impetus to industry and commerce. This inevitably promoted educational development.

The whole world seemed to be alive with industrial and humanistic adventures. The transatlantic cable (1866), the transcontinental railway (1869), the first telephone (1875), the first submarine (1877), the first electric lighting (1878), the first electric street car line (1880), the first linotype printing (1884), the first internal combustion motor (1885), suggest the virility of the quarter of a century from the close of the Civil War.

The creation of the sciences, the medical and practical arts, were giving the whole world its greatest intellectual thrill; Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Pasteur were at the height of their influence; and that new spirit made a new education inevitable in America.

The public school influence of Massachusetts had permeated the entire North, and 26 States had State boards of education patterned after Massachusetts. Fifteen States had a total of 30 normal schools patterned after the Massachusetts normal schools.

EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING (1869–1890)

When the great awakening came, after the Civil War materialized, Massachusetts had 4,959 free public schools, with 1,085 men and 6,937 women teachers, and the length of the school term in the State was eight months. There were in Massachusetts at that time 175 high schools, which were 35 more than the law called for. The public tax for schools was $3,123,892.

Some of the mill towns already had part-time schools in which one half of the children went to school in the forenoon and worked in the afternoon, and the other half alternated.

At this time Boston had music, drawing, and physical culture in all of the schools, and there were thirteen special teachers of sewing. Boston had ten truant officers who gave their entire time to investigating cases of children not in school, insisting upon the attendance of all children. Massachusetts had a compulsory school law for children from seven to sixteen.

Massachusetts imported Arnold Guyot from Switzerland. He was employed by the State Board of Education for six years to supervise the teaching of geography and to lecture throughout the State.

In 1870 Massachusetts had a law requiring the teaching of drawing, authorizing cities and towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants to provide good free instruction in industrial and mechanical drawing to persons over fifteen years of age, either during the day or in the evening.

In 1870 the State Board of Education imported Walter Smith from England to supervise drawing in the schools of the State; and in 1875 the Boston Normal Art School was established.

Herman Krusi, Jr., came to Massachusetts from Switzerland. He was active in the State in association with Louis

Agassiz and Arnold Guyot. He was the son of Herman Krusi, who was intimately associated with Pestalozzi at Yverdon. He went from Massachusetts to the State Normal School at Oswego, New York, where he helped Dr. E. A. Sheldon make that school one of the famous normal schools of America.

The first English-speaking kindergarten in the United States was established in Boston by Miss Elizabeth Peabody.

Massachusetts high schools from 1870 to 1890 very generously magnified the college-preparatory feature, and a high school's rank, professionally and socially, was gauged by the number of students who took the Harvard examinations, which specialized on preparation in Latin and Greek.

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard did much to promote efficiency in public-school work. From 1875 to 1890 he made an heroic effort to enrich the course of study, especially in the upper grades of the grammar schools. He led the famous crusade to eliminate the ninth grade—which, however, brought slight results by 1890.

Manual Training (1870–1890)

Massachusetts led in the first great crusade for manual training in the elementary schools. Charles Francis Adams brought to Quincy Colonel Francis W. Parker, who had made an intensive study of the modern methods in Germany; and in five years Colonel Parker made that city better known than any other city has ever been made known in so short a time.

Colonel Parker had a vital message, "Learn to do by doing;" and his work was immortalized by Miss Lelia Partridge, who wrote one of the greatest professional books of the 1870 to 1890 period—*Quincy Methods*.

Colonel Parker was the first American school man to be in universal demand on the educational platform. He was a dynamic speaker. His personality was commanding and his manner dramatic.

After five years in Quincy, he was elected one of the assistant superintendents of Boston. After three years in that position, he went to Chicago as principal of Cook County Normal School, and the rest of his life was spent in that city.

Educational Experts (1870–1890)

G. Stanley Hall became one of the famous educational leaders of Massachusetts and of the country generally in the 1870 to 1890 period. He was an instructor at Harvard, and President Eliot arranged a lecture course for him in Boston. Harvard paid for the rent of Wesleyan Hall on Bromfield Street and paid for printing and other incidental expenses, and Mr. Hall had the receipts from the tickets. The price for the course was five dollars, and the Boston masters and teachers came in large numbers. This course of lectures initiated the great professional revival among the Boston teachers. Even to the end of his long and distinguished career, Dr. Hall regarded this course of lectures as his greatest professional achievement.

Dr. William T. Harris, who had become nationally famous because of his thirteen annual reports as superintendent of St. Louis schools, came to Concord and joined A. Bronson Alcott in his attempt to establish a school of philosophy. In 1886 Dr. Harris had a course of lectures for teachers at Boston University, similar to those which had made G. Stanley Hall famous. In 1889, Dr. Harris was appointed United States Commissioner of Education, in which position he brought high credit to Massachusetts as well as to the United States.

Advance of the Colleges (1874–1890)

The Massachusetts colleges caught the spirit of progress after the Civil War, and from 1870 to 1890 they made great strides. Harvard, naturally, led because she had some of the most famous literary and scientific men on her faculty and added thereto eminent leaders in education like John Fisk, George Herbert Palmer, William James, Josiah Royce, and Charles Eliot Norton.

Amherst College (established in 1821) had led a precarious existence at times, but sprang into great prominence on the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1871. Presidents Hitchcock and Stearns had steered it wisely, but it was Julius H. Seelye who gave Amherst College national fame.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology became an institution of international fame. It was opened in a modest way in 1865 with seven instructors, of whom Charles W. Eliot was one of the youngest. Boston University, created in 1869, at the time that Charles W. Eliot became president of Harvard University, was rapidly developed. The women's colleges—Wellesley, Smith, Mt. Holyoke "Seminary" and "College," and Radcliffe—were astonishingly influential in the creation of educational history.

PERMISSIVE LEGISLATION (1849–1889)

A peculiar individuality of the educational history of Massachusetts is its insistence upon permissive legislation. Law was never a schoolmaster in Massachusetts as in some States—notably in Pennsylvania, where the aim was to get a law passed and then make the people obey it. There is nothing of this in Massachusetts. In 1858 drawing was permissive, in 1870 it was compulsory. In 1839 the consolidation of schools was permissive, but it was fifty years before it was compulsory. In 1873 towns were permitted to provide free textbooks and supplies, but it was not till 1884 that they were required to do so. Towns were permitted to extend the school year to eight months, but not until all but 47 towns had chosen to do so did the State require all towns to have an eight-months school. The township system abolishing local districts was permissible, but not obligatory until there were only 39 towns that had not abolished the districts.

This tradition of educating the people by permissive legislation before making the law compulsory, accounts for the traditional opposition to a federal department of education, child-labor laws, etc.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Harvard University had developed, during the years of general inactivity, an educational history. It had an endowment of $2,250,000 when Charles W. Eliot became president. There was also a faculty of 128 members and a student enrollment of 1,043. During the 1820 to 1845 period, Harvard introduced courses in chemistry, geology, history, political economics, and other modern subjects. In the 1820 to 1845 period, the professional schools of medicine, law and science were built up.

In all its history until 1865, the State government had been a controlling factor in the management of the college. The liantly. He was bitterly opposed by members of the governing the official board, and later the whole State senate was on the Board of Overseers of Harvard. In 1865 the right to a seat on the Board of Bursars was confined to the alumni. There had always been clergymen on the Board of Managers; but their influence was lessened, and since 1884 no clergyman has been elected.

President Eliot met the new opportunities wisely and brilliantly. He was bitterly opposed by members of the governing board for a few years, but he met the opposition so heroically and tactfully that he won unanimous support because of his single-minded devotion to high aims and by the dignity of his personal character. He adapted the university to the changing conditions, and commanded for it fabulous financial gifts.

Of Harvard's graduates from three fourths to a third had been clergymen until 1820, but the ratio dropped to less than one in twenty before 1890. From 1820 to 1890 nearly one third of the Harvard graduates were lawyers, which accounts in some degree for the remarkable influence that Harvard has had in the production of statesmen. From 1820 to 1890 the department of medicine had steady growth, and a little more than ten per cent were physicians.

From 1820 to 1890 the per cent of Harvard graduates who made a profession of teaching increased from below ten per cent to above twenty per cent. The pursuit of business made great advances after 1870, and has been the dominant profession for Harvard graduates, more than one-third choosing a business career every year from 1870 to 1890.

An Eminent Master

An example of the character of Boston masters is worthy of record. John D. Philbrick was one of the most conspicuous men in the promotion of educational history in Massachusetts from 1842 to 1890. In 1842, upon graduating from Dartmouth College, he came to Boston as assistant teacher in the English high school, and within a year he had become one of the two head teachers in the Mayhew Grammar School of Boston. This was in 1844.

At that time a Boston grammar school was a double-headed affair, one department being called a "writing school" and the other a "reading school." Each pupil attended one of these for half a day, and the other for the other half day. A school had about two hundred boys, seated in one large hall. The headmaster was seated at one end of the room; and another, called "usher," at the other end. The classes recited in various small rooms.

In 1846 the Quincy School, the first organized on a one-class basis, was opened and Mr. Philbrick was its first headmaster. There were four hundred pupils in class rooms of about fifty pupils each.

His success in the Quincy School led to his selection as the first principal of the Connecticut State Normal School at New Britain. At thirty-eight years of age he was chosen superintendent of Boston, which position he held for twenty-five years. He was a member of the State Board of Education for ten years, and received honorary degrees from several American colleges, and medals of honor from France and other foreign countries. No other man has been as highly honored at home and abroad while city superintendent of Boston schools as was Dr. Philbrick.

After retiring from the superintendency, he made his home in Danvers, Massachusetts; and John G. Whittier, the famous Quaker poet, was his neighbor. Whittier said of him: "He was a busy student, deeply interested in the cause to which his life had been devoted, but at the same time a genial, unpretending gentleman, and a very pleasant addition to our social circle. A good and true man, who served his generation faithfully and successfully."

Influence of Women

A sample of a woman's leadership in making educational history deserves especial emphasis.

Alice Freeman Palmer was highly influential in the promotion of educational history in Massachusetts. Miss Freeman, a graduate of the University of Michigan in 1876, came to Wellesley College as a professor in 1879, was made vice-president in 1881, and was president from 1882 until her marriage to Professor George Herbert Palmer of Harvard in 1887. She was dean of women, Chicago University, 1892 to 1894. She was appointed to the Massachusetts State Board of Education in 1889, and was one of the most important members of the Board. She was active in educational achievement until her death in 1902.

Mrs. Quincy Agassiz Shaw, a woman of large means, was active in the promotion of progressive education from 1872 onwards. In 1887 she opened a free kindergarten in Boston for children of families not thrifty. This was one of her many private charities.

Educational Leaders

A significant example of the character of men who made up the State Board of Education is John W. Dickinson, principal of the Westfield Normal School from 1852 to 1877, the longest service of any one in that position in Westfield. He was secretary of the State Board of Education from 1877 to 1894, the longest any one has held that office. He was a man of high professional ideals, and exerted a great influence upon the public schools for forty-two years.

Examples of eminent personalities in the making of educational history are illustrative of the vast number of men and women to whom the educational activities of today are due.

The first president of Smith College, Laurenus Clark Seelye, ranked with the presidents of men's colleges, which gave the college high standing scholastically from the beginning.

William F. Warren, president of Boston University for thirty years from 1872, was chiefly responsible for the stabilizing of that university, scholastically and professionally.

Sanborn Tenney, Professor in Williams College, 1868 to 1875, was the first man to popularize natural history. He was a magnetic speaker, and was passionately fond of his subject.

Educational history in Massachusetts from 1820 to 1890 rescued Massachusetts from the indifference that prevailed from 1789 to 1820, discovered and created a public-school sentiment from 1820 to 1837, aroused public action from 1837 to 1847, slumbered from 1847 till after the Civil War, and achieved marvelous results in administration and professional zeal in the common schools and magnified collegiate education nobly from 1870 to 1890.

Financing Education (1820–1890)

In 1820 there was nothing uniform in the financing of education. In the common schools the summer term was short, all that was required was ability to teach all the children what all the children should know. The teacher was often a woman of the district, young or old, who was glad of a modest wage.

If there was a winter school it was usually taught by some man with a reputation for being able to "keep school." Some of the boys were there to learn, some of them because there was nothing else to do. The latter were there to make it unpleasant for the master to try to keep school. The wages of such a man depended upon the demand there was for his services in other school districts.

In 1830 there was slight change in the common school wage conditions except a general improvement. The same was true of Boston and other centers.

In 1850 there was improvement in many common schools. Horace Mann's most notable service had been his emphasis upon public responsibility for paying taxes for qualified teachers and supervision of the teaching.

From 1850 to 1870 there was moderate improvement in wages but nothing of special note.

From 1870 to 1890 there was great improvement in salaries in Boston and other cities, but compared to present day salaries they seem ridiculous. A salary of $400 in a district school or $700 in a city school was regarded as entirely adequate.

The Course of Study (1820–1890)

In 1820 there was no course of study in any school. In the common schools the only requirement was ability to read easily, write legibly, spell decently and know how to use as much "number" as the common people had occasion to use. Even in Boston and other community centres there was no course of study, no grading in classes or subjects in 1820. In 1820 the common schools offered boys, who continued in school after they had mastered the common branches, the "Fifth Reader," by whatever name it was called, a collection of the best selections by masters of English, and these were read and reread, recited and declaimed until the student had inbided them and been recreated by them.

Their arithmetic was loaded and overloaded with everything that had any excuse for being called arithmetic. The more useless it was the better it was, for its only excuse for existence was that it kept bright boys busy in school.

In spelling they practiced on "demons" that could be spelled correctly only by those who were scholastically inclined.

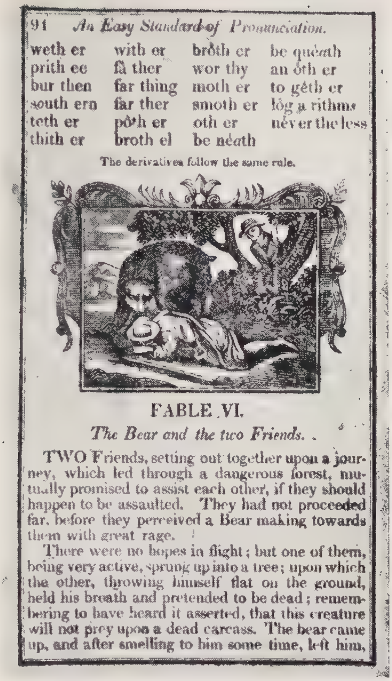
In Boston and some other cities all this was massed and magnified enough to give youths who cared to stay in school for several months each year something to do. In these larger communities there were included mild injections of geography and United States history.

By 1830 there was a classification of primary, grammar and high school for the first time. Girls received attention in the common schools, and in Boston a Girls' High School was attempted, but it fared ill for some time.

By 1850 the common school had lost much of the original idea which had dominated it from 1780 to 1820 and whatever was expected of city schools was expected of the brightest students in the common schools. The course of study for city schools was intensified, girls had every opportunity that boys had, and high schools were practically universal in cities.

From 1850 to 1870 little that was vitally important was introduced. There was enlargement and perfection of everything that was well established by 1850.

From 1870 to 1890 the course of study in the common schools and city schools was as completely remade as were the industries, by the discoveries in electricity, in transportation and transmission.



91 *An Easy Standard of Pronunciation.*

weth er
prith ee
bur then
south ern
teth er
thith er

with er
fâ ther
far thing
far ther
pôth er
broth el

brôth er
wor thy
moth er
smoth er
oth er
be néath

be quéath
an ôth er
to gêth er
lôg a rithms
nêv er the less

The derivatives follow the same rule.

FABLE VI.

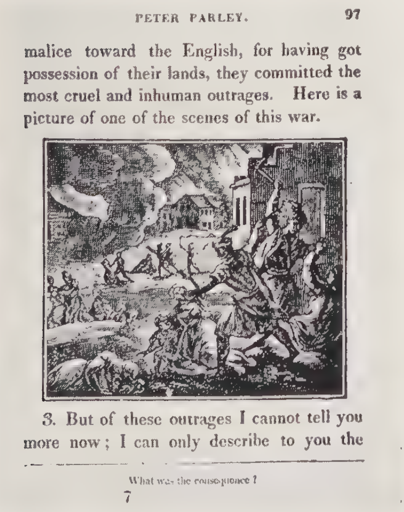
The Bear and the two Friends.

TWO Friends, setting out together upon a journey, which led through a dangerous forest, mutually promised to assist each other, if they should happen to be assaulted. They had not proceeded far, before they perceived a Bear making towards them with great rage.

There were no hopes in flight; but one of them, being very active, sprung up into a tree; upon which the other, throwing himself flat on the ground, held his breath and pretended to be dead; remembering to have heard it asserted, that this creature will not prey upon a dead carcass. The bear came up, and after smelling to him some time, left him,

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

A PAGE FROM NOAH WEBSTER'S
AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK



PETER PARLEY. 97

malice toward the English, for having got possession of their lands, they committed the most cruel and inhuman outrages. Here is a picture of one of the scenes of this war.

3. But of these outrages I cannot tell you more now; I can only describe to you the

---

What was the consequence ?

7

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

THE PETER PARLEY VERSION OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

School Buildings (1820–1890)

In 1820 there was not a reputable school house in the State. In the rural districts with limitless areas and miles of good land that could be had almost for the asking they sought unattractive corners with rocks or gullies, the one five square rods which could never be improved. With primeval forest stretching over hill and dale, they sought the one wee bit of land where not even a shrub could survive and on this God-forsaken knoll threw together a shack that hoboes would have objected to in 1890. In the center of this hopeless place they stuck a stove and added some backless benches, the hard side up, for rows of boys and girls to sit on and study.

If there was any pretense to lavatory decency it was out of doors and often too indecent to be reported upon in this age of proprieties.

In Boston, best of all places in the State, the schoolhouse was a barn-like building with double seats and desks, two hundred boys in the one room with a master at one end and a second man called usher at the other end, with little rooms around the sides for classes to retire to while lesser teachers heard them recite the lessons learned in the big hall.

In 1890 there were country schools to be found with good-sized yards, with trees and shrubs and flowers, with a walk from street to door that could be kept clean, with a well into which nothing undesirable drained.

On this adequate lot was a leakless building with whole windows, with a door that could be locked, with a jacketed stove, with single seats, with desks, and blackboards that were black, with maps and globes, and a dictionary on a stand.

While such a school lot and building were not universal in 1890 there were enough of them to be contagious, and they paved the way for the wonderful country school buildings of later date.

The transition from 1820 to 1890 was well started in Horace Mann's day and the change was largely due to his heroic challenge to give the boys and girls a place in which to learn and a yard in which to play.

In Boston and other cities the change was even greater. In 1848 the first real school house was built for a grammar school. It was the Quincy School and John D. Philbrick, afterward famous as a superintendent of Boston, was the master. It was the most thrilling event in school affairs that New England had known.

Early in the sixties at the dedication of the Rice Building, Superintendent Philbrick said, "This is as good a school building as can ever be built," but it was out of date before 1890.

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CHAPTER VII

MASSACHUSETTS LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(1820–1860)

By John Macy

Author of The Spirit of American Literature

The New England Enlightenment

Of important contributors to American literature in the four decades before the Civil War the greater number belong to New England, and more especially to eastern Massachusetts, either because they were born there or because, as in the case of Longfellow, they spent most of their lives there. This is the richest period of American literature, though individuals in it wrote much after the date arbitrarily set as the terminal of this chapter. There were notable writers of the time who were not New Englanders: Irving, Cooper, Whitman, Herman Melville, Poe (who though born in Boston, was decidedly not a Bostonian), and others, mostly of New York.

These writers did not constitute a group, as did the New Englanders, who, though they differed from each other, were informed by a unity of spirit, due to their place and time. Arthur Quiller-Couch has cautioned us against "thinking in periods," and there may be an accompanying caution against thinking of literary history in terms of place. Yet it is significant that these New Englanders were neighbors and lived just when they did. For they made a kind of renaissance, a new age of enlightenment of which each was in his way an expression and a creator. Ideas were in the air, ideas religious, philosophic, social, political, belletristic, artistic; and no alert mind could escape them, though not every intelligent man promoted or even passively accepted them. The old guard was still there, then as now, holding the ancient established forts and compelling the invaders to give a good account of themselves (see Emerson's essay on "The Conservative"—a breed which vexed even his serene tolerance). It was a time of intellectual rebellion, of soul-searching, of reaching out for better and broader thought, whether the quest was toward a wider conception of God, a better democracy, self-improvement, village-improvement, or an extension of knowledge of European literature, that is, a broadening of general traditional culture, a sort of new humanism.

With the passage of time some of these once revolutionary ideas no longer startle us, have become commonplace, as happens to all novelties of the past, albeit we have not yet caught up with the best thought of that receding era. Some of the issues are dead. The problem of abolitionism, which smouldered or blazed in everybody's heart, was settled by the war—if indeed it was ever settled. The revolt against Calvinism, which took the shape of Unitarianism in religion and Transcendentalism in philosophy, is an old story, though the story is not yet universally read. The importation of the best thought of Europe is going on every day in a thousand steel ships, whereas in that day only a few bold, or timidly inquiring explorers brought back the precious cargo. To understand the full force, the real novelty, the intrepid will to discovery which animated that time, we have to recover our historical sense, the vision in perspective.

The Thought Makers: Emerson

In a time of seers, essayists, intellectual experimenters, the chief prophet is Emerson. His mind absorbed and rephrased all the best ideas that were current, with many from distant times and climes; and he added a pungent originality. The first expression of his independence is his sermon on the Lord's Supper when he resigned his pastorate of the Second Unitarian Church in 1832. He was then twenty-nine. For all its mild manner this sermon is the very "dissidence of dissent." Even Unitarianism is too narrow for him; he could not approve the ritualistic forms which lingered in it from the traditional religions. He never ceased to be a preacher, but his church was nature and his God a sort of pantheistic Oversoul.

A second challenge to tradition was *The American Scholar,*

From a photograph

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

an oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge in 1837. It calls upon scholars to think for themselves and "cast behind you all conformity"; it bids men have courage, self-reliance, trust in one's own instincts; "the world is nothing, the man is all." And that is the gist of Emerson's teaching for forty years.

His thought, however rich and varied and bristling with fresh illustrations, is so homogeneous that the order of publication of his books makes little difference and an essay from one might be transferred to another without being out of place. The central volumes are the *Essays* (first series, 1841; second series, 1844). Certain essays are especially to be noted, though everything of Emerson's is characteristic and nothing is quite negligible. That on "The Transcendentalist" gives better than seventy-five years of later criticism the essence of the New England form of German idealism, and it has the authority of an original source, for Emerson was a Transcendentalist. He believed in intuitive knowledge as something born in human nature and held that logic is only the orderly reasoned account of what the soul already knows. The famous essay on "Compensation" phrases his temperamental optimism, which runs through all his work. But his optimism is not the blind and mushy kind; he sees the evils of the immediate world and is one of the most valiant protestants against them; but behind and beyond present disaster is the everlasting soul of man. "Self Reliance," quoted until it would be threadbare if the stuff were not imperishable, rotates about this idea: "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string." The essay on "Fate" is a shaking up and humanizing of the freewill-determinism problem.

Much of Emerson's prose is poetic, alive with beautiful and brilliant metaphors. His poetry in verse form, of which he left a considerable volume, has not always either the magic or the art of the authentic poet. But it alone would make him memorable if only for "Brahma", and "The Humble-Bee", which show the range of his thought from the abstract and distant to the near and delightfully familiar. His mind is reflective rather than lyric, though he is capable of intense emotion, and a thousand sentences from his essays could be quoted to show that. In an essay called "Circles" he has undesignedly expressed himself: "Beware when the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet."

THE THOUGHT MAKERS: THOREAU

About the time when Emerson at the fullness of his power and solidly established was at work on his *Representative Men* (1850), a young neighbor, Henry David Thoreau, was paddling his canoe in quiet and contented obscurity. He brought back *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers* (1849). Only a few, including Emerson, recognized a fresh, original book; and most of the copies of the first edition remained in Thoreau's possession. The *Week* is indeed all the years that Thoreau had lived (he was thirty-two). Patently under the influence of Emerson yet unmistakably his own wayward, half vagabond, half scholarly self, he meditates as he steers his lazy canoe for a symbolically seven days: the subject may be fish or it may be books, as the mood strikes him; he wanders with the inchoate ease of a seventeenth century English essayist. His mind is full of good things and they are the substances of the book. His writing is admirable, and his indolent manner, though precise and vigorous, is charming.

Five years later (1854) Thoreau published his second volume, *Walden, or Life in the Woods,* the record of a two years experiment in a self-sustaining independence. It is one of the first and certainly one of the best of the back-to-nature books. This deliberate Crusoe pared life down to the barest necessities, subsisted by his Yankee ingenuity in solving elementary problems, had time to read (borrowed books—he was not entirely isolated from society), and above all to observe nature.

Thoreau the naturalist has been overpraised as against Thoreau the thinker. In both he was an excellent amateur. The lover of wild apples (see *Excursions,* 1863) is a hater of governments, a natural anarchist who believed in "Civil Disobedience". His half humorous but very dogged account of his contest with the unrighteous tax-collector is in a paper called "Resistance to Civil Government", printed in 1849 in a forgotten magazine. Of the eleven volumes of the complete edition of Thoreau only two were published in his lifetime, The *Week* and *Walden.* After his premature death in his forty-fifth year his friends and editors published the admirable *Excursions* (1863), *The Maine Woods* (1864), *Cape Cod* (1865), and later the selections from his journals under the four seasons. The posthumous Thoreau was introduced to the world by Emerson's fine biographical sketch in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1862), which ends with the words: "he had in a short life exhausted the capabilities of this world; wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, he will find a home."

The Clergy: Channing and Parker

Among the intellectual forces of the time are the Unitarian clergy, whose powers are personal but whose pulpit influence is a direct inheritance from that of the elder Congregational ministry. The color of the theology had changed, but the authority of the preacher, the respect with which he was listened to, the church as a forum from which to spread ideas remained. Conspicuous are William Ellery Channing (the elder, 1780-1842) and Theodore Parker. Channing, who combined a gentle and benignant spirit with great mental vigor and courage, was the acknowledged leader of Unitarianism, and though he disliked formulas and objected even to the use of the word "Unitarian," it was he who first formulated the case for Unitarianism as a spiritual and moral force. Of the Abolitionists he was, though emphatic, most tolerant and least given to abusing the slave-owners. His book, *Slavery* (1835), is a classic in the literature of the abolition movement; he protested against political compulsion in the suppression of slavery, appealed consistently to reason and conscience, and refused to join the "immediate emancipationists."

Of more aggressive temperament than Channing is Theodore Parker. There was fighting blood in the family, for his grandfather, John Parker, was leader of the Minute Men at Lexington. He had prodigious intellectual energy and became one of the most learned men of his time as well as one of the most militantly active. His activity took two directions, religious radicalism and abolitionism. Like Channing he broke away from old orthodox Unitarianism and at first was denied even a pulpit in Boston. The opposition to him undoubtedly invigorated his incandescent sermons, *The Dis-*

course of Matters Pertaining to Religion (1842), *Ten Sermons of Religion* (1853), and *Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and Popular Theology* (1853), which by their eloquence have a place in literature.

Parker's cardinal idea, shared by most of the advanced Unitarians, Transcendentalists, and independent thinkers like Emerson and Thoreau, was the divinity of man. If the soul is divine, then slavery is a sin, and Parker becomes by logic and passion an uncompromising Abolitionist. He was, with Garrison and Phillips, an immense national influence. His work was not only propaganda but practical and sometimes dangerous service in the "underground railroad," of which his house was one of the stations. He was once indicted under the Fugitive Slave Law but never tried.

It should be remembered that Parker's ideas went to Lincoln directly or through Parker's letters to Lincoln's partner, Herndon. It is likely that the close of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is an echo of a sentence in a speech which Parker delivered in 1858: "Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, by all the people, for all the people." If Parker was not an original thought maker, if he was, indeed, less a thinker than a preacher and propagandist, he was certainly a most effective promulgator of ideas. He had a remarkable gift of phrase and many of his sentences still ring.

GARRISON

Ringing too are the words of William Lloyd Garrison, who has the originality of a pioneer and was a creator of thought, even though his thought was confined, day and night, year after year, to his one great cause. To call Garrison a pioneer is not to imply that he was the first to advocate the abolition of slavery; the idea was at least half a century old in England and America. His immediate teacher was Benjamin Lundy, who is said to have been the first to deliver anti-slavery lectures in America, and of whose paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* Garrison was for a time assistant editor. When he founded *The Liberator,* he was full of his subject, and he was a trained journalist with a forceful, lucid style. And Garrison is much more than a journalist, for he is not writing of the day or for the day, but dealing with fundamental ideas of liberty and democracy. *The Liberator* is not a journal; it is a book of prophecy, a moral institution, and it became that in its own time and very rapidly after its foundation. It was started on less than a shoe-string, but on the winged bare feet of conviction, and it lasted for thirty-five years, until it had, like some other forces of the time, made itself unnecessary.

Minor Celebrities

Around the oustanding figures of the time is a swarm of minor writers, some of whose work is still memorable, but of whom only a few can here be mentioned. Most of the books of A. Bronson Alcott were published after the Civil War, but before that, his essential ideas were expressed in his talks and his note-books of "scriptures." "Orphic Sayings" appeared in *The Dial.* His ideas on education, which he put in practice in his school and which, then revolutionary, are now a commonplace in theories of child-training, are to be found in *Observations on the Principles and Methods of Infant Instruction* (1830). Margaret Fuller (Ossoli), the first editor of *The Dial,* was a literary critic (*Papers on Literature and Art,* 1846), and one of the first feminists (*Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* 1844). Orestes A. Brownson tells his story in *Charles Elwood, or The Infidel Converted* (1840); *The Spirit Rapper: an Autobiography* (1864); *The Convert, or Leaves from My Experience* (1857). The best remembered work of James Freeman Clarke, *Ten Great Religions,* was published late in life (Part I, 1871; Part II, 1883). His earlier writings on religious liberalism—he was one of the leaders of the broader Unitarians—are *The Peculiar Doctrine of Christianity* (1844); *History of the Doctrine of the Atonement* (1845); *Orthodoxy* (1866). George Ripley, originator of Brook Farm, and one of the founders of *The Dial,* was one of many New Englanders, like Bryant and Charles A. Dana, and Greeley, who went to New York and became editors, journalists, critics. The enriching of New York thought from New England is an interesting chapter in American literary history. As the country, northeast, west, and, later, south, pulled toward unity, it made less and less difference where a man of letters had his desk. Ripley and Dana were editors of *The American Cyclopedia,* the first important work of that kind in this country.

HISTORIANS

If some departments of the literature of Massachusetts and of all America seem weak and inadequate, there is no question of the strength of the department of history. In this period the part of the American past to be studied was the colonial and revolutionary, and historians approached that past in a spirit combining patriotism, scholarship, and literary art. Many of them (and their readers) would have said with Jared Sparks: "I have got a passion for revolutionary history", and the passion often went further than any period or than America. Sparks published from 1834 to 1837 the twelve volumes of *The Life and Writings of George Washington.* The work is done with loyalty and ability. But the editor took it upon himself to correct Washington's spelling, syntax, and even his words. That would not be tolerated now and it was not tolerated by the most careful critics and editors of Sparks's time.

A somewhat different falsification mars George Bancroft's *History of The United States from the Discovery of the American Continent,* the ten volumes of which appeared at intervals from 1834 to 1874. The magniloquent manner which pleased his contemporaries is no longer to our taste. More serious is the defect of matter, for Bancroft makes history an orotund celebration of democracy and its heroes; it is a democratic pamphlet, somewhat as Macaulay's *History* was said to be a Whig pamphlet. But the work made Bancroft one of the most popular figures of his time. His democracy, sincere but uncritical, was what the people wanted.

John Gorham Palfrey's *History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty* (1858–1864), to which were added two volumes, *History of New England from the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century to the Revolution of the Eighteenth* (1875–1890) are said to be accurate; but again the defect of piety and patriotism shows that the age of historical criticism had not fully arrived and that the New Englander still took the virtues of his ancestors for granted. That view has been superceded in our time by a severe analysis of the Puritan character.

William Hickling Prescott found his subjects in Spain and the Spanish colonies. Irving's pleasant work perhaps led him to these rich materials; but even more important for Prescott and important in the scholarly literature of Massachusetts is George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (1849), the first adequate work on the subject in any language. This was published after Prescott's first three histories, but Ticknor was his friend and early initiated him into Spanish life and history. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837) was immediately successful. It was followed by *The Conquest of Mexico* (1843); *The Conquest of Peru* (1847); and the unfinished *History of the Reign of Philip II* (1855–1859). Whatever corrections later studies and discoveries demand in Prescott's work, it stands secure as literature by virtue of its clear, rapid narrative, its colorful but not ornate style.

John Lothrop Motley took the Netherlands for his province. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) gave him a reputation second only to Prescott's; it has not Prescott's brilliancy, but it has narrative power. It is also solidly based on long study of documents, so that it was accepted and remains with modifications acceptable to Dutch scholars, not because it is partisan to the Netherlands and hostile to Spain. Motley's temper is even and not emotional, except that he is in love with his subject, as an historian should be. Motley proceeded to *The History of the United Netherlands* (1860–1868). His final work is *John of Barneveld* (1874). Motley rendered service to America by two letters in the London *Times* (May 23, 24, 1861) on "Causes of The Civil War," which did much to change the hostile tone of the British press.

The finest literary artist of all the historians is Francis Parkman. His primary interest is the American Indian, whom he knew thoroughly at first hand, and his life among the Sioux is the subject of his earliest book, *The California and Oregon Trail* (1849). This leads him to older Indian history in *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). His great work is the series of histories of the contest between England and France in America: *The Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865); *The Jesuits in North America* (1867); *La*

Salle and the Discovery of the Great West (1869); *The Old Regime in Canada* (1874); *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877); *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884); *A Half Century of Conflict* (1892). These books constitute an epic, the masterpiece of American historical writing. They lie beyond the period with which this chapter deals, but they belong here, for they have their roots in the best of the older history and every possible virtue of the new.

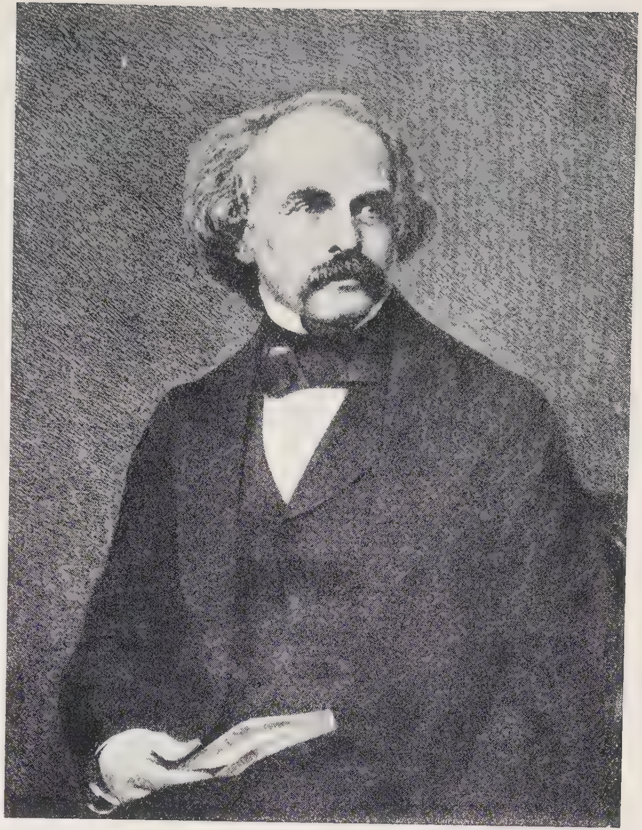
ORATORY

This was the golden age of oratory. Most of the clergy and all the politicians were orators, or tried to be, and allied to the oration is the lecture on the popular lyceum platform. Note that several of Emerson's thoughtful addresses are called orations. Clerical oratory is as old as the church, and American political oratory is the child of the British Parliament. To be a good speaker was the ambition of millions of schoolboys. The art of public speaking was widely cultivated and oral communication was relatively more important as a means of conveying ideas to the multitude than it is now. In John Quincy Adams's *Diary* we read of orations and eulogies two hours long, and in 1826 he writes: "There is at this time in this Commonwealth a practical school of popular oratory, of which I believe myself to be the principal founder by my own orations and lectures."

WEBSTER THE ORATOR

Daniel Webster undoubtedly owed much of his success as politician and lawyer to his ideas and general ability. But if he had not been an orator, we might never have heard of him. He was the supreme public speaker of his time. Unlike most of his rivals, he survives in print, because whatever the occasion or the quality of his thought, his speeches have literary quality, many of them are readable and quotable. The voice of the orator perishes like that of the singer or the actor. For testimony as to Webster's vocal magic we depend on his contemporaries, and as to that there is no difference of opinion. The impression of his personality, compelling and attractive, is better preserved for us in Carlyle's description of

From a photograph by Notman
Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society
FRANCIS PARKMAN



Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

him in 1839 than in a gallery of portraits: "The tanned complexion, that amorphous crag-like face; the dull black eyes under the precipice of brows, like dull anthracite furnaces needing only to be *blown;* the mastiff mouth accurately closed."

The "Discourse" at Plymouth in December, 1820, made him the idol of New England. And as orator he held his popularity and increased it to the end through all political dissentions. The "Discourse" is admirable for its appeal to the emotions, to the sense of the heroic, and for its just sufficient use of historical illustration. Because Webster's great occasions gave him something real to say, and because he was a sensible man, not without humor, his speeches are remarkably free from the prevalent sins of oratory, florid rhetoric and sound signifying nothing. He was, indeed, an artist with a style of his own, constructing his speeches, instinctively or deliberately (probably both), with excellent design.

His second memorable oration is that at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument in 1825. That oration is almost as solid a part of American tradition as the monument itself. And so also is the second Bunker Hill oration at the completion of the monument in 1843.

His oration in commemoration of John Adams and Jefferson (1826) lasted two hours and a half, during which, as John Quincy Adams records in his *Diary,* "attention held the whole assembly mute." Webster dramatizes Adams as meeting objections to the signing of the Declaration of Independence with the words: "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my heart and hand to this vote." That is the sort of thing that Adams was incapable of saying. Moreover, the literary critic asks what is the difference in meaning between "live or die" and "survive or perish." Nevertheless in rhythm, in oratorical effect the sentence is perfect. You can almost hear Adams say it, as he did not, and Webster say it, as he did.

Of Webster's political forensics, the second reply to Robert Y. Hayne in January, 1830, is extraordinary in composition and in substance. It was delivered a week after Hayne's first attack and less than a week after the second. Yet it sounds as if it had been weeks in preparation; as indeed, it had been and longer, for it phrases thoughts long held and meditated. The famous words, "Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" crystalized Union sentiment and had more practical consequence, so far as that issue was concerned, than any other speech before Lincoln's. The North forgot that service (or likely never realized it as later historians do) when Webster in the almost suicidal "Seventh of March Speech" (1850), his last great one, made another appeal to Unionism by supporting Clay's compromise.

Everett, Phillips, and Sumner

Much in the Webster tradition is sound, still alive. Henry Cabot Lodge says in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* that when there is any "serious and large debate in Congress," Webster is quoted, "as he is in every session, twenty times as often as any other public man in our history." The tradition represented by Edward Everett is all but dead as oratory and as literature. Unlike Webster and Wendell Phillips, Everett was writer and scholar as well as speaker, and his published speeches sound written rather than spoken, though he was an effective and popular orator. It is interesting to compare his oration at Plymouth in 1824 with that of Webster four years earlier. Webster's sentences strike; Everett's sentences unfold, and what is unfolded is not now impressive, though its substance is as weighty as Webster's. Yet there are fine passages, if no memorable phrases, in the "Eulogy on LaFayette" (1834) and in the "Oration on Washington," which he gave many times from 1856 to 1859 to raise money to buy Mount Vernon. Because of the brief perfection, recognized later, of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, Everett's long oration there has been underrated. It is enough that in spite of Lincoln's presence, Everett's oration made a tremendous impression.

A different kind of eloquence is that of Wendell Phillips, which is more direct and simple, not so elaborately involved. Its comparative simplicity is, of course, due partly to the fact that Phillips was driving home one idea. He was brilliant and sonorous because he was hot and passion swelled his cadences. Phillips has a place in American literature for much the same reason that Garrison has, because he did phrase in a form that is still expressive the anti-slavery conflict.

With him oratory was a weapon rather than an art, and a weapon rusts after the war is done. Phillips's speeches have in them the metal of the time and of himself.

There is enduring vitality, also, in the speeches of Charles Sumner, and his oratory was the foundation of his career. In an oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations," delivered on the fourth of July, 1845, he discovered his power, and was soon a favorite on lecture platforms. His first discourses are literary and scholarly, for his learning was genuine and extensive, and the style is florid and somewhat self-conscious. It is only when, almost against his will, he becomes a politician and speaks on public affairs to a practical end that he shakes off the superfluous graces. His English then is vigorous and without surplusage. In the Senate to which he was elected with no previous political experience he became at once a leader of the anti-slavery forces with his speech, "Freedom national; Slavery sectional" (1852). His speech of May, 1856, "Crime against Kansas," was a powerful indictment of his opponents, not only their position but themselves, and it resulted in the physical assault on Sumner which made him an invalid for years. When he appeared again in the Senate he returned to the charge in a speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery," which remains the best short summary of the whole case and is in a way a summary of the era before the impending Civil War.

Writers of Fiction

In running over the first volumes of the *Atlantic Monthly* one is struck by the general excellence of the essays and of much of the verse and by the lack of vitality in the fiction. Among the best short stories are those of Rose Terry Cooke who wrote of Connecticut but whose people are the kind that might have lived in any Massachusetts village. The fiction of this period is mostly forgotten in comparison with the amount of verse and the number of essays that have survived or are at least still readable. Hawthorne's genius is almost solitary in Massachusetts, in all New England. Before *The Scarlet Letter* there is no novel of importance, and in the first volume of the *Atlantic* Emerson is saying, not only of American fiction but, it seems, of fiction generally: "How far off from life and manners and motives the novel still is. Life lies about us dumb." The New Englanders were reading the great English novelists, but for some reason did not apply their imaginations in the mode of prose fiction to their own lives. It may be simply that the three or four necessary men of genius did not happen to be alive, just as, obversely, the case would have been worse if Hawthorne had died in his cradle.

Before Hawthorne, or contemporaneous with him, there had been some interesting attempts, the results of which no longer entertain us, but which deserve a word in history. William Ware, a Unitarian clergyman, wrote three novels dealing with early Christian scenes: *Zenobia; or the Fall of Palmyra* (1838); *Probus* (1838), revised as *Aurelian,* (1848); *Julian or Scenes in Judea* (1841). These books were widely read at the time and continued to be read until the taste for that sort of religious historical romance declined or was better satisfied by such later examples as *Ben Hur.* Sylvester Judd, also a Unitarian clergyman, deliberately set out "to fill up a gap long left open in Unitarian literature—that of imaginative writings." The results were *Margaret, a Tale of the Real and the Ideal* (1845) and *Richard Edney* (1850). Their merit is fidelity to life and character in a narrow New England community. But the story gets lost in the fogs of Transcendentalism, which is better stuff for verse and disquisition than for narrative.

A great book, which is put in this place if only for want of another, is not fiction at all but straight autobiography, Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). In all the literature of the sea, real or fictitious, it is a masterpiece literally without rival, for there was nothing like it before and nothing since has surpassed or even equalled it, as every later writer about the sea would eagerly admit. A boy of twenty, quite unconscious of literary power, by telling faithfully, for the first time from the forecastle point of view, his experiences as a common sailor, becomes a master mariner in the literary merchant marine, with Cooper and Melville. It is an extraordinary case of an unpretentious, unambitious record becoming, to the innocent surprise of the author, a masterpiece.

And it is a very fitting masterpiece for a commonwealth that was sending its ships to every quarter of the globe.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

The son of the captain of one of these ships (an earlier one) was Hawthorne, who travelled not seaward and forward but inland and backward in quest of romance. He was late in finding it and still later in finding many who were interested in his reports of it. In *Twice-Told Tales* (1837; enlarged edition, 1842) and *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846) we find a few perfect short stories in a pellucid, often poetic style, and in such a tale as "The Gentle Boy", an early example of his attempt to find beauty in the gloom of Puritan darkness. But at the age of forty Hawthorne's genius is still fragmentary in expression and he is, as he calls himself, the obscurest man of letters in America.

In *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) his power is at its height and at full length. The story moves like a stream through a dusky wood. For Hawthorne the Puritan background is less an historical reality, though he is faithful enough to the spirit of it, than a fantastic scene in which to play with his flaming symbol and on which to set moving strange characters with their dark secrets and mysteries of the heart. His treatment of Hester Prynne is tender, even sentimental, rather than tragic. His sense of terror is intellectual rather than emotional; it is humane and pitiful but not profound. Hawthorne is a romantic dramatic poet in prose. *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) is set in a perpetual twilight in which even the child Phoebe is little more than an elfin phantom. Through a wrinkled front of present reality the story looks back to a darkly remote past through a plot that would be conventional if it were not touched with a haunting, almost tremulous sense of bewitchment and doom. In this book, as in *The Scarlet Letter,* the unwavering sustention of tone is a marvel of art and at the same time is simply a continuous expression of Hawthorne's own dominant mood.

The Blithedale Romance (1852) is of a more nearly contemporaneous reality, for it is based in a way on Brook Farm and Transcendentalism, in both of which Hawthorne had only an observer's half quizzical interest. While the others were watching their ideas and their community farm go up in smoke, Hawthorne pulled a romance out of the ruins.

He is in, but not definably of, the life about him, seeking rather to escape it and with cool intellectuality partaking little of its enthusiasms and not at all of its vagaries. When everybody else was hotly antislavery and, in modern terms, Republican, Hawthorne was a Democrat, so far as he was anything, and a friend and biographer of Franklin Pierce, who was to Hawthorne's neighbors almost a traitor. His friendship for Pierce, not a political but a personal matter going back to college days at Bowdoin, is important for literature only in that it gave Hawthorne the position of consul at Liverpool and so took him for several years to Europe.

In Italy he found his most artificial romance, *The Marble Faun* (1860). It had long been one of his half melancholy complaints that America is no favorable place for a writer of romance, since it lacks depth and variety. He now had a chance to see what he could do by applying his mystery-loving imagination to an older civilization. And on the whole he proved that his only real material must be American. *The Marble Faun* is not drenched with Italy, but is evidently the work of a foreigner seeking romance but not really feeling it. When he came home he returned to American subjects but did not live to finish them.

Hawthorne is by birth, breed, and experience thoroughly of New England, of eastern Massachusetts, and is its foremost, its solitary artist in fiction. There is no doubt that his material is indigenous. Yet of all men of talent of his time he is perhaps the least representative, for he did not express his time or care much for its dominant ideas. For him it was all a scene, a place to find the strange rather than the actual in character, a limited, impoverished region of romance.

Poets: Whittier

The poets did express the time. Though they imported much from Europe with all the enthusiasm of discovery, they drew much from their own life and from prevailing and surrounding ideas. Whittier found his first subjects, *Legends of New England* (1831), close at home, though the manner is imitative. It was an important, a dramatic moment when William Lloyd Garrison went to the Whittier farm to discover the boy whose poems had been appearing in Garrison's *Free Press*. Whittier soon became an active anti-slavery worker, and the movement stirred him to a long series of poems which are the most vigorous and passionate expressions of the subject in verse. His succeeding volumes through a long life are so much of the same general matter and manner that it is not necessary to list most of the volumes. Several dates are significant: *The Voices of Freedom* (1849); *Songs of Labor* (1850); *Snow-Bound* (1866); *The Tent on The Beach* (1867). Upon most of the occasional pieces, even when Whittier was white hot, time has put a cooling if not an obliterating hand. But "Ichabod," on Webster's support of Clay's compromise, has not lost its fire. Of the many popular ballads some, like "Maud Muller," are commonplace, but several are authentic, like "Skipper Ireson's Ride." There is lasting charm in "The Barefoot Boy," and Whittier's masterpiece, "Snow-bound," must endure as long as there are any New Englanders left; its stuff is life itself, and the simple verse is excellent, in many passages even beautiful. Whittier is an instinctive poet, not a trained artist. He is his own best critic in the "Proem" of 1847, which is itself a fine sincere poem.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

From his workaday world Whittier became a national figure, and so, from his easy academic world, did Longfellow. It is a question which was the better beloved of the American people, and each would have yielded to the other. As poets their talents and defects were exactly opposite; Whittier was vigorous but deficient in art; Longfellow was a competent artist but deficient in vigor. They had in common the gift of popular appeal, of expressing the simple sentiments which ordinary people like to have phrased for them. And both have a real talent for readable narrative; Whittier is a born balladist and Longfellow is capable of carrying off somewhat longer stories in verse, *Evangeline* (1847), *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858), and *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863). That the two poets became national institutions whose work everybody knew is a phenomenon rare enough in any country and not since repeated in this country. And that the learned Smith Professor of Modern Languages and Belles-Lettres at Harvard should have been the silently acclaimed bard and poet laureate of the common people formed a relation between the world of scholarship and the outside world that no other professor, certainly no other poet-professor, has ever established in America, perhaps not in the world.

From the earliest volume, *Voices of the Night* (1839), to the last, *Ultima Thule* (1880), that is, from "A Psalm of Life" to "L'Envoi: A Poet and His Songs", Longfellow moves serenely and modestly triumphant from one book of verse to the next, with some gain in technique and a fair variety of subjects but with no great development of interior thought. A new volume from him is a public event. His poetic conquest of America is so complete that it can only be renewed from time to time. And there is no Waterloo for him even among later critical contests. For there is no contest. His position is unshakable. With only a second-rate talent, he holds a multitude, not only in provincial New England but throughout the English-speaking world. And then he quietly silences the critical with the superb sonnets prefixed to his translation of Dante and the really admirable *Golden Legend.* He became a sort of golden legend himself and it has not yet proved to be pinchbeck or gilt.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

Oliver Wendell Holmes had no such multitudinous audience as had Whittier and Longfellow, though his early poem, "Old Ironsides," went all over the country. He addressed the kind of people that he himself represented and humorously defined as the "Brahmin caste." He was indeed an intellectual aristocrat and pleasantly conscious of being one. When Lowell accused him of indifference to the burning issues of the day, Holmes cheerfully pleaded guilty. His poetic temper shows best not in his more pretentious poems, such as "The Chambered Nautilus," but in the occasional pieces. These are preserved—it is Lowell's happy phrase for a physician—in "fame's great antiseptic—Style."

Holmes was Professor of Anatomy at Harvard Medical

From photographs

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

School and by all accounts a very good one. Long before bacteriology was thought of his observant mind suspected that puerperal fever was communicated by unclean doctors, midwives, and nurses. In his busy life literature was a diversion. However serious his ambitions as a professional writer, he is a supreme amateur, and in those solemn days his irresponsible gaiety is due to his freedom from the practical necessity of writing and from the moral pressure of great events and ideas.

For him Calvinism goes to smash simply in "The One-Hoss Shay." Holmes's verse, delightful as it is, is less important than his prose. When Lowell took the editorship of *The Atlantic,* he insisted that Holmes should be a first contributor, and so begins "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" (published in book form, 1858). This book of written talk, *causerie* at its best, has never lost its freshness and never can. It places Holmes among the great informal essayists from Montaigne to Lamb—and beyond. If it was extraordinary for a man near fifty to inaugurate something new in his own life and all but new in literature, it was still more remarkable that the sequels—sequels are notoriously weak—should have been of the same good stuff: *The Professor at the Breakfast Table* (1860) and *The Poet at the Breakfast Table* (1872).

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

James Russell Lowell has left no such completely satisfactory book as *The Autocrat.* He was a miscellanist in verse and prose and his value is in the totality of his work and influence. On one side he touches the scholarly and the academic; he succeeded Longfellow as Smith professor at Harvard. On the other side his thought extends to popular—or unpopular—ideas and he is one of the shrewdest, wisest critics of his times, a critic not only of books but of men and affairs. His poetry is burdened with didacticism, as he well knew and humorously confessed in *A Fable for Critics* (1848):

> There is Lowell, who's striving Parnassus to climb
> With a whole bale of isms tied together with rhyme.

The burden of his isms is lightened by humor, and it is that which gives the antiseptic of immortality to *The Bigelow*

Papers (1848). That satire on the Mexican war in Yankee dialect survives many diatribes and arguments on the politics of the time. Lowell's serious verse is of high intention but without the magic wings or the vigor of fulfilment. The outstanding lines are simply not there; the best are those on Lincoln in the *Commemoration Ode* (1865).

Of his prose much, especially the literary criticism, is now musty. To appreciate it we must recover perspective, as was suggested at the beginning of this chapter. In America there was little so good as his essays on the old poets. For us at least two essays, not on literary subjects, have enduring interest. Both are found in *My Study Windows* (1871). One is the essay on Lincoln, dated 1864, in which Lowell seizes the living man as only later biography has apprehended him. The other paper is "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," which is a sort of new declaration of independence.

Lesser Lights

An anthology of American poetry will reveal a number of lesser poets who in single pieces are memorable and rivalled poets of wider productivity and reputation. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," an occasional inspiration, became an American classic. In 1832 Samuel Francis Smith (Holmes's classmate) wrote "America," bad verse but imperishable. If Bryant is to be included in the Massachusetts lyre (certainly his youth was spent in the Commonwealth), then the young "Thanatopsis" and "To a Waterfowl" are in our record. William Wetmore Story, better remembered by his sculptures, is at least a name in poetry. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a man of great parts, also tried his pacific sword hand at verse.

Other Literary Forces

Literature is a broader affair than the productions of individual authors. It depends on a general culture in a vague way and on means of distribution in a practical way, and also on a central source of distribution. In this period the college became a power not for theology but for culture. The ideal of the college was not to produce divines as before or stockbrokers as later, but teachers, writers and thinkers. Many of the men in this period were graduates of Harvard and of smaller colleges like Bowdoin, the cradle of Hawthorne and Longfellow, which though geographically outside Massachusetts, is of the same timber.

This was a humanistic age in which scholars were plundering Europe peacefully and bringing back spoils. By 1850 the Harvard Library had more than three hundred thousand volumes. Outside the academies grew the public library. In Massachusetts the greatest is the Boston Public Library, which was opened in 1854 and has the distinction of being the first in the United States to be established by act of legislature. But even more important is the small town library which began to grow in this germinal period until now Massachusetts is the only state or political unit in the world in which every town has a public library.

There is no doubt that the people did read of winter nights. And they read not only books but newspapers and journals, which had influence and authority such as the modern paper with a circulation of a million cannot command. Many of these papers were devoted to a special propaganda like Garrison's *Liberator,* and even the general newspaper of the time was an avowed or disguised party organ. Most of the eminent New England journalists went to New York, where the thriving metropolitan newspapers offered prosperity and the opportunity for national influence, whereas New England journalism remained provincial. One newspaper, *The Springfield Republican* under the second Samuel Bowles, became a permanent local institution in western Massachusetts and achieved a national reputation.

The periodicals came and went. A few proved permanent at least in name, and were valuable for literature because they gave young writers, who later became famous and expressed themselves in books, a chance to say their early say. In this respect *The North American Review,* founded in Boston in 1815, was of great service. How many times do we read, say, that Prescott contributed to *The North American Review* his essay on Irving's *Granada? The Atlantic Monthly* is so important that from its early volumes the literary life of the period might be reconstructed. It skimmed the cream of the

New England mind, and if it dipped amply below the cream, that is only what every magazine must do to keep its covers from collapsing.

If Holmes's *Autocrat* and Lowell's editorial flair made *The Atlantic,* it is also fair to say that *The Atlantic* made *The Autocrat* and gave Lowell a new opportunity. Authors cannot live without publishers, and at that time the relations between author and publisher were very close. Literature owes much to Ticknor and Fields, who were scholars and gentlemen as well as business men. It is significant that Hawthorne's last journey from home was in the company of his publisher, William Ticknor, whose death on the way was a shock and an intense personal loss. The Old Corner Bookstore was more than a mercantile establishment; it was a club where the best minds met, gossiped, and so struck out ideas.

SUMMARY

The period is full of ideas and fortunate in the possession of men with power to express them. Some of these ideas are transient and obsolete, the voice of the time that is silenced when the time is past. Nobody now cares much about Transcendentalism, and the contest with Calvinism has passed out of civilization to be succeeded in remote places by an amusing war on Fundamentalism. But the essential issues of slavery and liberty and democracy are far from dead, and in that period every idea, every principle pertinent to those issues was uttered, not finally but so well that the utterance is still alive. Above all—and this *is* literature—the utterance, romantic or realistic, grave or gay, in prose or in verse, is often lastingly beautiful.

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CHAPTER VIII

ARTISTIC MASSACHUSETTS (1820–1929)

BY C. HOWARD WALKER
Architect

ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS

In any summary of art in New England, the account must be necessarily varied to the point of confusion, as it is difficult to make coherent many influences, at first traditional and gradually becoming individual in character. These interwoven influences are constantly preventing steady consecutive growth, and the best that can be anticipated is a mosaic of which the pieces are of various sizes and often poorly related to each other and ill arranged.

In the early days of the United States of America, the established cities of the eastern seaboard followed in their arts the lead of their ancestors; *i.e.*, that of the English, with here and there an inspiration from the Dutch. The leaders of the Republic were men of cultivated tastes, and the rich landholders of the South and the merchants and owners of shipping in the northern ports built their dwellings from Georgian antecedents. Having imported their furniture and household silver from England, they began early to imitate these in local work. Little inspiration occurred from France or elsewhere in Europe. The colonial governors set an excellent example of good taste. The neoclassicism of the latter part of the eighteenth century and of the Napoleonic period was slightly reflected in minor objects; and the returning New England ships from the East brought back Oriental examples.

One or two definite outstanding facts are evident. First, that all work up to the Civil War was imitative of contemporaneous work in Europe, and the earliest work was controlled by the consistent classicism of the time of the Georges and of a taste that dulled as the decades followed each other. The commonplace bourgeois quality of the Brunswickers made progress torpid. With the advent of the Victorian era, a general desire to break what at least threatened to become an apathy, caused unintelligent experiment in many directions, always stylistic.

Greek revivals, Gothic revivals, Italian villas and Mansard roofs, French revivals—each had advocates in England; and we, like good children, followed the mother country. Good taste was unknown, unconsidered, or ignored. The result was a deplorable and abysmal parade of mediocrity. The desire was one for change only. At present, so-called modernism is proceeding along the same course—experimental, uncontrolled—excepting that it virtuously desires the exploitation of new possibilities of structure and use of materials, which the Victorians did not possess.

This condition lasted until the Civil War. The Civil War created a hiatus, of value for two reasons: one that it checked a habit of action, the other that it cleared the road for material progress. But it was only a check. New work, gradually increasing, was still burdened by the propinquity of existent examples at hand. The dependence upon English precedent grew less, but its object lessons throughout the land were stultifying, and still are to too great an extent. But the organized teaching of the Beaux Arts began to be felt: a teaching which is criticized as being artificial (what is architecture but an artificial art?), but which was in reality that of large studied arrangement, organic and not necessarily mannered. At first the Beaux Arts men were as imitative as the colonial architects, but a logical treatment of individual conditions made its appearance. The sequence of Thackeray's drawings of Ludovicus, Rex, and Ludovicus Rex was occurring. The problem, the man, always was existent; we had been creating the costume. Now we began first to fit the man to the costume, and later to fit the costume to the man.

Post-Bellum Advances

These experiments often created a camouflaged harlequin. Meantime, wealth, opportunity, and complication of grouped requirements increased enormously. In the 'sixties we were a conglomeration of ill-related units; in thirty years we had outgrown the demand of individual factors and were ready for more metropolitan and megalopolitan expression. And we had on this side of the water no object lesson.

In 1893 that deficiency was supplied by the Chicago Exposition. The men were ready, and the work of their hands set an example. At the same time steel skeleton structure and the elevator absolutely divorced American solutions from foreign tradition; and the epoch of great enterprises began. It is still in its infancy. It takes a long time to overcome tradition; and its opponents, ignoring the value of the recognition of fundamental laws, entertain themselves with license. Fundamentals have a persistence that overwhelms license, and an expectation that the unexampled opportunities of today will be adequately undertaken is not optimistic but justifiable.

Basis of Colonial Architecture

In architecture especially New England was fortunate: on the one hand, she had skilled artisans, many of them trained in England; and on the other hand, the work of Sir Christopher Wren in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and the designs of his successors, such as Gibbs, were put into book form for the use of cabinet makers, stairbuilders, and carpenters. Wren's work had been largely influenced in its details by the delicacy of Palladio's buildings; and in fact early eighteenth-century England was Palladian in its tastes. Palladio in his Vicenza palaces had maintained, however, the grandiose manner, although upon a smaller scale, of the post-Renaissance of Rome. This quality was less evident in the houses of America, as befitting a government more simple in its manners.

The planters and landowners of the Southern States more closely followed the English breadth of scale than did the men of the North, who were shipowners and sea captains. It is interesting to note, however, that the details of moldings, of cornices, and mantels are much more delicate than those of the South; and at first view this fact is an enigma, as the carpenters (there were few architects) drew their inspiration from the same pattern books, such as that by Batty Langley.

The craftsmen of these delicate designs, such as McIntire in Salem, had been ship carpenters; the sea had taught them stream lines and to avoid unnecessary materials, and their productions had the qualities of the training of those exigent masters, the winds and the waves. When they turned their hands to building houses, the result was never heavy nor dull, but had life in it. In the later work it has been called Georgian, but it had not Georgian pomposity. Wren's church spires, unique and graceful, became the symbol of the colonial church, and to this day beautify New England villages and towns. There were English master builders early in the eighteenth century who exercised the powers of architects more than creditably, and occasionally there appeared a young English architect who aspired to professional success in a new country. Such an one was Peter Harrison, who built the Old Market and the Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, and King's Chapel in Boston, each of which is inspired from Wren's work.

Colonial Dwellings

The classic orders of architecture were derived from wood structure; and whereas in America—which in its early days was largely dependent upon wood—the buildings were erected of wood, they were translated from the stone classicism of Europe to the wooden colonial type naturally, being perfectly adapted to the material from which they had sprung. The work before the Revolution had not been of as imposing a character in the North as in the South, the houses of the colonial governors alone having set the pace. Immediately after that war, when the colonists began to increase their fortunes, private houses of dignity appeared in every town, as did small town halls, churches, etc. The families of the South, many of them younger sons of nobility, established an aristocracy—what the negro learned to call the "quality"— which had no exact counterpart at the North. Their estates were large, their houses isolated. The merchants of the North, gaining their wealth largely from shipping, as the back country itself had not been fully developed, built their fine houses in the towns from which their ships sailed.

The early houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in many cases covered with gambrel roofs, often with a long slope to the north, and with no roof decks. After the Revolution, when the shipowners became prosperous, these houses became as imposing in effect as had been the previous colonial governors' mansions (such as the Governor Langdon house in Portsmouth), all of which had been inspired by Palladian work.

In all the seaport towns in New England, along the coasts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were built spacious and dignified houses, admirable in design and proportions. In many cases these houses had hopper roofs and roof decks, with balustrades and cupolas or lanterns, assumed to have been places of lookout for the sea captains to scan the harbors. Being harmoniously academic in type, they gave an unusually dignified character to the towns. Few more impressive streets of dwellings exist than Chestnut Street in Salem, and the main streets of Newburyport, Portsmouth, and elsewhere. The Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow house in Cambridge is a distinguished example of a fine private dwelling. Later, similar houses were erected upon the post roads as they were extended westerly.

Bulfinch the Architect

Boston was especially fortunate in the work of Charles Bulfinch, a man of fine taste and of architectural genius. He was studying to be a physician in England at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Unable to return home, he went to France to study, became interested in architecture, and on his return built as a speculation the so-called Tontine Buildings upon a quarter circle on Summer Street. The experiment was financially unsuccessful and forced him into adopting architecture as a profession. He was a born architect, and his buildings made him famous. He was employed by Monroe upon the rebuilding of the Capitol at Washington, and built churches and private houses, the State capitols of Massachusetts and of Maine, and the Massachusetts General Hospital. Strict economies of material were necessary, yet his work has distinction, is finely proportioned, and has a delicate sense of scale and of detail.

At about the time of his death in the 'thirties, England, from whose buildings American work was principally inspired, was undergoing a so-called Gothic revival, in most cases unintelligent and crude. Gothic and Italian villas, interspersed with mansard-roofed boxes and Greek Doric facades, created a heterogeneous collection of buildings in American towns which lasted until after the Civil War. The civic architecture of government buildings maintained a certain dignity of classicism; though at Hartford, Connecticut, Upjohn, an Englishman, imported Victorian Gothic for the State Capitol. The Victorian epoch expressed itself with a confusion of desires too often accompanied by a mediocrity of achievement. It was natural in the making of a democracy that the average taste of the people should not be high, and it was equally to be expected that it should be best in the older settlements in which a cultivated tradition existed. These were Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England.

PAINTING (1789–1840)

Throughout the American colonies, painting was for many decades dependent upon foreign teaching and foreign importation. There was no art instruction, for there were few if any instructors and the great educational energies had little to build upon. In a pioneer country material prosperity must necessarily antedate artistic achievement. Buildings must needs be, and architecture imitatively progressed; but painting was confined largely to portraiture, of which the demand was constant by official characters and by private families.

From the fifteenth century portraiture has occupied a very considerable place in painting, and perpetuation of the appearance of celebrities has been constantly desired. There was no photography until 1850, and therefore portrait painting was in constant demand.

The Americans who desired to become portrait painters went to England. As soon as Sir Joshua Reynolds founded the Royal Academy in London, American students appeared. Some, such as Smibert, antedated this group; but West, Stuart, Copley, Allston, and others received their training in England and on their return painted in the English manner. Of these Gilbert Stuart was preëminent, a master of the brush, and a colorist of distinction. Copley, while more dry in manner, admirably epitomized the family pride of his sitters. Benjamin West attempted historical and Biblical scenes, rather bombastic in expression and inferior to the work of English painters of his time.

With these exceptions, the painters in America of this period did not rise to high rank, though Peale, and Healy who painted the large canvas in Faneuil Hall, are well considered. The landscape school of New York, the so-called Hudson River school, had few if any followers in New England.

Minor Artistry (1775–1840)

In the minor arts and crafts, New England's work followed English precedent. In the eighteenth century Paul Revere was famous for his silver, and had a number of followers. In New Hampshire there were excellent potters. American furniture economically imitated English examples, the very economy giving it a charm of its own. Brickmaking was undertaken in Chicopee in 1800. Sandwich glass became well known. Bewick's famous woodcuts inspired a number of excellent wood engravers, who made quaint illustrations for town histories and for the books of Peter Parley. They were worthy predecessors in the art to Timothy Cole and Anthony. Printing followed English precedent and was from imported fonts.

Nor should the whalers of New Bedford and the ships sailing from the New England ports be forgotten. They were of great beauty, and led to the supreme efforts of Donald McKay in the famous Yankee clippers, the cleanest cut, finest modelled, swiftest greyhounds of the seas. Their figureheads were done by skilled wood carvers and could at times be considered as sculptures. These men, in elaborate carving on mantels, imitated with great appreciation imported carving of mahogany by followers of Grinling Gibbons.

American Gothic Era (1840)

In architecture, the Gothic Revival in England by Sir Charles Barry and Edis and Eastlake affected American design but little, excepting in steep-roofed villas with jig-sawed vergeboards, as illustrated in Downing's work. These occurred more often in New York than in New England. There appears to have been a deep-seated feeling that classicism was appropriate to the assumed dignity of governmental work, Federal or State, and that it was more inherently monumental than any other expression. Therefore the designs of important buildings partook of classicism. It is probable that the work of Bulfinch in New England affected this attitude of mind. It appeared also in sculpture, and the legislators of our country were often swathed in togas. The chief source of inspiration in France was the famous École des Beaux Arts in Paris, founded by Louis XIV, at which the instruction has been classic and academic. It has always maintained the grandiose conceptions of the Grande Monarque in its instruction, and has therefore been admirably applicable to the great opportunities which have come to us.

Topiary Art (1820–1865)

Landscape work and town or city planning did not reach even an adolescent stage. Town greens like those in English towns, so-called commons, were frequent, such as Boston Common, but were entirely accidental in plan and used primarily for reviews of town militia and political rallies. With but few exceptions, the grounds and the groups of educational institutions were entirely unstudied as to general harmonious character and effect, and unfortunately in most cases still continue to be so. Yale has adopted a consistent scheme. In the heterogeneous Victorian age, no appreciation of unanimity of character of buildings or of their organic relation to each other could be expected.

Each donor who endowed a building wished it to be individual in character, had no desire to associate it with any other, and had it placed upon the best site obtainable. No general planning was considered. Projects were initially of such small proportions that foresight was absent. The one conspicuous exception was Jefferson's University of Virginia. But Harvard, Yale, Bowdoin, Amherst, Dartmouth, Williams, Smith, and Tufts each happened fortuitously; and, while some effort is now being made to harmonize buildings and grounds, it has incurred expense and has accomplished results that are not entirely satisfactory.

The opportunities were great; but the country had not grown to them, and is still attempting with greater or less success to correct its errors of ignorance. The growth of arts in America was sadly handicapped by its being coincident with a period of poor taste in Europe, especially in England, which is unexampled in history; that is, the early Victorian period.

Nineteenth Century Tendencies (1840–1865)

At the time when, if left to ourselves, we might have continued to develop the excellent colonial work, an entire Pandora's box of mediocrities was poured upon us, backed by the authority of the fashions of Europe. The result was disastrous, and the Civil War called a halt to its progress. The pre-Raphaelite painters in England—Dante Rossetti, Holman Hunt, Watts and Burne Jones, and William Morris in his decorative work—were stimulating English art. The Romanticists in France, with Gérome at their head, had fame in France. Labrouste, Duban, Narjoux, neoclassicists, were simplifying architectural expressions.

All these might have influenced American work if the Civil War had not intervened, and actually a slight radiance from them appeared later. In the late 'fifties three New England students met in Paris, each of whom in his sphere was to be of mark: James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Edward C. Cabot. Despite the artistic beauty of the "Vision of Sir Launfal," Lowell's achievements have no place in this article; but Norton was the beloved Professor of Fine Arts in Harvard for years. Delicate in his tastes, *precieux,* he permeated his art teaching with high ideals and a gentle philospthy. Peculiarly sensitive to the mediocrities of the time, he was mildly pessimistic in his anticipations for the future; an attitude which in his later days he felt to be unjustifiable as he saw the ever improving achievements. No man did more to penetrate and perforate material indifference with enthusiasm and reverence for the fine arts and what they represented in the life of man.

Edward Cabot came back a Palladian classicist and as such designed two notable buildings, the Boston Athenaeum and the interior of the Boston Theater; the former today one of the most satisfactory classic façades in the city; the latter, now torn down, as large as La Scala in Milan and of fine character. Later he forsook classicism for the prevailing picturesqueness of design.

Post-Bellum Art (1865–1890)

The curtain of art progress fell with the Civil War. It rose in 1866 to reconstruction, not only of national affairs but of the arts. It took nearly ten years for results to be manifest, but in that ten years the future was forming its means of expression.

The desire for training at home came first, and appeared in projected schemes for schools, for hospitals, for libraries and museums, and for town halls. Education was to the fore; but painting, sculpture, and architecture lagged behind, the latter in as great a confusion as in the first half of the century. Academic training had not been established in New England. It is always characteristic of the enthusiasm induced by a sense of freedom that it tends towards spontaneous melodramatic expression rather than to serenity and dignity. It can be said of the New England architecture from 1870 to 1895 that it was enamoured of picturesqueness and it balked at formality. This in architecture is essentially an English or German trait, not a Latin one.

The men returning from abroad, such as H. H. Richardson and the others who very soon appeared, Mead and Peabody and Cummings and John Sturgis, worked as if the orders of architecture had never existed. Sketches of picturesque towers and gables and medieval accidental masses were their inspiration, not Stewart and Revett's *Athens,* nor Vitruvius, nor Vignola, nor even Letarouilly's *Edifices of Modern Rome;* and the results were amusing, interesting, often incongruous and without accord. Later these very men in many cases became classicists.

In the years between 1865 and 1880 they with others, such as Van Brunt, and Stone in Providence, and Earle in Worcester, were making the art of architecture respected as a profession in New England. John Sturgis had studied in England and had been in J. K. Colling's office, as was later evidenced in his design for the first Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Edward C. Cabot went into partnership with Francis Chandler, who later took Professor Ware's place at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology when Professor Ware went to Columbia to take charge of the architectural department there. Peabody in partnership with Stearns began to build many urban and suburban houses. Charles A. Cummings, a scholar with fine taste, is well known not only from his architectural work but for his *History of Architecture in Italy.* W. P. P. Longfellow wrote for Appleton's a *History of European Architecture* at this time.

ERA OF RICHARDSON (1865–1890)

But the most original and emphatic and compelling personality of the time was Henry Hobson Richardson. He was a Southerner, who at the outbreak of the Civil War was studying in Paris at the École des Beaux Arts; and finding it well-nigh impossible to return, he remained there during the war. Later he settled in New York but soon came to Boston, and it is from New England that his influence emanated. Establishing his office in Brookline in connection with his residence, he gathered around him patrons of the arts and young aspirants in architecture. His hospitality was lavish, and he created dinner symposia like a modern Lorenzo the Magnificent. Robust in person, in voice, in manner, and in ideas, he overrode all pettinesses of action. His very chairs and tables and fire irons and beer steins were of almost Brobdignagian scale, and withal he was a constant inspiration.

New England perforce had always been thrifty, and economy was a traditional and acknowledged virtue. Luxury was looked at askance, and to be eschewed. Legislative opportunism, public and private, is characteristic of New England, which exercises imagination in the terms of necessity.

Richardson, partly because of the economy of the use of rock-faced stone as compared with finished ashlar, but undoubtedly from his sympathy for vigorous expression, was enamoured of the beauty of the heavy-walled, round-arched so-called Romanesque architecture of the eleventh century of France, England, and Spain. He began to design in that manner and created what was known and recognized as Richardsonian architecture, which was greeted in Europe as being a characteristic and appropriate American style. No history of architecture published abroad up to this time gave any considerable space to American work; nor, with the exception of colonial work, which was considered merely imitative, did it deserve much consideration. It was taken for granted that our work was raw, the only complimentary adjective applied to it was that it was "virile"; and there was a general desire at home and abroad that we should develop a national architecture. Because it was virile, it was assumed that Romanesque was an excellent type of work to express America.

Like all powerful personalities, Richardson had among his pupils many followers, and so-called Richardsonian buildings appeared everywhere, seldom with the merit of his own. The type was adopted at the time for small town libraries and town halls, and occasionally for churches.

Richardson's legitimate successors were Shepley and Coolidge, the work of which firm has been for years well known throughout the country. Charles Allerton Coolidge, one of the original members of the firm, has designed the new Fogg Art Museum at Harvard and many of the new Harvard buildings.

Architectural Schools (1865–1901)

The most prominent educator in architecture was Professor William R. Ware, who in partnership with Henry Van Brunt was designing in Victorian Gothic—the best known of their buildings being Memorial Hall at Harvard, with an admirable plan and good masses, but injured by the English detail. When Rogers founded the Massachusetts Institute of Technology he wisely associated with it a Department of Architecture, destined to be the ancestor of all similar schools throughout the country. He placed Ware at the head of the department, where he remained twelve years or more until he took over the similar department at Columbia.

The high idealism, the gracious courtesy, and the scholarly attainments of Professor Ware established a character and an *esprit de corps* in that department which it has never lost. The country at large owes an inestimable debt to Professor Ware. The first class, a small one, was graduated in 1868. The Department of Architecture deliberately adopted the traditions and methods of instruction of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, and Professor Ware obtained the services, as Professor of Design, of Eugene Letang, the first of a long list of *Grand-Prix diplomés* of the Beaux Arts who have occupied similar chairs in American schools.

From the State House Guide

THE STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, DESIGNED BY BULFINCH

Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, DESIGNED BY STURGIS

The training of these schools has been consistently academic; *i.e.,* it has been based upon proved principles of design, not upon emotional fantasies, no matter how imaginative. Well-established methods are essential to elemental teaching. The gradual effect of the schools has been to ameliorate the eccentricities due to ignorance. At the present time most large educational institutions have departments in which architecture is studied, and the skill in architecture of America is recognized and praised throughout the world. This is very largely due to the careful logical training of the schools, which has been persistently maintained and has never been lured into stressing fantasy at the expense of dignity and power. Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Chicago, Berkeley, Oregon, St. Louis, and many others have strong architectural departments, the descendants of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology department. The University of Pennsylvania has an art school of all the fine arts. Contemporaneously with the inception of the schools came the desire for public art museums to contain originals and copies of works of art of all times.

Individuals in the 'seventies studied in England under Burgess and Colling, and were designing in the English Victorian manner. England has always been famous for her homes, and while from 1820 to 1850 residences were often inspired by Greek temples, they now were built of brick in a peculiarly heavy English manner, without control. The result was a great number of heterogeneous erections which are now in disfavor.

Art and Architecture (1880–1890)

The decade between 1880 and 1890 was one of progressive achievement, and steady growth in the arts. The men who were approaching thirty years of age were beginning to make themselves felt, and the men of the previous generation formed a body of patrons in relation to music, literature, and the fine arts.

Early in the decade the American Archaeological Society, which had previously been interested in American archaelogy, went far afield and obtained a *firman* from the Sultan of Turkey to excavate the remains of Assos in Asia Minor. The president of the society was Charles Eliot Norton, Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard. A body of young New England men were sent out to undertake the work. Among them were Clarke, who had been educated in Munich; Francis Bacon, the older brother of Henry Bacon, who was later to design the Lincoln Memorial at Washington and who owed much of his fine classical taste to Francis Bacon; Norton's son Eliot; Lawton, a Greek scholar; Edward Robinson, later curator of the Boston Art Museum and still later curator of the great Metropolitan Art Museum in New York; and C. Howard Walker. Bacon, Robinson, and Walker returned in the early 'eighties and settled in Boston.

The first art museum was erected in Copley Square from the design of John Sturgis and Brigham in the late 'seventies. It was built in 1880 and was one of the pioneers in art museums, housing admirable collections. The very inception of and necessity for these museums was due to private collections made by travelling Americans, which existed before and increased in large numbers after the Civil War. They brought home foreign pictures from various sources, many examples of which were of mediocre quality and overestimated, and when imitated induced work of like character. Literal representation of natural scenes and of the episodes of daily life —*i.e.*, pictorial subjects—were popular; and although there were *dilettanti* and *cognoscenti* who realized the inspiration of the Italian, Dutch, French and English galleries, the public at large had little knowledge of it. It was at this time that public libraries began to increase, until a large number of New England towns built town libraries.

Art Museum in Copley Square (1876)

John Sturgis's design for the Art Museum in Copley Square was in the Victorian Gothic style of brick and terra cotta. No terra cotta had been made in America, and it was imported from Stoke-on-Trent, England. When the English company failed, an American terra cotta company, established in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, completed the porch of the museum, one of the first examples of the output of an industry which has since developed to vast proportions. Terra cotta became a fashion; and the Lowe Art Tile Company was established at Chelsea, and competed with imported tiles. The nucleus of the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts was from the Athenaeum, a building by Cabot, which was primarily a private library but housed collections of art. The most important were a number of sarcophagi and other objects from Egypt, and a fine group of drawings and some paintings belonging to Quincy Shaw. Later, through the efforts of Professor Edward S. Morse, who had resided for twelve years in Japan, Dr. Sturgis Bigelow, and Charles Weld, one of the most complete collections of Japanese art in existence was housed in the museum, which rapidly became a stimulus to the many art museums, public and private, throughout the country. By its art school it also stimulated painting, sculpture, and the minor arts. Libraries open to the public appeared sporadically for years. In this decade they began to take on definite functions, as did specialized museums, anthropological, ethnological, and the like, each containing exhibits of the arts relating to the subject, but not primarily art museums.

Art Training (1885–1930)

The larger colleges included a study of art in their curricula, and housed small art collections and art libraries. The original Boston Public Library, on Boylston Street, had been outgrown; and the new library, which arose upon Copley Square near the museum, was designed by McKim, Mead and White, Mr. Mead being the New England member of the firm. Associated with them was Joseph Wells, who had never been in Italy but had worked in Peabody's office under the influence of picturesque design. He chose the work of Bramante for his inspiration. Like Bulfinch and Charles Atwood he was a born architect. Retiring in personality, an excellent musician, cultivated in his tastes, he had much influence on architecture in his insistence upon the study of Italian Renaissance. The men who had studied under Richardson—Robert D. Andrews, Jacques, Heins, A. W. Longfellow, Shepley & Coolidge, Richardson's successors, and Langford Warren—were beginning to make themselves felt. Later, when the Department of Architecture at Harvard was established, it was taken over by Warren, who had developed it into a very strong department at the time of his death in 1916. Another group who had been in Paris at the École des Beaux Arts—Chamberlin, Whidden, F. F. Wilson, William D. Austin, A. C. Everett, Edmund March Wheelwright and others—were also busy, the last-named becoming city architect of Boston and building many excellent schools.

Landscaping (1860–1893)

In landscape work one man became preeminent and acquired a national reputation—Frederick Law Olmstead. In his early life, working with Calvert Vaux in New York, he became the arbiter of designs of estates and of parks throughout the country. Catholic in his character of design, he was equally conversant with naturalistic treatment and formal planning. He thoroughly realized that the grandiose work of LeNôtre and Italian gardens were not yet sympathetic as environment for American parks or estates, and he refrained from attempting them until the time of the Chicago Exposition in 1893. A charming, simple, quiet little man, he was a genius; and the written exposition of his ideas spread before uneducated committees and boards was so exhaustive and convincing that it was nearly always accepted. The well known park system of Boston is due to him, and there are few cities in the country that do not owe him an inestimable debt.

Nineteenth Century Influences (1840–1860)

Between 1840 and 1860 steam navigation between America and Europe was established, and travel increased. The West had been opened, the gold rush to California had occurred, and fortunes were made in the development of the country at large.

It was to be expected that the phases of nature and the intimate episodes of daily life should appeal to wealthy pioneers, amateurs as far as any knowledge of the fine art of painting was concerned. Genre pictures made an especial appeal. Private collections began to appear. It was the period of German idealism, and the work of the German sentimentalists appealed. Meyer von Bremens, and Ary Scheffers were bought. The Barbizon school was appreciated by few, and the works from France were of rather a saccharine character, such as the allegories of Merle.

At the time when these importations were beginning to affect American work, the Civil War delayed all development. It is probable that the delay was fortunate, as it gave an opportunity later for a more intelligent retrospect. Education in the arts was as yet in no sense organized, and it was recognized that study abroad was desirable; but the trend of mind in New England had always been toward propaganda, and in New England developed a wish to learn and to impart—that is, to educate—and education as a desire, a profession, and as a subject for pride soon became a New England characteristic. This implied a certain egotism, which has been recognized by its results to have been justifiable. New England for a time became the principal center of educative effort, and the alma mater for many students, who in their work have often exceeded the achievements of the source of their inspiration, but have acknowledged the benefits derived from it.

Before the period of the Civil War music had been taught by individual musicians, and small musical societies were formed in many localities; and early in the 'sixties the New England Conservatory of Music was established under Eben Tourjee, which in the long years of its prosperous existence has encouraged and fostered and supplied with teachers many similar organizations.

Painting languished after the Civil War. In the 'seventies the outstanding figure was William Morris Hunt, brother of the New York architect, Richard M. Hunt, a man of broad ideas, founding his technique largely upon Couture. He painted a series of admirable portraits and undertook mural decoration in the State capitol at Albany. He was an inspiring teacher, terse and epigrammatic in his statements. Frederick P. Vinton, also an admirable portrait painter, and J. Foxcroft Cole and J. Appleton Brown and others followed. At the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, under Otto Grundmann, a younger group of men were becoming proficient.

New Art Schools (1865–1920)

Besides the Art Museum school there existed the Lowell School of Design under Hollingsworth, endowed by Augustus Lowell. Its Department of Design was largely devoted to textiles. It was an era in which art was introduced into the schools throughout New England. The State normal schools included it in their curricula, and it was introduced in the secondary schools for several hours in each week. In 1885 it was suggested to Walker to establish a department of design in the School of the Museum of Fine Arts on the *atelier* basis of teaching. It became the ancestor of similar schools of design throughout the country. The pupils of the New England art schools, public and private, have gone out all over the country as teachers. Walker took over the Lowell Department of Design, again taught design at the Museum of Fine Arts, and finally established his own school under the management of Miss Child, who has had exceptional influence upon art teaching.

SCULPTURE (1865–1930)

After the Civil War a number of monuments and memorials to its participants appeared in both the North and the South. With few exceptions they were of mediocre quality; but eventually a new type appeared, that of tall shafts crowned by a symbolic figure of Liberty or of Victory, with realistic soldiers and sailors and allegorical figures around the base. This was essentially an American type. One of the first was that erected in 1874, upon Boston Common by Martin Milmore. The type became popular. Classicism began to lose its entirely imitative character at the time of the Centennial Exposition of 1876, which stimulated a certain freedom of idea, and an expression of a growing nationalism appeared.

A transitional link between the earlier work and that of the more intensely American sculpture was formed at the same period by Kirk Brown of Massachusetts, working in New York, and by Thomas Ball, living in Florence. A transitional group of sculptors residing abroad—such as Story, Greenough, and Miss Hosmer—were thoroughly imitative of Italian work; while John Rogers of Salem almost created a sculptural *genre* by his effective statuette groups, mostly concerned with Civil War episodes. Olin Warner, while a classicist, was showing greater freedom, but the road was open to the rising more American group, headed by Augustus Saint Gaudens. He was born overseas, but his statue of Chapin in Springfield and his Shaw Monument in Boston had a marked effect upon New England work. The preeminent New England sculptor is Daniel Chester French, who studied for a year with Thomas Ball in Florence. His early manner was traditionally classic, but after time spent in Paris it partook of the free and sensitive quality of French sculpture. Among his best works in New England are the John Harvard statue at Harvard College, the memorials to Milmore and to John Boyle O'Reilly, the Melvin memorial in Concord, and the Parkman memorial. Mr. French's work is of great charm, refined, with dignity and sentiment.

Augustus St. Gaudens had already shown himself eminent. Trained in Paris under Jouffroy, he early gave evidence in his work of greater freedom and enterprise than the preceding neoclassicists. While New England cannot claim him as one of her sons, three of his best works—the "Deacon Chapin" in Springfield, and the Shaw and Phillips Brooks monuments in Boston—are in Massachusetts. Another well-known New Englander is Herbert Adams.

Conception of Plan (1890–1900)

The decade 1890 to 1900 was signalled by a very much more comprehensive study of large architectural problems than had previously been undertaken. It had been the custom to build universities, hospital groups, and all buildings associated for a common purpose with little relation of the buildings to each other, designed according to the individual desires of donors and scattered fortuitously over the land. The one harmonizing conception was that they should be assembled about a campus. Unfortunately, this adolescent idea is still too often prevalent. No group of academic buildings in New England was planned with a view to architectural effect. Nor was there harmony of general character nor association with the terrain. Buildings were planted, not assembled; and the effect was wholly haphazard. No object lessons were at hand; formality for the sake of dignity and uniformity of effect were sacrificed to the rustic likings for natural landscape. The magnificent plan of L'Enfant, drawn up in 1791 for the city of Washington, was not appreciated and was constantly in danger from congressional ignorance. Olmstead for years attempted to ameliorate these conditions, with constantly increasing success in his treatment of parks. It required the Exposition of 1893 in Chicago to bring to the public at large the possibilities of the noble qualities of studied planning and the mutual association of buildings in harmony with each other.

EXPOSITION BUILDINGS (1876–1910)

Expositions were no new achievement. In 1857 occurred the great exposition in London, which invigorated the dormant Victorian art. In 1876 the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia brought together whatever we possessed of art. In 1889 there was an exposition in Paris, which was an attempted apotheosis of steel structure. All of these were best known from the exhibits, not for their architectural beauty. It was reserved for the World's Fair at Chicago to present an object lesson in architecture and to establish an exposition of dignified architecture, its enhancing environment conceived upon a large scale and adequately embellished by sculpture and painting. It deliberately avoided eclecticism, stating frankly its adherence to classicism, even to establishing the scale of the orders used. Here at last was a great object lesson teaching the method of dealing with large projects, which were already being considered and which have multiplied throughout the land. It has had a salutary effect upon every large enterprise since undertaken; it was consistent in character throughout, with the exception of one or two buildings which seemed exotic; it possessed a general saneness of dignified expression devoid of eccentricity, which fortunately remains an American trait. Its success in the collaboration of the artists is one of its most instructive features, and it stimulated endeavor to a remarkable degree.

The New England architects working upon the Chicago exposition were Peabody, Van Brunt Howe, Mead, H. I. Cobb, and Charles Atwood, an exceptionally endowed architect who designed the Peristyle, and the Art Building. In the later exposition of 1904 in St. Louis, Van Brunt and Howe, and Walker and Kimball designed buildings. The Chicago Exposition was soon followed by others, large and small: at Atlanta and Nashville, 1896; Omaha, 1898; Buffalo, 1901; St. Louis, 1904; and finally, the Pacific Coast exposition at

San Francisco, and that of San Diego in 1922, which was beautifully designed by Bertram Goodhue. In every case, despite pessimistic adverse criticism, these expositions have encouraged and stimulated the arts and led to the discovery of ability in men previously but little known. They have been in fact training schools of a larger scope than could have been attained in any other way. In Chicago, in 1893, over three fourths of the artists participating were either born or trained in New England. In St. Louis, 1904, the percentage had fallen to one half, and as art permeates the country it will probably continue to lessen, yet New England continues to be the alma mater for many artists. The Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha was under the control of Walker & Kimball, the latter a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and founder of *The Architectural Review*. These architects were members of the Board of Architects of the St. Louis Exposition, the plan of which was theirs.

The Influence of the Gothic

Coincident with the growing trend to classicism, as differentiated from the erratic eclecticism of Victorian taste, Ralph Adams Cram designed buildings in the Gothic style, with an analytical intelligence as to its structural expression hitherto neglected, and with appreciation for its beauties of expression and symbolism which was to a preeminent degree possessed by his partner, Bertram Goodhue, and resulted in a remarkable series of churches, and later in the group of buildings at West Point. The Gothic style had been used traditionally by Englishmen in America, such as Upjohn at Hartford and C. C. Haight in New York.

Business Structures (1880–1920)

In the decade from 1880 to 1890, the use of steel in structure increased. Rolled beams were used in floors and as reenforcement. Verticals of steel were built up of channels and Z-bars. Serious conflagrations, such as that of Boston in 1873, created a desire for fireproof construction. Slow-burning construction, as advocated by Edward Atkinson for mill buildings, was found to be ineffective. Building laws were revised, and by 1886 tentative steel frames reenforced masonry buildings. The engineers, having used such frames in bridge spans, began to experiment with them in buildings.

The invention of the elevator, at first hydraulic, was nearly contemporaneous. Before this period buildings for occupancy seldom exceeded four stories in height, as ascending by stairs was an arduous task and the top story had little rental value. High structures also required thick walls in the lower stories, which minimized floor areas. A new condition arose which made it possible for buildings to rise to any height and all stories to be easily accessible. Each possibility cooperated with the other, and the thoroughly American skyscraper was born. The first building constructed with a steel skeleton was erected in 1889, at 50 Broadway, New York, and during the next ten years buildings gradually became higher; but it was reserved for the twentieth century to fully develop the type, until its excesses compelled the restraint of law.

New England, with a unique blend of imaginative foresight and conservative action, limited the height of buildings in Boston to 125 feet. City lots in congested American communities had been laid out according to the Teutonic tradition of small frontage and great depth, in order to get as many holdings and fronts as possible upon the public market place, instead of the Latin tradition of building around courts, which has made possible the long façades and dignity of Latin cities. When the high building first appeared in America, its bare party walls were principal factors, and a row of narrow façades were arranged side by side like sample strips of wall paper. Little by little properties have been coalesced, and zoning laws have produced a series of enormous terraced towers, designed upon all their sides and extremely effective in their masses. Designs became vertical instead of horizontal in treatment, and a unique and often majestic architecture, which is entirely American in its inception and its development, was the immediate result.

Art Organization and Instruction

New England first instituted art commissions to control civic monuments, and extended their scope from local actions to State control. Late in the 'nineties Boston introduced the first art commission to control civic monuments, and established the first planning boards and civic improvement committees. About 1900 was founded the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, the progenitor of many other similar societies, of which it remains the largest.

In architecture New England has been represented in the presidency of the American Institute of Architects by Robert Peabody and R. Clipton Sturgis, and Peabody & Walker were members of President Roosevelt's commission in control of art in the District of Columbia. Henry Bacon was the architect of the magnificent Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Walker has been for some years a *liaison* officer appointed by the Educational Committee of the American Institute of Architects to consult with universities and other schools throughout the country for further extension of art teaching.

To the Art Department of Harvard—Dr. Denman Ross, George Chase, Edward Forbes, Pope, Post, Edgell and Paul Sachs—is due the growth and unique character of the Fogg Art Museum, which has elevated college art education.

In the Department of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Despradelle succeeded Letang as Professor of Design, Duquesne followed, and the chair is now occupied by M. Carlu. Professor Frank Chandler succeeded Professor Ware as the head of the department, and at his death was succeeded by Professor William Emerson. The traditions are those of the École des Beaux Arts, considered in relation to American conditions. The fine Evans Wing of the new Art Museum was designed by Guy Lowell, a graduate of the École des Beaux Arts.

Twentieth Century Status (1900–1930)

As has been stated, New England has been conservative in the erection of skyscrapers: the rapid development of the type did not occur until after 1900, when the Flatiron Building, Singer Building, and Woolworth Building were erected in New York. The type seemed justified in New York City on account of the narrowness of Manhattan Island and the large value of land per square foot. The conditions on the lake front in Chicago approximated that of New York. Elsewhere skyscrapers seem unnecessary. They have made city streets into deep canyons which, with their terraced masses caused by laws enacted to control light and air, bear a resemblance to the deep erosions and terraces of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They create a similar impression of titanic forces, and of an apotheosis of commerce. A single skyscraper can, like a prominent tower, act as a focus; but as fast as they are multiplied, confusion is courted.

The opening of the twentieth century found New England in the position of a mother whose children had gone out all over the country, and, while loyal to her, were developing their own environment with a very youthful energy. Her sons were great financiers, like Morgan; great railroad men, like Charles E. Perkins. Everywhere they were in power, and as years went on they were connected with great industries and established endowment funds. No enterprise was undertaken in New England without the bread she had cast upon the waters coming back to her a hundred fold. She had been the mother of museums, of libraries, of hospitals and asylums, of art schools and art education in all its branches, and everywhere they appeared within her borders. Her efforts were assisted by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, and breadth of view enlarged with increased opportunities. Planning boards were established. Engineers and architects became cooperators.

As the scope of problems increased, mutual cooperation in all the arts was apparent. The arts have gleaned from every source. To relate their vicissitudes and their Protean shapes would be a task dealing with much confusion but also with many successful achievements, underlying which there has been in New England a saving grace or inherent conservatism tending to acknowledge traditions, which has saved it from erratic efforts. A number of painters who had been pupils of Duveneck, such as DeCamp and Mills; and graduates of the Museum School, such as Tarbell, Benson, and Hale, have been prominent in the last thirty years. Mural painting was undertaken on a larger scale. Henry Walker, Reid, and Simmons were at work upon the Massachusetts State House, C. E. Mills on the Franklin Institute; and the decorative mural paintings in the Boston Public Library by Edwin Abbey and John Singer Sargent are noted contributions to the art. Brush and Abbot Henderson Thayer, DeCamp, Tarbell, Benson, and Hopkinson became well-known portrait painters and were commissioned to paint portraits of the celebrities of the Great War. Benson became a famous etcher, and the list of able New England painters is long.

The Copley Society of Boston, composed of artists and patrons and lovers of art, has for years held notable exhibits, such as the Sorolla and the Whistler collections of pictures. For nearly forty years the artists' costume festivals, under the auspices of the Copley Society, have been spectacular exhibits of the costumes of historic epochs. Pageantry has been well handled in the New England cities, in Salem, Marblehead, Portsmouth, and elsewhere. An elaborate pageant was that at the opening of the new Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The scenario was written by Cram, and the costumes for the two thousand participants were assembled by Walker.

The Isabella Gardner Museum, the collections and the building due to the munificence of Mrs. John L. Gardner, is the finest of the private collections, although many others exist in Massachusetts—as that of the Essex Institute, in Salem, and of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester.

In sculpture some of the best recent men have been Kitson, Brewster, and Bela Pratt. Cyrus Dallin has been especially skillful in his figures of American Indians, whom he has epitomized; and Paul Wayland Bartlett is acknowledged to have been one of the ablest men of his generation. American art is no longer inferior to the work of foreign artists, and has received a high meed of praise from foreign artists; nor have the minor arts been neglected: in every craft the work has become distinguished.

The brief for New England's influence in the arts is indisputable, nor is it ever challenged; and it strongly encourages the hope that it will be as far reaching in the future as it has been in the past.

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CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORMS
(1820–1861)

By Edward Everett Hale
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The Sunrise of Idealism

In the year 1844—almost half through the nineteenth century—a lecture on the New England reformers was given by Ralph Waldo Emerson. As we look back on the event it seems clear that he was the person who best could speak with authority upon that matter. He wished, he said, to speak of the new ideas, the new movement, the new spirit of which everybody was conscious in the life of the time; and he began by saying that whoever (that is, whoever had opportunity of knowing) looked back for twenty-five years would be "struck by the great activity of thought and experimenting." Great activity of thought (not to mention experimenting) was certainly a characteristic note of the first part of the nineteenth century in New England and elsewhere. The new ideas began to come into men's minds before the general period mentioned by Emerson. Indeed, some of them were current in the eighteenth century, and all of them were natural developments of that earlier period.

The new movement continued long after Emerson's analysis and criticism. It was destined to come to a climax, in public affairs, in the Civil War; a climax which might indeed be called a catastrophe. For after the Civil War, America was different; at first there seemed no great dominant ideas; and when new standards and guiding principles emerged they were different from those of the ante-bellum period. The Reign of New England Idealism, some call this earlier period; "the Golden Day," a recent writer has called it. It might properly be called a period, for it had striking characteristics which mark it as different from the decades before and after. It was idealistic, spiritual, enthusiastic to a degree unknown in America before or after.

To the casual observer it might easily appear that this spirit of religious and social reform in Massachusetts was characterized in the life of the sage himself. Emerson began his active career a Unitarian minister. He was the editor of the *Dial,* the publication of the transcendentalists. He was the personal friend and the American champion of Thomas Carlyle. He was deeply impressed by the ideas of German and French writers of his time. In most of the striking phases of our subject we might view him not only as a sympathizer but as a guide. Yet this perplexing person resigned his pastorate of the Second Church ostensibly on a point of church observance, but really because he was not in entire sympathy with the Unitarian movement. He declined to call himself a transcendentalist, and saw with disapproval much in the movement so called. He so essentially differed from Thomas Carlyle that it was probably only long-continued separation that made possible their long friendship. He read much of German philosophy but never attempted to be a philosopher himself. He took no step to associate himself with any of the communistic experiments of his day. A sizeable collection could easily be made of his uncomplimentary remarks about the social reforms of his time. He was no representative of the spirit of social and religious reform of his day because he was neither social nor religious in the sense in which those words were commonly used. He preferred simply being himself to being a member or leader of any movement whatever.

Early Unitarianism (1800–1845)

Seeking today for the permanent residuum of the "thought and experimenting" of that time, nothing more obvious or durable can be found than the writings of Emerson. But if we want to understand the time as it appeared to itself, as it developed in the eyes of men and women, we shall have to look elsewhere. The most important element is the rise and growth of Unitarianism.

Unitarianism is sometimes spoken of as coming into the foreground with the election of Henry Ware as Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805; with the controversy arising in 1815 over the article on American Unitarianism in the *Panoplist;* with the Baltimore sermon of W. E. Channing in 1819; or with the founding of the American Unitarian Association in 1821. All these events were definite points in the growth of Unitarian ideas. But the beginnings of that religious, philosophical, and educational movement called Unitarianism arose in Massachusetts before such public manifestations.

The name "Unitarian" was not chosen by those to whom it was applied, nor was it really descriptive. It is true that the Unitarian clergy of Massachusetts differed from their more orthodox brethren on the subject of the doctrine of the Trinity; but they also differed from them on other subjects which, under the circumstances, they thought much more important. If the Unitarian wing of the Congregational body had chosen a name for themselves in 1821, it would probably have been some such term as "Liberal Christians." Such they essentially were. "Liberal" was the name then beginning to be very generally given to men with the ideas and aims of the Boston Unitarians of that day. They were the liberal, often the radical, members of the ecclesiastical body, differing with their more conservative or reactionary brethren on many subjects, among which the most important was the place of the Bible in the ages and its interpretation and use in life.

If the "Unitarian Controversy" had been, as it seems to have been elsewhere, merely a controversy concerning the nature of God and of the person of Jesus Christ, it would have been of less importance as an element in the life of the time. In the Massachusetts of that day it was something much more than that. The particular doctrine of the Trinity was but one of many theological dogmas which had for some time weighed on the minds and thought of young New England. Unitarianism was fundamentally liberalism in theology: modernism we should call it now. From one standpoint the Unitarians might be deists, from another they might be mystics; whichever they were, they were reluctant to be confined by the system of Calvin or of Jonathan Edwards.

In some respects it was unfortunate that the term "Unitarian" should have become affixed to their way of thinking; for this especial term had, and still has in many minds, a definite opposition to the reverence and honor which the Unitarians themselves paid to the person and character of Jesus; it aroused antagonism on one point where there would have been agreement on others. To many minds that one point seemed at that day the essential point.

Congregationalism and Unitarianism

When Burke spoke of the ideas of New England Congregationalism as the "dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion," he had in mind the extremely free and individualistic view of religion which in the eighteenth century was gradually taking an important place in a body which had heretofore been characterized by the spirit of orthodoxy. The polity of the New England churches, from their beginning in the seventeenth century, was congregational. That is, each congregation was a separate and independent church. Such churches joined themselves in local associations, but these bodies had no clearly defined powers over their constituent members, either in matters of doctrine or anything else. And just as the different churches were independent, so to a considerable degree were individual members independent in respect to each other.

This individuality of statement of doctrine among churches was paralleled by much freedom in individual bodies. Many churches toward the end of the eighteenth century had no definite creed to which they demanded assent from members. In earlier days creeds were not indispensable, because there had been no widely expressed statements of disbelief; when beliefs began to vary, the churches never found just the right time to formulate the accepted principles. In place of a creed which stated forms of belief, the churches sometimes had a covenant which stated aims of conduct and life. As time went on, the ideas and beliefs of the churches, as a religious body, might be said to have changed also, except that there was often no definite way of determining just what were the ideas and beliefs of any particular church. However illogical such a condition, for a long time it appeared quite sufficient to everybody. Perhaps it would not have been wiser to continue the system, had it been possible. The so-called Unitarian churches at the beginning of the nineteenth century were probably (as a fact) no more heterodox than many congregations in every American Protestant sect a hundred years later. Where they differed from most later churches was that, feeling definitely assured that unity of aim was more important than unity of doctrine, they not only made no attempt at definite statement of doctrine, but declared themselves entirely opposed to any such statement.

Aim of Unitarianism (1780–1840)

This lack of creed grew more and more important as the nineteenth century began, as is evident from significant facts and utterances. Andrew Peabody later was of opinion that "in 1780 nearly all the Congregational pulpits in and around Boston were filled by Unitarians." Certainly they did not assume that name. If they were called anything it would have been Arminian; though the particular doctrine of Unitarianism was openly preached and discussed here as in England. Various forces tended to relax the strictness of received belief. Not only had new ideas become current, but the general attitude of the political revolution against older authority encouraged liberalism in the church; while the spirit of the time led the clergy to lay more stress on religion as an illustration of patriotism than on soundness of doctrine.

For example, James Freeman was the minister of King's Chapel at the close of the Revolution, which was the leading Episcopalian church of the New England provinces; but many of its members were expatriated. Such members of it as were still left in Boston were by no means among the most devoted to their particular way of belief.

James Freeman (1781–1800)

They found themselves in 1786 without an ordained minister. James Freeman had been their pastor for three years, but he had received no Episcopal ordination and was ecclesiastically no more than one of themselves, save perhaps in being better able to preach and pray than his fellows. Freeman was not an ordained clergyman, but a layman called by his associates to minister to them. In faith he was a Unitarian rather after the fashion of the English Unitarians of the time; and probably most of his congregation sympathized with him in a general way.

They desired, however, as things began to be settled, that he should receive ordination; and application was made to Bishop Provoost of New York, but unsuccessfully. Application was then made to Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, also without success. The church then took what appeared the obvious course and ordained their own minister themselves. With this act they ceased to be members of the Episcopal Church of America, a matter which caused them little concern.

Their minister was of Unitarian views; that is, he had some time before led his congregation to a statement of theological doctrine which omitted any definite statements concerning the Godhead of the Athanasian Creed. These views were doubtless the cause of the reluctance of the Episcopalian Bishops to give him ordination. It does not appear, however, that his position among his brethren in Boston was impaired by his heterodoxy nor was King's Chapel (or "the Stone Chapel," as it was often called) in common estimation less a Christian church than before. Each church interpreted the Word of God according to its lights, usually as disclosed by its minister, and received to its communion such persons as were in sympathy with its aims and its conduct. Doubtless many of the clergy of Boston who differed from Dr. Freeman in theological matters respected and loved him as a man of saintly life and active Christian effort. Public opinion permitted what was doubtless in many cases logical inconsistency. People were beginning more and more to think that some form of religious freedom was as necessary as the political freedom which had been but recently gained at such cost.

Creeds

In 1785 the Congregation of King's Chapel revised their Book of Common Prayer by omitting "everything which gave or might be suspected to give offence to tender consciences" ;

guiding themselves, however, "by the holy scriptures which they heartily agreed with the Church of England contained all things necessary to salvation." There had been many desires in the past, they pointed out, to reform the Liturgy, and the present time (when connection with King and Church was dissolved) seemed favorable for such an act. They called attention to the 19th Article of the church, which declared that "the visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the true Word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance." They went on: "The Liturgy, contained in this volume, is such as no Christian, it is supposed, can take offense at, or find his conscience wounded by repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. God is the sole object of worship in these prayers; and as no man can come to God but by one Mediator, Jesus Christ, every petition is here offered in His name, in obedience to His positive command." They continued: "It is not our wish to make proselytes to any particular system or opinions of any particular set of Christians. Our earnest desire is to live in brotherly love and peace with all men, and especially with those who call themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ."

UNITARIAN CLERGY (1780–1840)

Cases more or less similar began to occur elsewhere. When Rev. James Kendall preached at the First Church at Plymouth in the closing years of the eighteenth century, the parish was more or less divided in doctrine, and the call given him was thought a triumph for the more liberal element in the congregation. He was elected by a clear majority of the church and a large majority of the society, and was ordained by the council called for that purpose.

In July, 1783, Aaron Bancroft was called to Worcester. As the church was in the main Calvinistic and he was already strongly opposed to the theology of his earlier days, he had not been agreeable to the majority and a second church had been formed, consisting of those friendly to his views. This church made no profession of faith, for Mr. Bancroft thought one generation could not state the creed of another. They adopted the Bible as sufficient rule of faith and practice.

Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of the church at Lancaster from 1793 to 1840, was one of the first ministers in Massachusetts to omit some of the definitely Calvinistic articles of their creeds and substitute a platform to which a Unitarian could subscribe, as it proposed only faith in Christ, leaving every one to define the expression according to his own private judgment.

Rev. Samuel Willard on being called to the church at Deerfield was refused ordination by the council, called for that purpose, of the ministers of towns near by, because the council did "not discover in him that belief in the true and essential divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ," nor some other important beliefs. A second council was therefore called the next month, made up of ministers from farther east, which voted to proceed immediately to ordination.

Division of the Congregational Church (1780–1805)

Thus the growth of Unitarianism was popular. Sometimes a pastor and his church became Unitarian in so gradual a manner that one could hardly put a finger upon the time of actual change. Sometimes a church continued for many years with a pastor of a tolerant spirit and definitely Unitarian views, who was recognized (largely through the medium of exchanges) by both the orthodox and the Unitarian wings. Sometimes the calling of a Unitarian minister led to a division in church or congregation, so that a new congregation was formed. Sometimes a church under the ministry of a strong preacher "passed without division or controversy into the Unitarian fellowship."

Growing and developing in the manner that has been described, Unitarianism (to use the later name) was after 1800 a considerable element in Massachusetts culture. Had circumstances been somewhat different, we might imagine Unitarianism continuing to develop in much the same manner, until its liberalism became itself conservative; then (according to its principles) the same process would be repeated. This would have been a free growth of religious opinion whereby the followers of Christ, however much they might differ in their beliefs on matters of doctrine which were difficult of decision, would be able to work together for the improvement of those conditions concerning which they were in agreement. Something of the sort did take place, but only after other events had done much to destroy its beneficent effect.

In Boston, as elsewhere, dwelt many people of ideas very different from these, who attached importance to different elements of creed and doctrine. Some attached especial importance to purity of doctrine and correctness of belief. Such persons, whether called conservative or liberal, are characterized by attaching more importance to thinking than to feeling or acting; at least they believe that right knowledge only is the cause of right action. Add to this view the common human predilection for affirming that one's own views are the best, and a strong doctrinal combination is formed. The element in Massachusetts to which the older and stricter ideas were important was not small. The more active minds may have been Unitarian, or Arminian, or Arian, but many laymen and clergy felt it important to hold to the more definite forms of belief.

So long as some churches were stricter and some more liberal, the rift in opinion was not critical or was not easily noticed; for under the policy inherited from the Puritans the beliefs of any church or minister were not matters which concerned any other minister or church. When in 1805 Rev. Henry Ware was elected Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, an interior conflict developed.

Harvard College Theology

Harvard College had long been the training school for the ministers of Massachusetts; indeed it had been founded especially for that purpose. Times had changed, and various other educational purposes were prominently in the minds of men, but not so as to lessen the importance of this original idea in the minds of those particularly interested in it. The Chair of Divinity to which Henry Ware was appointed had been founded in 1723 by Thomas Hollis, an English merchant. The incumbent must be of sound and orthodox belief. Rev.

Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown, editor of the *Panoplist,* attacked the appointment of Henry Ware. The Corporation in its reply held that the idea of an examination into the creed of a candidate was a barbarous relic of the Inquisition; and it added that Thomas Hollis himself had not been a strict Calvinist, and that in the statutes of the Chair he had prescribed the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the rule for the faith of his professor and not the Assembly Catechism. This answer rather evaded the issue. Strictly speaking, the theology of the founder in 1723 was not particularly important in determining what was orthodox in 1805. Still, the polity of the Massachusetts churches offered no obvious test of orthodoxy, and the matter apparently lay entirely within the power of the Corporation of the college. No action was obvious on the part of anybody else and none was taken.

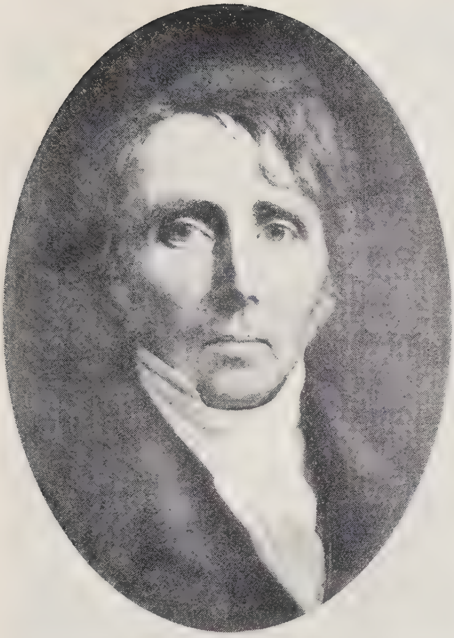
THE CHANNING CONTROVERSY (1815)

In 1815 another controversy arose, when a pamphlet by Thomas Belsham entitled *American Unitarianism* was reviewed in a number of the *Panoplist.* The review was characterized by the statement of the reviewer that "it has been known for at least a quarter of a century by those who have been well informed on the subject that there has been a defection from those doctrines of the Bible which have usually been denominated orthodox in Protestant communities." It is probable that the readers of the review knew much more about the matter than did Mr. Belsham; for the chief facts he mentioned were the founding of a Unitarian church (transformed from an Episcopalian church) in Portland, and the advocacy of Unitarian doctrines by two ministers. The tone of the review, however, implied that there were many clergymen of Unitarian views who, for their own reasons, did not state their convictions openly.

On this matter a more important controversy arose; for Rev. William Ellery Channing was induced to state definitely what was the opinion of those persons usually called Unitarians. Therefore, Dr. Channing wrote to Rev. Samuel G. Thatcher, Rev. Samuel Worcester wrote to Dr. Channing, Dr. Channing published remarks on Dr. Worcester's letters; and so on, in a coil of controversy. Dr. Channing's position, stated in a manner which carries conviction, was as follows. The difference in opinion between the so-called Unitarian ministers and their more orthodox brethren, so far as concerned the person of Jesus Christ, was such as would hardly be apprehended except by one particularly interested in theological doctrine and definition. Both groups believed that Jesus Christ was more than man, that he existed before the world, that he literally came from heaven to save our race, that he sustained other offices than those of a teacher and witness to the truth, and that he still acts for our benefit and is our intercessor with the Father. This, Dr. Thatcher and Dr. Channing agreed, was the prevalent sentiment of their brethren.

The Marks of Unitarianism

If such were the case, it was clearly unjust to represent them as Unitarians of the kind existent at the time in England. The English Unitarians were humanitarians; men who not only denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, but believed him to be simply a man, better and wiser than others, but still in the main a teacher, who commanded adhesion from the excellence of his teaching. The Massachusetts Unitarians, Dr. Channing contended, were clearly not of this view; in fact the difference between their views and the orthodox view of the Trinity could now hardly be appreciated except by a theological scholar. "Why is it then," asks Dr. Channing, "that our brethren are thus instigated to cut us off, as far as they have power, from the body and church of Christ? Let every Christian weigh the answer. It is not because we refuse to acknowledge Jesus Christ as our Lord and Master; it is not because we neglect to study his Word; it is not because our lives are wanting in the spirit and virtues of his Gospel. It is, because, after serious investigation, we cannot find in the Scriptures, and cannot adopt as the instructions of our Master, certain doctrines which have divided the Church for ages, which have perplexed the best and wisest men, and which are very differently conceived even by those who profess to receive them. It is in particular because we cannot



From the portrait by Gambardello
Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

From the New England Magazine

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

BROOK FARM

adopt the language of our brethren, in relation to doctrine which we cannot understand, and which is expressed in words not only unauthorized by the Scripture, but, as we believe, in words employed without meaning (unless they mean that there are three Gods), by those who insist on them. This is our crime, that we cannot think and speak with our brethren on subjects the most difficult and perplexing on which the human mind was ever engaged. For this we are pursued with the cry of heresy, and are to have no rest until virtually excommunicated by our brethren."

The point of Dr. Channing's position was that the Massachusetts Unitarians did not in general hold a Unitarian doctrine like that of Belsham; they were in the main liberal Christians who, finding difficulties that could not be overcome in the doctrine of the Trinity, had turned their thoughts chiefly to more practical questions of life so far as their congregations were concerned and, while they had not preached anti-Trinitarian views, had contented themselves with silence. We have seen (what Dr. Channing did not say) that in ecclesiastical polity such as that of Massachusetts such a course was not only possible but might readily be the only course practicable. The reviewer in the *Panoplist* had hinted that the Unitarian ministers held their anti-Trinitarian views either by stealth or hypocrisy; but as we have seen, there was no need of supposing anything of the sort. Where there were no definite formularies except those of particular churches, and where the formularies of the particular churches did not, as a rule, contain (for whatever reason) any definite statements of doctrine, we can see that there would be little reason for hypocrisy or stealth. Where no one had the power to coerce the belief of the separate churches, and where every church had the simple means of asking for the resignation of any minister of whose doctrines they did not approve, it was likely that every one would have a chance to hold what opinions were recommended by his reason. Such having been the usage for a very long while, people had become used to difference in doctrine and had applied themselves more earnestly to attaining a unity of spirit in forms of religious work and life, concerning which there was likely to be but slight difference of opinion.

The Term Unitarian

The Unitarians, then, so far as they were represented by Dr. Channing in 1815, had no desire to propagate any particular systems of doctrine or to found a separate church. Under the independent system of New England, they had long been able to hold what views they pleased and yet to act in fellowship with other ministers and churches. In the eighteenth century one might know whether a church or a minister was Unitarian by hearsay or inquiry or accident, but there was no definite separation. Those of Unitarian opinion did not adopt the name "Unitarian," which had in England chiefly, but in America also, become attached to opinions which they generally condemned. They felt themselves to be liberal Christians, ministers of the gospel of Christ, who would "extend the hand of fellowship to every man of every name who discovered the spirit of Jesus Christ." They felt that the fundamental thing was a desire and determination to accept Jesus as a Master and that "precision of views upon these subjects was in no degree essential to the faith and practice of a Christian."

The results of this controversy may seem to have been slight, though it was carried on for some time with letters and comments, and so forth. But it had the informal effect of drawing the lines rather closer between the parties; and it probably fastened the name Unitarian upon the liberal wing. We need not fancy that Channing or his friends were afraid of any name that truly described them. On the other hand it was of the essence of their movement that it should not be so definite as to be named, that it should be spontaneous, and truly liberal in the sense of being free. They would probably have preferred to continue in the position wherein they stood, namely the position of Christians of no especial sect or denomination. By this time other bodies of Christians existed in Massachusetts alongside those of the older Congregationalism; and now in the older Congregationalism arose this difference in belief which many declared to be important. It must be admitted that the conservative—or orthodox, as they preferred to be called—had some reason on their side. The name Unitarian, which they applied to their adversaries, was "as little open to misconception as any other." For the moment it seemed to confound them with persons very unlike themselves, but that was an accident. The liberal wing could not and did not deny that their view of the relation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was not that of conventional Trinitarianism; nor that it more nearly resembled what was usually called Unitarianism.

When, therefore, the leading ministers of Boston and the vicinity joined in 1825 to form an association of those more particularly of their way of thinking, they assumed the name which had for some time been attached to them. They might, indeed, have taken any name they chose, for they were the dominant element in the community. Lyman Beecher on coming to Boston in 1823 said: "All the literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarians; all the trustees and professors of Harvard College; all the elite of wealth and fashion crowded Unitarian churches; the judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of Church organization so carefully ordered by the Pilgrim Fathers had been nullified, and all the power had passed into the hands of the congregation."

American Unitarianism in Action

The inevitable break occurred in 1825, contrary to the judgment of the older men, who as a rule were undesirous of forming a separate organization. Channing, when elected first president, felt that he could not accept the position. Chiefly through the activity of younger men, however, the organization was formed (May 25, 1825) under the name of the American Unitarian Association; thus accepting the identification of the new church organization with the more extreme English Unitarians. The organization in its statement of purposes placed first "the promotion of pure and undefiled religion," and second only "the union of all Unitarian Christians in this country." Further, its operations were stated to be chiefly of a missionary character, both of publication and of preaching.

At first the Association did not gain the approval, or at least the assistance, of more than half the Unitarian churches of Massachusetts. Yet, in spite of the strong element of orthodox Congregationalism, it continued its work and in time became generally recognized as the official organization of the denomination. The formation of this strong central body, for whatever purpose, naturally had the effect of solidifying Unitarian feeling and separating Unitarians from the Congregationalists.

At the time of Channing's "Baltimore Sermon" in 1819, there were about 120 liberal churches in eastern Massachusetts, and nine or ten in the other northeast States. Of these not one called itself Unitarian, and only one has adopted the name since. There were also Unitarian churches in Portland, Portsmouth, Worcester, Providence, and New Bedford, and in Baltimore and Charleston (1817), New York, and Springfield (1819).

However one may sympathize with the position of the earlier liberal Christians,—"Channing Unitarians" as they have been called,—their position was no strong foundation on which to build a new church. Where the foundation was freedom, it was likely that freedom would excite dissent. Not long after the formation of the American Unitarian Association, doctrinal attention was aroused by the preaching of Theodore Parker. This brilliant and eloquent man in an ordination sermon denied the authenticity of all that is supernatural in the Gospel narrative, while he represented Jesus as preeminently the providential man, the greatest of all teachers of spiritual and ethical doctrine and duty. This sermon was received with alarm and disapproval on the part of Unitarians holding the views described by Channing. Parker was more liberal than the liberal Christians, also he differed somewhat from them in thinking it needful to preach his doctrines. He was asked to withdraw from the Association of Ministers to which he belonged, which he declined to do.

Distribution of Churches

The Congregationalists and the Unitarians did not hold the field of religious liberty for themselves. There were other bodies of the Church of Christ in Massachusetts. With the increase of population in the half century after the Revolution, such uniformity had become practically impossible. Of the sixteen churches in Boston at the close of the Revolution, eleven were Congregational, three Episcopal (including King's Chapel, which drifted out of that denomination), two Baptist, and one Methodist. Of the Episcopalians, Rev. John C. Ogden was ordained March 27, 1789, by Bishop Seabury. A few years later Edward Bass of Newburyport was consecrated Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. The body grew slowly, however. It had not the prestige of an established church, one serious disadvantage being that it was English. Slowly, however, its inherent power attracted to itself those who needed what it could give; so that in 1824 there were four Episcopal churches; and in 1850, eight.

The Methodist body grew rather more rapidly; but not till 1795 did the Methodists undertake to build an especial place of worship, in Ingraham's Yard (later called "Methodist Alley"). There the class already formed was gathered and continued to worship for thirty years. Their numbers grew until in 1806 they resolved to build another chapel in another part of the city. Their growth from this time on was rapid; by 1850 more than a dozen Methodist churches were in action in Boston.

The Baptists also increased rapidly in numbers. Their forerunners made trouble in the rigid Puritan times, and their first church was gathered in Charlestown as early as 1665. With the nineteenth century, however, a real increase began in eastern Massachusetts; so that when in 1811 it became desirable to establish a Boston association, twenty-four churches were near at hand to become members. The Baptist church is organized on the same basis as the Congregational. The Baptist churches of the neighborhood all belonged to the Warren Association, originated in Rhode Island. In another twenty-five years the Boston association had so increased that it was thought well to divide it.

The Presbyterian church was never an important element in Massachusetts. In doctrine it differed little from the Congregational, but it was based on a very different principle of church government. Clergymen passed readily from the pulpits of one body to those of the other. The church in Federal Street, Boston, which had been originally (1727) Presbyterian, had become Congregational. It was not till 1827 that another Presbyterian church was gathered in Boston, and the body increased but slowly.

The later development of religious bodies in Massachusetts will be treated in another volume of this work. The writings of Emanuel Swedenborg interested a much larger number than those who joined the body generally known by his name. It appears that the [English] *Quarterly Review* had remarked on the condition of affairs in the United States, and had ascribed it to the divorce of church and state which had naturally followed the Revolution. The genial critic added in the *Quarterly*: "The divorce has been productive of a pretty numerous crop of illegitimate sects, all equally thriving under the salutary and fostering neglect of the parent state. To recount them," it went on, "would be endless; Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Moravians, Quakers, Dunkers, and Shakers, with a multitude of others whose names it would be unprofitable to enumerate." An article in the new *North American Review* in 1815 remarked on this point that there were more sects in England, under an established church, than in America where there was no establishment. The point was well taken; the growth and diversity of religious sects in Massachusetts was the natural result of a new and developing population which represented many phases of European civilization. Here and there a new idea seemed to need some institutional voice, but in the main (as in the case of the Unitarian denomination) the development of religious bodies was the growth of religious and administrative ideas which had long been current.

TRANSCENDENTALISM (1820–1850)

If there were no essentially new ideas in the religious development of the time, no important new conceptions rising from thinkers of the early days of the century, the case was very different with what we may call matters of philosophy. In that field there was much novelty of thought and speculation, as well as action. One of the most striking manifestations of the application of moral ideas to political problems—the antislavery movement—will receive special treatment elsewhere in this work. The other fields of thinking and action were multifarious. The lectures and writings of Emerson, the so-called Transcendental Movement, the activities of Margaret Fuller, the appreciation and republication of Carlyle, the preaching of Theodore Parker, the Brook Farm experiment, the articles of Dr. Hedges on German philosophy in the *Christian Examiner,* are some of the more striking forms taken by the new spirit of inquiry and thought.

To this general activity of mind the name transcendentalism has been loosely given; and although the name seems to bring under one definite head a number of very different manifestations of thought, and so produces an impression of unity where very little unity was really existent, yet the name itself implies an idea which was probably to be found in much of the novel thinking of the time and which was essential and basic in most.

This essential and basic idea was the conception that beyond (as one might say) and transcending the material world so familiar to all of us was the real world, the world of reason, the ideal world. All these people were idealists, except that "idealist" is a not uncommon word with a popular meaning, while "transcendentalist" is nowadays a technical word that means only one thing. This was not always the case. In its day, says Lowell, it was a "sort of maid-of-all-work for those who could not think"—like "pre-Raphaelite," he says, in his own day or, we might add, "socialist" in ours. Doubtless Lowell did not mean that Emerson, Channing, Hedge, Ripley, and others could not think; but that there were many devotees who could not and who used, as stereotyped catchwords, expressions (and this in particular) which they had heard from others who appreciated their meaning.

Lowell considers the beginning of transcendentalism to have been the appearance in the *Edinburgh Review* of Carlyle's article entitled "Characteristics."

This remark is not entirely accurate; the influence of Carlyle on these thinkers was undoubtedly important. But as the word "transcendental" itself shows, there is a trace also of another influence; namely, that of Kant, or more generally of the German philosophy of his time, perhaps more particularly that of Fichte. One of the striking manifestations of the movement—Brook Farm—was undoubtedly suggested by the work of Fourier. European influence, whether from England, Germany, or France, was of importance here; but it was of importance as acting on minds already disposed to experiment and thought. Whatever may be said of the conservatism of the Unitarian movement, undoubtedly a large element in society was not conservative.

New Intellectual Forces

In the first number of the *North American Review* (1815) was a department a little curious in its implications; namely, a series of letters to the editor with suggestions of various reforms. Such letters are doubtless often enough written to magazines or newspapers, but their appearance in the very first number of a periodical would seem to show that it was the thought of those responsible that there would naturally be a number of suggestions for social improvement as soon as there was a means for their publication. Whether representing the genuine interest of real correspondents or not, such letters seem to show a social tendency of the time.

In these early years of the century arose a considerable number of enterprises of intellectual interest. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences had been founded in 1780; it published a journal and was perhaps more definitely located in New Haven than elsewhere. It was followed, however, by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, by the Boston Library in 1794 (a proprietary institution, not the public organization of similar name), by the Boston Athenæum in 1807, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in 1813, the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815, the *North American Review* in the same year, while in 1822 Boston was organized under a city charter. These institutions, which have all continued into their second century, were the result of a social life which needed expression and instruction in many of the recognized lines of human interest and endeavor.

The Lyceums (1815–1860)

Another characteristic of the time, more widespread than any of the above though not so lasting, was the very common system of lectures known as the Lyceum System. All over New England appeared these lecture courses on instructive topics. They were called lyceums partly, perhaps, because of the alliteration, but chiefly for the reason that had given to half a hundred little schools among the Massachusetts hills the name of "academy"—namely, admiration of the Greeks. No characteristic of this remarkable people was more admired in those days than their love of literature and art. In Paris, before the Revolution, existed a literary establishment called a lycée, where "lectures were given every morning and evening on Literature and Science." In England at the same time societies called "lyceums" were in action, sometimes with lecture halls and libraries. In America, with its craving for intellectual food and form, it was natural that there should be institutions of something the same sort. It was also natural that they should soon change their character; and though there may have been a few lyceums in America having a Doric portico without and libraries and lecture halls within, the name was soon applied to the courses of lectures which came into being in almost every New England town.

Lectures, in the sense of gatherings of people to listen to the words of someone more gifted than the rest, were, of course, no new thing in the nineteenth century; but definite courses of lectures on subjects of literature and scholarship were then more common in England and America than they are now, except for our more extended and regularized form of "extension lectures." Some such lectures became embedded in permanent literature—as, for example, the lectures of Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Carlyle. That few publications of thoughts embodied in lectures in America can be mentioned was due chiefly to accident. Emerson is the conspicuous figure. He delivered many courses of lectures and they aroused and satisfied many hearers, among them James Russell Lowell. However, such courses of lectures were rarely published, although now and then passages from them appear in Emerson's various volumes of essays, which generally had a different origin. In the year before the opening of the Lowell Institute (the most important monument to the Lyceum System) twenty-six courses of lectures had been delivered in Boston, counting only those of eight lectures or more; while outside of Boston in Massachusetts 137 lyceums maintained annual courses with an attendance of 23,000. Theodore Parker, himself a noted lecturer, said of it: "This business of lecturing is an original contrivance for educating the people. The world has nothing like it. In it are combined the best things of the Church (i.e., the preaching) and the College (the informing thought), with some of the fun of the theatre. Besides, it gives the rural districts a chance to see the men they read about, to see the lions—for the lecture is also a show to the eyes. Now I think this is one of the most admirable means of educating the people. For ten years past, six or eight of the most progressive and powerful minds in America have been lecturing fifty to one hundred times in the year. Surely some must dance after so much piping, and that of such a moving sort."

The Causes (1815–1860)

It would be a long task to attempt an account of the many causes which absorbed the attention and energy of the people of the day. From the most ordinary things of life to the most complicated—say, from the breakfast table to the institution of slavery—all sorts of interests and activities aroused the intense interest of those who approved of them. One of the humblest has left a permanent record in literature and trade. Slavery has gone by, and as a cause is almost forgotten; Women's Rights are no longer an issue; though Temperance and Prohibition are still unsettled questions, in spite of legislation and propaganda. Yet people are so used to graham bread, that it never occurs to them nowadays that at one time this simple article of food was the subject of prolonged controversy; for in the 'thirties the theories of Dr. Sylvester Graham were among the much discussed topics of the time. People put aside the ancient but good advice to take no thought as to what they should eat or what they should drink; but from the very breakfast table they discussed whether they should drink tea or coffee or cold water only, whether they should eat whole-wheat or milled and bolted flour, whether animal food was humane and healthful, whether, while abstaining from alcoholic drinks, the intoxicant should still lurk in preserves and mince pies. They had as many fads on diet as nowadays, and they rolled the discussion on this inexhaustible topic like a sweet morsel under their tongues.

The active spirit of reform was working elsewhere in the world, especially in England. But in England were more things to reform, some of which aroused the most intense feeling; while in America they were not considered at all. Reform of Parliament was hardly a question with a people who had just made their own Constitution, and made it as they saw fit. Reform of municipal corporations, which destroyed the old-time privileges of thousands in England, could hardly exist in New England, where the municipalities were only just adopting the forms of government which seemed to them best. Reform of the Poor Law, which in England involved abuses reaching back for centuries, would hardly exist in Massachusetts, where there were so few poor (in the English sense) that almost any sensible arrangement sufficed to take care of them.

Therefore attention in New England centered itself on matters which were sometimes wider, like the general constitution of society, and sometimes narrower, like what one would have for breakfast. And, beginning with these most personal questions, there were unnumbered other causes. The great cause of the century, Antislavery, will be dealt with elsewhere; nor shall we here do more than mention the advancing discussion of Temperance, thence of Total Abstinence, and thence of Prohibition. Women's Rights was one of the inextinguishable agitations; and Massachusetts was distressed over other parts of the world.

Charities and Reforms (1810–1865)

Public meetings were held and newspaper organs established and subscriptions received for Greece, Kossuth, Prison Reform, Homeopathy, Mesmerism, and provision for the helpless in numberless ways. It is hard to say whether the five or six hundred charitable agencies of Boston, alone, in the nineteenth century were reforms or new experiments. Among the permanent results of that aggressive humanitarianism are the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811), The Eye and

Ear Infirmary (1824), The Perkins Institution for the Blind (1829), The Lying-in Hospital (1832), The New England Hospital for Women and Children (1863): all examples of the extension of the simpler means of relief of the sick and defective that had arisen in an enlarging community. The Ministry at Large, established at the suggestion of Joseph Tuckerman, and the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches represent the same spirit in the religious institutions.

George S. Hale, writing of the charities in *The Memorial History of Boston,* arranges such efforts in a table under twelve heads of which this reform is but one, whereas the scope of his twenty-seven subheads is shown by the fact that Temperance, Churches, and General Hospitals are each but one.

It may be vaguely thought that transcendentalism and Unitarianism were two effects of the same cause. But the fact that Emerson, so often thought of as a representative transcendentalist, at the outset of his career broke with official Unitarianism, suggests a very different view. The Unitarians were in the main distinguished by what we might call practical piety; they, like most New Englanders, had read Locke with more sympathy than Plato. They were in the main liberal, as the word was understood in England at the time, rather than radical. They were willing and able to agree. It was, perhaps, some such characteristics as these that led Emerson to feel his lack of sympathy with his colleagues and his congregation, rather than any formal matter like the Lord's Supper.

One cannot include transcendentalism in any very definite statement of opinion, even if we could find such a statement as would include the ideas of all who had ever been called transcendentalists. The works of Kant and Fichte in Germany, of Wordsworth and Coleridge in England, the earlier writings of Carlyle which were soon reissued in America, are evidences of transcendentalism in Europe. In like manner the writings of Emerson and of Margaret Fuller, the publications of the Transcendental Club, the cryptic utterances of Alcott, the preaching of Theodore Parker, are all typical of the transcendentalism in America.

EMERSON'S PHILOSOPHY

Emerson himself was too fine a spirit to be bound even by so loose a tie as that of transcendentalism, though he was often attributed to that group. On the occasion of his Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in 1837, a young member of the college, who was afterward a great admirer of Emerson, was present. This was Edward Everett Hale, who had at that time read "Nature" with more interest (as he remarks) than most people. Hale was then a junior at Harvard and an excellent, if youthful, example of the conservative literary and philosophical sentiment of the Boston of the day. He recorded in his diary that the address "was not very good, but very Transcendental," and such was probably a common opinion among cultivated people at that time. Indeed, the latter idea was not far wrong. Emerson, it is true, would never have described himself by a word that signified other men's thinking. It was the essence of his theory of life that he was to think for himself. But he did have at the bottom of his heart the elements of the idealistic philosophy, and this philosophy permeated all his thinking. Although he often disagreed, and that very decidedly, with others who were properly called transcendentalists, yet he was himself the best example of what a practical transcendentalist might be.

THE DIAL

Two manifestations of transcendentalism have preserved an interest which have made them almost legendary. One is the *Dial* and the other Brook Farm. The *Dial* was a quarterly "Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion," which was published from July, 1840, to April, 1844, under the editorship of Emerson and Margaret Fuller. It it still the most famous (in America) of those magazines which try to gather the finest intellectualism of the day, which the regular and more commercial magazines cannot afford to recognize. Yet its output in the way of lasting literature is very small. Some things of Emerson, of Thoreau, of James Freeman Clarke, and of Theodore Parker would perhaps arouse attention at any time and anywhere. But in the main the *Dial* is chiefly of historic interest, and in this way it has very great interest indeed; for it was just what it was meant to be, the opportunity of expression (for good and bad) of all who were aroused to active expression by thinking nobly of the soul.

Brook Farm

In the summer of 1840, George Ripley, at the time still an active clergyman, was staying at a farm in West Roxbury. He had for years had in mind the notion of an ideal community, and as he looked about him this farm seemed the very place for such a body. He was already thinking of leaving his parish, and in the October of that year he resigned his charge. The next spring he and his wife and a number of friends moved out to the farm, and lived there during the summer. In the fall they formed the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education. It took the form of a really practical organization, to be based upon shares of capital stock amounting to $30,000 and other arrangements. Actually, these arrangements were mostly on paper; the really interesting thing about Brook Farm was that it brought together a number of interesting and gifted people who all believed more or less in the idea that one could and should support oneself by the fruits of the earth, and yet have some little time for oneself and others. At one time or another a great number of the best known transcendentalists (beginning with Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Bronson Alcott, and others) were present at Brook Farm either as members of the community or as students or as visitors—the latter being the greatest number. The backbone of the organization was made up of George Ripley and his wife Sophia, and Charles A. Dana (afterward editor of the New York *Sun*). The best known member of the community was Hawthorne (who owned shares of stock); the most distinguished student was George William Curtis, journalist and author. The theory was that the association bought the property (about 200 acres at the price of $10,500) and the associates worked it. Those who did not wish to work paid their board.

Brook Farm was not the only experiment of its kind. A year or so later a somewhat similar establishment was projected by Alcott under the name of Fruitlands, and there was a community at Northampton about the same time.

Thoreau

Rather more successful than these experiments was one of a somewhat similar kind, though just reverse in its details; namely, Henry D. Thoreau's two years at Walden. Thoreau might have been thought of as a transcendentalist—at least he contributed to *The Dial*—but his experiment at Walden was of a very material kind. He wished to see how much energy one needed to keep the physical activities up to their utmost efficiency, so that one could spend the rest of one's time in pursuing activities of a higher nature. He found that he could live for a year on the proceeds of his work for eight weeks, or about 15 per cent of his time. None of the phalanxes or communities ever reached so interesting a result as this. They generally found that they could not keep going even when all hands worked all the time. They were constantly failing to make both ends meet, then reorganized and raised more money to maintain their establishment. Thoreau was no hermit (though now and then he calls himself one), but he was immensely interested in this question of how to manage one's resources so as to gain the maximum of time to explore one's higher latitudes, as he put it.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

In a way, however, the whole spiritual history of his day may be epitomised in Emerson, either because it is indicated in his philosophy, or because he reacted against it. He was a Radical, if by that word we mean one who will go to the roots of things without regard to any conventional ideas or organizations, and proceed to promulgate ideas and conceptions entirely subversive of those ideas and organizations. Those are whimsically mistaken who think of Emerson as an optimistic idealist who was content to go through the world saying, "Aim High" or "Trust Yourself." Doubtless he did aim high, but when he said "Hitch your wagon to a Star," he meant that one should get in harmony with the Law of

Nature. When he said: "Trust yourself," he meant that one should rely upon that Great Power which dominates the universe and every part of it, including oneself.

This reliance on the Idea he was willing to follow at the expense of consistency or conformity. If he had had a better idea of what the power that dominates the Universe really was he would be easier to read today, without being translated into post-Darwinian language. Even as it is, one can rarely read Emerson without finding something as fresh and as right as it ever was. He would be a great power today, for he would easily have picked up our vocabulary and brought within our comprehension the essential truth of his chief postulate.

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The reader will find additional information in the biographies and letters or journals of distinguished men of the times. Those of the following are of especial interest: Emerson, Thoreau, Channing, James F. Clarke, George Ripley, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker.

CHAPTER X

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (1820–1861)

By John F. Sly
Lecturer on Government in Harvard University

New Conditions in Massachusetts (1820–1860)

The year 1820 in Massachusetts history marks roughly a completion and a departure. It stands as the rear guard of two centuries of social development that is characterized by predominantly agricultural and commercial interests, a slow, steady and uniform increase in population, and a political individualism that expressed great faith in the possibilities of the average citizen and extreme militance in the presence of outside interference.

It was, however, the vanguard of another epoch in which the colonial heritage was to move within a new environment. From the days of the embargo, the Commonwealth had gradually forsaken rural activities and commenced a steady concentration in the manufacturing centers of the East. Lowell did not exist in 1825; in 1840 it had more than twenty thousand people. Within the same period, Fall River increased 328 per cent; Chelsea, 272; New Bedford, 206; Springfield, 180; Cambridge, 155; Worcester, 153; and Millbury, 134 per cent. In 1810, four cotton factories were reported in Middlesex County; 17 in Worcester; 13 in Bristol; 10 in Norfolk; and none in Berkshire—a total, including a few others, of 34 in the State. But 27 years later, 34 cotton mills were cited in the county of Middlesex; 74 in Worcester; 57 in Bristol; 20 in Hampden; 32 in Norfolk; and 31 in Berkshire—a total increase exceeding five fold.

Nor was this all. "Massachusetts," wrote Baron Charles Dupin to Napoleon III, "makes by *millions* the boots and shoes necessary for the new population which is developed with so much rapidity in the immense basin of the Mississippi." He called attention to the total value of the annual products of the State for 1837—close to $91,000,000. Thirteen years later it was well over $161,000,000—about $150 for each inhabitant. In fisheries and shipbuilding, in the manufacture of soap, candles, shovels, spades, ploughs, and iron castings, statistical sheets indicated marked industrial activity and growth within the Commonwealth.

It had taken Massachusetts a century and a half to approach (exclusive of Maine) 400,000 inhabitants, and it was 1820 before the half million mark was passed. But the years between 1850 and 1860 witnessed the arrival of some two and a half million immigrants to the United States, and over the same period the foreign-born population of the Commonwealth increased from 164,000 to 260,000, and the tide was destined to sweep up in decennial bounds, until the closing of the century found close to 850,000 inhabitants of foreign birth within her borders.

Such conditions required adjustments, and the repercussions were to be felt throughout the Nation. The extreme individualism of the early days had been possible largely because of the intense personal element that a stable and isolated town life engendered, but the new social and economic factors compelled a wider horizon. No longer were the vital, daily interests of the people to be bounded by the geographic area of their communities, and the Commonwealth was impelled to send its best men into national politics with a zest that had been unequalled since the trying days of the Revolution. There, if at all, were to be found the economic protection and stability that its amazing enterprise demanded. In the Nation's capital was the new dispenser of free lands, the forum for international disputes, the source of commercial treaties, and the opportunity to realize an enlarged humanitarianism that generations of close community contracts had ingrained. There, in brief, was the political rostrum from which a prized colonial heritage might receive widened application, and from which her statesmen could create an environment suited to her needs and in accord with her ideals.

National Statesmen of the Period (1820–1860)

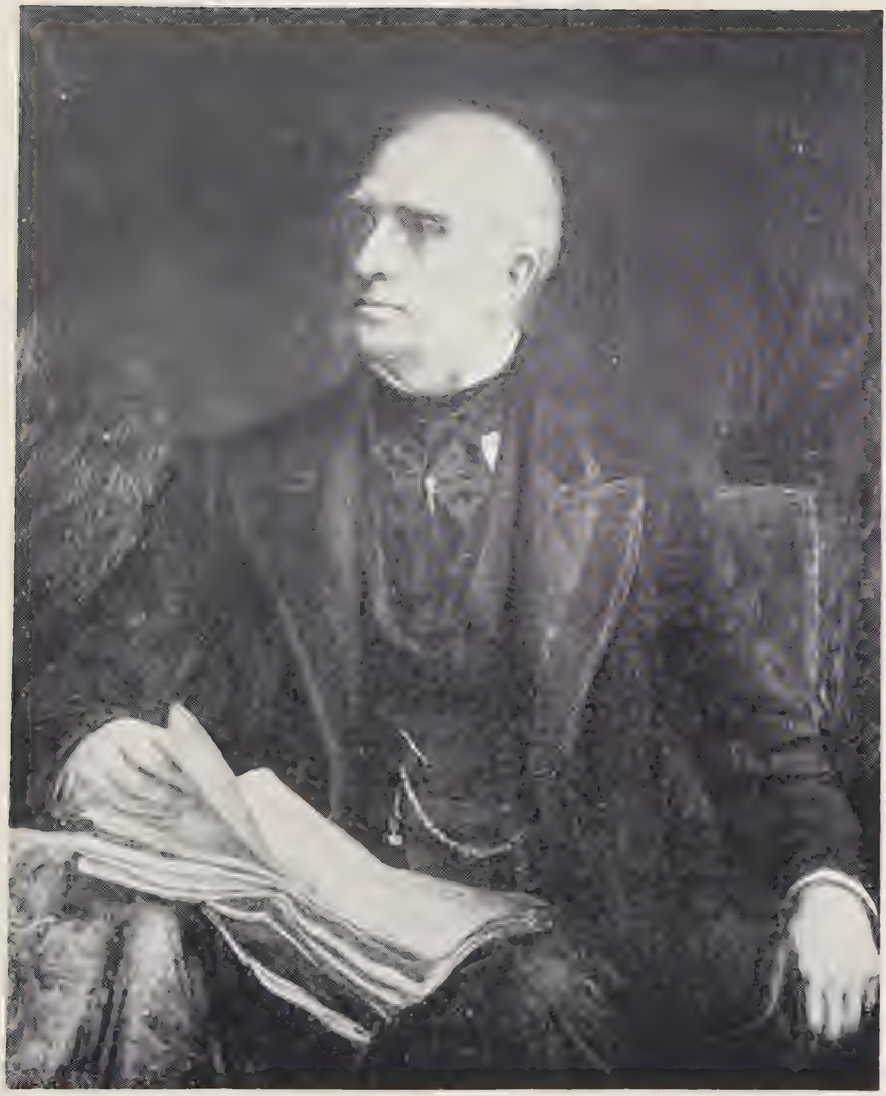
The men who undertook to speak the mind of the Commonwealth in the national councils were numerous and able. Four times during the period of forty years (1820-1860) Massachusetts supplied a candidate in the presidential contest (John Quincy Adams in 1820, 1824, and 1828; Webster in 1836), and thrice for Vice-President (Henry Lee in 1832; Charles Francis Adams in 1848; Edward Everett in 1860). On four occasions (once by Adams, twice by Webster, and once by Edward Everett) her citizens served as Secretaries of State in the Cabinets of Monroe, Harrison, Tyler, and Fillmore. Twice within the period (through David Henshaw and George Bancroft) the Commonwealth supplied Secretaries of the Navy in the Cabinets of Tyler and Polk; once the services of a distinguished Attorney General, Caleb Cushing, in the Cabinet of Pierce; and on three occasions able jurists to the federal courts—Joseph Story of Marblehead, and Benjamin R. Curtis of Boston, to the United States Supreme Court, and Edward G. Loring of Boston to the United States Court of Claims.

In many instances, moreover, her Congressmen took place in the first rank of the Nation's statesmen. Daniel Webster entered the United States Senate in 1827 (the Twentieth Congress) and served with only two interruptions (1841-1845), due to Cabinet appointments, until 1850; Charles Sumner took his seat in the upper chamber in 1851 (the Thirty-second Congress) to commence close to thirty years of distinguished service; while lesser known but in some cases as able men—Nathaniel Silsbee of Salem, John Davis of Worcester, Isaac C. Bates of Northampton, Henry Wilson of Natick, and Harrison Gray Otis, James Lloyd, Rufus Choate, Robert C. Winthrop, and Edward Everett of Boston—sat in the interims or as their colleagues in the upper house, and held in addition many major appointments in both State and Nation.

Within the lower house likewise were men of first importance. Many Massachusetts Senators of the period served varying apprenticeships as national representatives—as Webster, Everett, Davis, Bates, Choate, and Winthrop. Webster sat for two terms (1823-1827); Everett, from 1825 to 1835, later to become Governor of Massachusetts (1836-1840), minister to Great Britain (1841-1845), President of Harvard College (1846-1849), Secretary of State under Fillmore (1852-1853), and United States Senator (1853-1854). Rufus Choate was a member of the House from 1831 to 1834, only to be chosen to the Senate (1841-1845), and later a regent of the Smithsonian Institution. Robert C. Winthrop, among the most active public men of the Commonwealth, rose to be Speaker of the House during the Thirtieth and part of the Thirty-first Congress (1847-1850); while John Quincy Adams, after a term as President of the United States, was chosen a Representative from the Commonwealth in the Twenty-second Congress and was reelected eight successive times (1831-1848).

There were others who graced the House of Representatives for short periods, but who were destined to be remembered for wider services. William Eustis of Boston completed a long national career, including service as Secretary of War under Madison and minister to the Netherlands under Monroe, with membership in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Congresses (1820-1823). Charles Francis Adams (grandson of John Adams and son of John Quincy Adams) sat in the Thirty-sixth Congress (1859-1861), and was elected to the Thirty-seventh, but left the legislative chamber for what proved to be his far more important mission as minister to Great Britain during the trying years of the Civil War and reconstruction (1861-1868). Anson Burlingame served the lower House of Congress from 1855 to 1861, but was destined to reach a wider fulfillment on his epochal mission as minister to China; and even Horace Mann took time from an educational reformation to sit as a national Representative for five years (1848-1853).

It was such men who spoke for the Commonwealth in national councils during the fretful years preceding the Civil War, and questions upon which they voiced her opinions embraced every phase of the expanding social order that the State so well exemplified. The forty years in which most of them gave their maturer services were fairly well divided in



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Robert C. Winthrop

interests. The first half (to 1840) marked roughly the dominance of fiscal and economic questions, the tariff, the United States Bank, internal improvements, and surplus revenue—all of which found a feverish solution in national legislation. The second half (1840–1860) marked with equal generality the rise of sectional and territorial questions that, while perhaps at bottom economic, assumed a regional aspect around the slavery problem. Hence, although they often found basic expression in legislative action, they nevertheless depended to a large degree on executive policy for fulfillment. In such disturbing matters as the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the Oregon question, the nullification ordinance of South Carolina, and the pressing matters of public lands, the statesmen of the time found their problems. Both periods contained questions of peculiar importance to Massachusetts, particularly international issues involving maritime trade, the Maine boundary, and Canadian reciprocity; but on all matters the Commonwealth took sides, and her statesmen recorded her sentiments with emphasis and effect.

THE TARIFF QUESTION (1816–1842)

The peace that ended the War of 1812 had come with a suddenness that bewildered the Nation, and in its wake followed a relentless group of economic circumstances that called for national solution. In the first year, America was flooded with English goods in quantities more than twice the normal consumption. Excessively low prices prevailed, wide extravagance resulted, credit was dangerously strained, money was hoarded, banks were closed or curtailed their loans with extreme disregard of needs, and industry all but stopped to await adjustments that would make possible a safe and profitable resumption of activity.

The plight of the manufacturers resulted in petitions to Congress urging protection of the suffering industries, and as a result the Tariff of 1816 provided a duty of 25% on cotton goods for three years, together with other protective features. But the expedient was not entirely successful—indeed, it settled nothing, and gave very little protection of any kind. In 1820 a new tariff was defeated in the upper house.

Daniel Webster voiced his opposition on constitutional grounds. Harrison Gray Otis (then in the Senate) considered the commercial interests of Boston seriously jeopardized by the bill; and it was his contrary vote that killed the measure and won him the public thanks of his Boston constituents. In 1821 the *North American Review* could see no reason why commerce should be made to pay the losses of industry: "the design of the tariff," it said, was "to direct and control the occupations of one class of men, *viz.*, of commercial men, by granting special privileges to those engaged in other pursuits, *viz.*, in domestic or internal manufactures."

By 1824, however, there was a change discernible. The tariff of that year was more favorably received by New England. Webster began thereafter a modification of his views that were ultimately to reach the other extreme, and in 1828 he was advising Massachusetts against further resistance to what she was unable to prevent, and in the face of amazingly precocious industries and a declining commerce he was urging adjustments to the new conditions. Not that the issue was settled. It was only slowly that capital moved "from ships to factories," and the demand for protection from foreign competition accordingly became acute. But, whatever may be the charges of inconsistency that were heaped upon statesmen of the Commonwealth during this controversy, there can be little doubt that, as Robert C. Winthrop said of Webster: "The course in relation to the Tariff, and I might as well say, in relation to almost every other question or national policy, has been the course of Massachusetts." The people were for many years opposed to the methods of protection, and, in spite of later accusations that the Commonwealth had come repeatedly before each session of Congress for increased tariffs "like the daughter of the horseleech, crying always: 'Give! Give!'", the collective vote of her Representatives on the four important bills of 1816, 1824, 1828 and 1832 was 14 for and 34 against, and only once (in 1816) did she return a majority in favor of a tariff measure.

As has been indicated, however, Massachusetts (indeed, all New England) went through an economic revolution, and the slow about-face that her leaders made on the tariff question was merely the response to the heavy, relentless pressures of these new currents. John Quincy Adams, as President, did not mention the tariff in any message to Congress but, as chairman of the congressional Committee on Manufactures, approved wholeheartedly the report of that committee in 1832, which was a complete historical argument in favor of protection. In 1820 Webster had opposed both the constitutionality and economic wisdom of protection, but during the debates in 1828 he fully accepted the plan; and Otis (then mayor of Boston) took an active part in the congressional campaign of 1830 in favor of Nathan Appleton, the protection candidate, opposed by Henry Lee, merchant and free trader. Two years later he defended himself in a letter to Clay as Webster had done in 1828: "*Tempora mutantur* and I am among those who have been coerced by the policy of government *mutari cum illis.*"

The Tariff of 1828 as well as the amendment of 1832, led, as is well known, to the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina, effective in 1833, as well as the compromise tariff of Henry Clay in the same year. The sentiment of Massachusetts was at first hostile to both tariff measures. Webster, as well as the complete congressional delegation, voted against them for reasons quite different from their former ones in opposition. Not only was the Commonwealth at this time opposed to a serious reduction of rates, as well as to the principles of the Compromise Act, but it was out of sympathy with giving "alms to a beggar who wears a drawn sword in his hand and tell him if you please it is *pour l'amour de Dieu.*" If it had been on the losing side during the opening period of the controversy, events of the next generation gave strong support to both of these views. From 1842 the tariff question occupied for some years a comparatively second place among the national issues, but Massachusetts leaders as a whole remained steadfast to the principles they espoused during the trying time of industrial adjustment.

Second Bank of the United States (1816–1836)

It was during the critical period of tariff legislation that another element entered the political arena which was to further harass economic interests. It was in 1832 that Jackson began in earnest his long and bitter conflict with the United States Bank. It will be recalled that one of Hamilton's most distinctive policies was the concentration of financial control in the first Bank of the United States (1791-1811), and that, because its charter was allowed to lapse, numerous State banks were called into existence to meet the financial emergencies of the War of 1812. The result was a long succession of excessive note issues and unwise loans, which left a desperate situation at the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent. After a great deal of opposition, a second United States Bank was established in 1816, similar in many ways to Hamilton's famous venture. This institution established a stable and uniform currency, compelled the State banks to validate their notes in specie, created many branches throughout the Union, and carried out a relentless policy of deflation. The program was coincident, however, with falling prices and mounting bankruptcies, and the "monster bank" was blamed for the ensuing hardships. As is well known, the reelection of Jackson in 1832 determined the fate of the bank and revolutionized, incidentally, the fiscal policy of the government.

Whatever may have been the feeling of a large part of the citizens of the country, Massachusetts was on the whole a firm supporter of the bank. There were "liberal" thinkers (and able men)—as Nathan Appleton, David Henshaw, Marcus Morton, and George Bancroft—who gave their support in varying degrees to the Jackson policy; but it was the conservative views of Webster and Everett that dominated the Commonwealth. When the motion to modify and renew the charter was before the House of Representatives (July 3, 1832), the entire Massachusetts delegation supported it. When in December of the same year Jackson cast doubts on the bank's solvency, the House in substance declared by a large but unrecorded majority (J. Q. Adams taking a leading part against the administration) that its deposits were safe. When in the next year (September, 1833) the President caused the removal of the United States deposits, 40 failures occurred in New Bedford and 93 in Boston; and the censure of the Senate (March 28, 1834), declaring the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury for his action as "unsatisfactory and insufficient," was supported by both Webster and Silsbee.

By the fall of 1834 the worst throes of the panic were passed, but the years of Jackson's second administration developed the wildest speculation that had taken place in the history of the country. To stem the tide of inflation that had followed the deposit of United States funds in "pet banks," Jackson issued his famous "Specie Circular" (July, 1836), directing the government agents to accept only gold, silver, or Virginia script in payment for public lands. A crash was quick to come. Banks everywhere suspended payments, the most important mills in Lowell were practically closed, nearly half of the spindles of Massachusetts ceased operation, and scarcely a manufacturer in the boot and shoe industry escaped bankruptcy.

It may have been that the second United States Bank was at times imprudent: Adams appears to have thought so in 1831, but nevertheless, in his minority opinion as a member of the investigating committee of the following year, ridiculed beyond redemption the blundering report of the majority against it. Caleb Cushing supported Clay and Sargent in the election of 1832, and expressed himself bitterly against the administration that was "bad for business." Edward Everett was a staunch supporter of the bank, and Winthrop left his record of denunciation against the whole fiscal policy of the period and especially "that final and fatal catastrophe of the crisis, the suspension of specie payments." Webster told the Senate (1832) that he desired the question treated as a great public subject, as a statesman should consider it, but he advocated the expediency of renewing its charter. The veto of President Jackson opened a breach between the two men that never healed, for the doctrine of the message was diametrically opposed to all of Webster's views. His reply of July 11, 1832, was unmistakable and emphatic. It had been from convictions of public duty that he carried the bill to recharter the bank through the Senate; but it was his loyalty to the constitution that prompted his resistance to the veto message. He supported the censure of Jackson, ridiculed its deletion from the records, and when (December, 1836) a resolution was introduced to rescind the "Specie Circular," he delivered a speech which was important both as a theory of public finance and as a rebuke to currency manipulators.

Distribution of the Surplus (1836–1837)

There was still, however, another act in the drama. Under the compromise tariff of 1833, a gradual reduction of duties over a ten-year period had been arranged, but only as provided in the act. The result was a large revenue with which the government paid off the final installment of the national debt in 1835, but which left, nevertheless, a large surplus (close to $30,000,000 in January, 1836) to accumulate over the following years. Jackson's well known opposition to internal improvements at federal expense limited the use of the money; and the principal alternatives, although many plans were proposed, seemed to be either deposit in the "pet banks" or distribution among the States. The latter course was followed, and three quarterly payments were made on the basis of the federal ratio of representation in Congress, when the panic of 1837 put an end to both distribution and surplus.

Again it was the strength of Webster that cast the influence of Massachusetts into the scales. Clay had brought forward a land bill (described by Abbot Lawrence as the "most judicious . . . yet . . . presented to Congress") which set aside the net proceeds of land sales for the ten new States, and provided a distribution of the residue. Calhoun, in opposition, asked for a constitutional amendment to sanction the distribution, and introduced a bill to regulate public deposits to which, through Webster's influence, an amendment was proposed for the distribution of excessive revenue among the States according to population. While the measure was subsequently amended in the House (June 21, 1836) to provide for *deposit* only, it was still regarded as a victory for the "distributionists," and no one appears to have imagined that the money would ever be returned.

The fall and winter months found the State legislatures busy disposing of the prospective funds under this act. In Massachusetts the question was discussed at length, and the lower house of the legislature voted (421 to 1) to distribute the surplus among the cities and towns. The rural sections were especially in favor of this proceeding, and it seemed that most of the newspapers of the Commonwealth approved it. At all events the deposit was accepted on January 19, 1837, and on March 21 the first two installments were ordered to be distributed among the towns in proportion to their population by the last census, and the last two in accordance with the new census of May, 1837. Should any town refuse or neglect for six months to accept the money, it was subsequently provided that such sums should remain in the State treasury, subject to the disposal of the General Court. The total amount received was $1,338,173.58, and it was used by the local communities in various ways: the majority applied it to town expenses, but a large number (some eighty towns) devoted it in varying amounts to educational purposes.

Internal Improvements (1817–1830)

The distribution of the surplus had in a way been due to the unfavorable attitude of Jackson towards internal improvements. This matter (the first phase of federal aid) had been a disputed question from the earliest days of the Constitution, but during the Federalist period problems of organization had so occupied the administration that the subject received scant attention. Hamilton was skeptical regarding its constitutionality. Gallatin, however, included a provision, in the act admitting Ohio to the Union, that one twentieth of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands within the new State should be applied "to the laying out and making public roads" from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic westward through the State, "under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the road shall pass." Subsequent acts providing for the survey and protection of the coasts, for river and harbor improvements, and further national highways developed this policy, only to be temporarily suspended by the War of 1812. The auspicious start of the second United States Bank, with the prospects of increased federal funds, gave a new impetus to the movement; but both Madison and Monroe (like Hamilton) expressed doubts of its constitutionality. The former vetoed Calhoun's "Bonus Bill," a proposal to set aside the bonus and dividends to be paid to the government by the bank as a fund for building roads and canals; and all New England, including the Massachusetts delegation by a vote of eight to three, was opposed to the measure. Five years later Monroe, in vetoing "An Act for the Preservation and Repair of the Cumberland Road" (from Cumberland, Maryland, to near Wheeling, Virginia), approved the policy of internal improvements but doubted its constitutionality—a bill on which the Massachusetts delegates had tied on a four-to-four vote when it had been passed by the House the preceding April. But when John Quincy Adams became President and made Clay—who had accepted internal improvements as a cardinal feature of his policy under the caption of the "American System"—Secretary of State, a sympathetic encouragement was again given the movement. In his first message to Congress, Adams referred to the policy of his predecessor in regard to this matter "with peculiar satisfaction," and gave the movement his heartiest indorsement. But opposition seems to have softened his views, for subsequent messages dealt solely with surveys, plans and estimates; and, while federal funds and subsidies were made available for roads and canals, the actual administration went little farther than Monroe's ideas had suggested.

This question had always been more or less connected with the tariff. The South was at first in less need of roads and canals than the North; and, since the proposed aid was chiefly a northern matter, or rapidly becoming such, the South was prone to regard the policy as simply another burden on its section. Both protective tariff and improvements, moreover, rested for their constitutional basis on the "implied powers" clause, and to be consistent it was necessary to approve both. Indeed, each of these issues was inextricably interwoven with the question of public lands and surplus revenue, the whole making an interpretation of the nature of the Union a necessity before action could be taken.

As is well known, Jackson arrayed himself staunchly against the "American System"; and the climax came when a bill authorizing the government to subscribe to the stock of "Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company" was passed by both Houses of Congress, only to be vetoed by the President, May 27, 1830, the Massachusetts delegates being strongly in favor of its passage. The expenditures for national improvements in the Commonwealth had risen to a total of over $207,000 by 1829 (exclusive of a million and a quarter dollars for fortifications and lighthouses), which was exceeded only by amounts allotted to Ohio and the cost of the Cumberland Road project. But Jackson's hostility was fatal to the practice, and a land transportation system at federal expense was stopped for a generation.

SLAVERY (1831–1844)

By 1840 there was a partial culmination in political matters as they affected Massachusetts and the national government. The tariff had been cast in a compromise measure that was satisfactory enough in its recognition of protection to remove it from the urgent issues. The second Bank of the United States had been destroyed, the general financial situation was rapidly clearing, the surplus had vanished, and proponents of internal improvements had been temporarily silenced. As acute as these matters had become, however, they were hardly more than sharp flashes against a darkening cloud that had been slowly gathering since the earliest days of the Republic, and that was to envelop an overwrought and secretly terrified country in smothering folds.

Slavery had been a national issue in one form or another since the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and until about 1830 it was commented upon by all people with the same freedom accorded other political questions. But by 1837 a strained silence was apparent. Edward Everett, in his inaugural address of that year as Governor of the Commonwealth, cautioned that "the patriotism of all classes of citizens must be invoked to abstain from a discussion, which," he added with prophetic foresight, "will prove the rock on which the Union will split." His father-in-law, Peter C. Brooks, one of Boston's wealthiest men, wrote that there was nothing in such ideas "for a practical man to object to," and even Webster afterwards expressed himself in favor of that sentiment.

Only five years before, a member of the Virginia legislature referred to slavery as "the *heaviest* calamity which has ever befallen any portion of the human race" and a "curse upon him who inflicts as upon him who suffers it." Yet even before this protest was made, William Lloyd Garrison founded the *Liberator,* devoted to immediate emancipation. In January, 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Boston, numbering among a distinguished personnel such leaders as Arnold Buffum, Samuel J. May, Wendell Phillips, John Greenleaf Whittier, C. T. Follen, Edmund Quincy, Lydia Mary Child, and William Lloyd Garrison. In December, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and by October, 1835, there were some three hundred branches, with a membership close to one hundred thousand. By 1836 the South had carried the fight into Congress, and demanded a law excluding inflammatory publications from the mails and prohibiting abolitionist petitions to Congress. Daniel Webster, in the Senate, and John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives, were the members chiefly concerned in this latter offense. Both congressmen presented petitions from antislavery advocates in batches of fifties and hundreds—indeed, on one occasion, Adams introduced five hundred and eleven. The dignified ex-President became a veritable clarion of publicity. It was impossible to stop him; and in the face of vituperation and threatened expulsion from southern members he stood steadfastly for freedom of speech and the right of petition.

Not that the Commonwealth was at this time by any means wholly abolitionist or even wholly antislavery. Even while excited petitioners were flooding Congress with their prayers, a great mass meeting (August, 1835) of 1500 citizens, presided over by Mayor Lyman of Boston and attended by the

From the photograph by Brady

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

town's leading citizens, listened to Harrison Gray Otis as he warned the audience that slaveholders would regard any attempt at abolition as "war in disguise, upon their lives, their property, their rights and institutions, an outrage upon their pride and honor, and the faith of contracts." But gradually opinion swung to the antislavery view: the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois (1837), introduced Wendell Phillips as an orator in defense of human freedom; the excitement of the George Latimer case in Boston (1842) brought letters of protest from John Quincy Adams, George Bancroft, Samuel Hoar, and W. B. Calhoun to an excited meeting in Faneuil Hall; and the treatment accorded by South Carolina in 1844 to a Massachusetts official sent to redress abuses against free negroes of the Commonwealth, brought sharp resolutions of censure from the General Court and left a rapidly mounting sentiment against the visible cause of their grievances.

Mexican War (1846–1848)

As the economic issues had been closely bound with the tariff question, so sectional and territorial questions were shot through and through with the blighting rays of slavery. Texas had been a current question for ten years before it was the leading issue in the presidential election of 1844. Massachusetts had opposed recognition of the new Republic in 1836, the entire delegation under the leadership of Adams, excepting Cushing and W. B. Calhoun, voting against it. It was clear to everyone that annexation would be the next move and, although the step was rejected under Van Buren's administration, Tyler openly favored the plan and urged it in his message of December, 1843. Thirteen antislavery Whig members of the Congress, led by John Quincy Adams, denounced the proposal in an address to the non-slaveholding states (March 3, 1843), and a treaty concluded for the purpose of annexation was rejected by the Senate in June of the following year.

Massachusetts was bitterly opposed to the step, and with amazing unanimity declared that it would never be completed with her consent. Three times—once each in 1843, 1844, and 1845—the General Court left a formal record of its opposition, basing its objections largely on constitutional grounds; but on March 15, 1845, in a final declaration, it openly defined the motives as the "perpetuation of the right to hold men in slavery," and after Texas was formally annexed declared the process unconstitutional and not legally binding upon the States.

In spite of such evidence of opposition, the Commonwealth was no more solidly against the admission of Texas than she was against slavery. Both parties (Whigs and Democrats) contained members who favored the step on one ground or another. But the aftermath of the controversy was the Mexican War; and the feeling engendered by the earlier dispute was greatly increased in the presence of the new crisis, and sentiment correspondingly solidified against the administration. The *Liberator* and *Herald of Freedom* were bitter in their denunciation. In a constant stream of resolves the legislature of the Commonwealth demanded that Congress put an end to the struggle. "In the name of the people of Massachusetts," reads a resolution, "who are unwilling that innocent blood should defile their garments,—we protest against the further perpetuation of a great nation's crime." Webster denounced it as a "war of pretexts"; the Boston *Atlas* called in "Polk's war"; the Whig Convention meeting in Boston, September 23, 1846, declared it "executive usurpation"; and Lowell wrote his famous rime in the *Bigelow Papers:*

"They jest want this Californy
So's to lug new slave-states in
To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
And to plunder ye like sin."

It was about this time that Charles Sumner came forcefully into public life. He had already won prominence as an abolitionist, although keeping firm hold of constitutional remedies. In the autumn of 1846, he sharply criticised Robert C. Winthrop, the exceptionally able but conservative Whig, through whom he alleged that "the Bostonians have been made to declare an unjust and cowardly war with falsehood in the cause of slavery"; and in January of the following year he argued before the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth against the validity of enlistments, a constitutional question involving methods of recruitment; and on February 4 he spoke in Faneuil Hall, demanding the withdrawal of American troops from Mexican soil, and declaring the war unconstitutional, unjust, and "vile in its object and character."

George Bancroft, although a Democrat and Secretary of the Navy in Polk's Cabinet, refused to approve the course of the administration. Unlike the Whig leaders, he had supported the annexation of Texas and an extension thereby, as he said, of the "area of freedom," and when he joined the Cabinet his view was presented in a letter to a New York friend: "You are right in supposing the disposition of this government towards Mexico to be of the most conciliatory character. . . . I hope that war is permanently out of fashion in the civilized world"; and his course was never more than that of a loyal member of the administration. Webster was absent when the preliminary steps leading to hostilities were in progress, and his official attitude is not recorded; but while he opposed the annexation of Texas, he seems to have offered no resistance to the declaration of war, although his colleague in the Senate, John Davis, voted against it. But he did oppose the volunteer system, the prosecution of the war, the acquisition of territory after its close, and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, because he disliked the methods of its negotiation as well as its terms. With him were many of the conservative Whigs; but younger members of the party—Sumner, Palfrey, and C. F. Adams—protested with the greatest vehemence, and their violent disagreement with the older leaders marks the beginning of the Free-soil party, whose convention in Buffalo, August 4, 1848, gave the first clear platform on the constitutional aspects of slavery.

Oregon (1824–1846)

One matter that had induced Mexico to undertake so unequal a war as the one Polk precipitated was the probability of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain.

Through a series of eliminating treaties embracing Spain, Russia, England, and the United States, the two latter countries found themselves in 1824 with joint and exclusive claims to the region called Oregon. As effective settlement by either country was impracticable at that time, they had agreed as early as 1818 to occupy the country jointly for ten years; and the arrangement was renewed in 1827, to be terminated with a year's notice in advance by either party. When Webster and Lord Ashburton had been negotiating the Maine boundary dispute (1841–1842), the question of Oregon had come up, but the policy at that time seemed to be a renewal of the *modus vivendi.* Subsequently, however, the British felt unable to accept American offers looking towards a permanent settlement of the title; and President Polk, relieved of the embarrassment of the Texas question, took occasion in his inaugural to recommend the abandonment of the joint agreement, and the immediate extension of jurisdiction into the disputed territory. Congress engaged in a spirited debate on the subject, and on April 23, 1846, advised the President to give the required notice, and the proposed action was communicated to the British government the latter part of May.

There was some fear that war might result, but Polk remained firm, and the English people were in no mood for hostilities over so remote an issue. Upon a hint from Edward Everett (then minister to England), the British suggested the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the channel between the continent and Vancouver's Island as the dividing line, with the proviso that the Hudson Bay Company should enjoy free navigation of the Columbia River. After the broad claims of his inaugural, describing "fifty-four forty" as the northern boundary of his claims, Polk felt it expedient to throw the onus of compromise on the Senate; and upon submitting the matter to the Upper House he was advised, after two days' debate, to accept the terms, and three days later the treaty was signed (June 15, 1846).

Interest of Massachusetts (1792–1846)

For many years Massachusetts had taken an important part in the fur trade of the Northwest, and the State has had contacts with the Oregon region from the beginning. The ship *Columbia,* fitted out by a group of Boston merchants, was the first to enter (1792) the river that bears its name. The first white men to attempt a permanent settlement in the Oregon country were Abiel and Jonathan Winship of Boston, who on June 4, 1810 sailed some forty miles up the river and started a small settlement; the Indians forced them to desist. United States citizens in the western trade were known by the natives as "Boston men." One of the first American merchants to open trade on the Columbia was the father of Caleb Cushing, destined to defend the United States claims with unequalled vigor; and when Hall J. Kelly, Boston schoolmaster, founded the unsuccessful Oregon Colonization Society (1829) to people the region with Yankee stock, Edward Everett and others of equal prominence supported the project.

NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY (1844–1846)

The issue, however, was not primarily settlement or development—it was the fixing of the boundary. Overtures from time to time had come to nothing, and the Democratic platform of 1844 contained a strong statement of the American position. Polk stamped the claims as "clear and unquestionable," and jingoes raised the cry of "fifty-four forty [the extreme northern line] or fight." Caleb Cushing was the foremost congressional defender of the President's view from the Commonwealth, and his deep interest and wide information made him a worthy proponent. He demanded the farthest boundary, hurled defiance at Great Britain, and approved the "notice" of February, 1846, whereby the joint agreement was terminated. Webster led the conservative position and, while objecting to the "notice," he pointed to a solution—a compromise on the forty-ninth parallel. Winthrop, as usual, followed his great leader with a plea for peaceful settlement. Although recognizing the claims of the United States, he thought them too complicated to justify the dogmatism of the administration, and urged arbitration proceedings.

There were, however, two merchants of the Commonwealth who, while holding no official position during the controversy, did much to shape the opinion of both citizens and statesmen on the subject. The first of these was William Sturgis. Born a native of Cape Cod and son of a shipmaster, he was early turned by family adversities to his natural calling, the sea. His first voyages took him to the northwest coast and, having by 1844 attained a prominent position in the mercantile enterprise of Boston—indeed, he was one of the most famous merchants of that port,—he was able to throw much light on the character of the Oregon country as well as on the merits of the dispute. He prepared an elaborate treatise in 1845 upon the subject, the substance of which was printed in a pamphlet and widely circulated not only among the statesmen of Washington but throughout official England as well, where, because of its intelligence and frankness, it met with much approbation. "Some of the objections," he wrote, "made by the British commissioners to our claims to the exclusive possession of the whole territory cannot be easily and satisfactorily answered; and some of their objections are unfounded or frivolous,—the mere skirmishing of diplomacy, and unworthy of high-minded diplomatists: but it must, I think, be evident, to any one who looks carefully into the whole matter, that *some* of the pretensions of each party are, to say the least, plausible; and that, according to the rules established among civilized nations in similar cases, each has some rights, which should be adjusted and settled by compromise and mutual concession."

Adjustment of the Boundary (1845)

At the time that Sturgis wrote his pamphlet, Joshua Bates, as a member of Baring Brothers & Company (the celebrated head of which was Lord Ashburton himself), was in direct personal communication with influential members of the British ministry, and at the same time in constant correspondence with Sturgis. His residence in London placed him in a favorable position as an adviser to urge the adoption of the compromise that it recommended. It is rare when private persons, holding no authorized connection with negotiators in a delicate international matter, are instrumental in solving the perplexing problems under discussion; but there is evidence that the line finally accepted was determined, at least in part, through the efforts of William Sturgis and Joshua Bates.

The result is well known: the subsequent treaty of June 15, 1846, was based on the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary line. The slavery question, more or less in abeyance during the dispute so far as Oregon was concerned, flamed to red heat when in August of the same year a bill was introduced into Congress to organize the new region as a territory. It passed the House but, because it contained a provision excluding slavery, received no action in the Senate. In the next session (1848) a similar move was gone through in the Senate and precipitated a long debate. Not that the South feared for slavery in the Northwest, but there was great danger in the precedent for exclusion that might injure her case in disposing of New Mexico and California. The lower House was unable to accept the Senate's proposal; but after considerable discussion and several false starts a bill was prepared and sent to the Senate, prohibiting slavery in Oregon. After an unsuccessful attempt to add an amendment carrying the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes from the hundredth meridian to the Pacific, the Senate passed the bill, and the result was the exclusion of slavery from Oregon without prejudice to the situation in New Mexico and California.

THE NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY DISPUTE (1783–1842)

The question of disturbances on the Canadian frontier and of the claims around the northeastern boundary (*i.e.*, between Maine and the English province of New Brunswick), had for many years been matters of frequent concern in Anglo-American diplomacy. The dispute dated back to the Treaty of 1783, the language of which was certainly capable of several interpretations. In 1827, the administration of Adams had submitted the controversy to the King of the Netherlands as arbiter, and four years later the award divided the territory between the two countries. In June, 1832, in answer to a query from Jackson, the Senate voted that it refused to consent to the decision; and thereafter conditions grew steadily worse, until in 1839 hostilities between the Maine frontiersmen and British settlers were being narrowly averted.

Both Maine and Massachusetts were involved, for in the disputed territory was a large area, the soil of which was claimed by both States; and in addition to this, Massachusetts claimed the political jurisdiction. In event of war, moreover, the Charlestown Navy Yard would unquestionably have been the first object of attack; and this aroused considerable apprehension within the Commonwealth, enough to impel the General Court to provide additional defenses for Boston harbor. Webster was in full charge of negotiations (he became Secretary of State in March, 1841), and was much relieved when, in place of new proposals for surveys and further arbitrations, Lord Ashburton (Alexander Baring, for many years connected with American financial affairs, and owner of large tracts in the State of Maine) was sent to Washington with full powers to settle the dispute.

On March 3, 1842, in anticipation of the arrival of Lord Ashburton, the General Court of Massachusetts adopted resolutions intended to make its position clear. These declared that the disputed boundary could be easily adjusted by the aid of the Treaty of 1783; that the interest of the Commonwealth was to be considered a joint one with Maine; and that no compromise could be made without the consent of both States. On April 4, Lord Ashburton arrived in Washington; and a few days later Webster officially informed the governors of Maine and Massachusetts of his arrival, and suggested the appointment of commissioners from each State to cooperate in the negotiations. Governor Davis replied that suitable delegates would be appointed, and that Massachusetts was ready to make all reasonable concessions, but "nothing—not a rood of barren heath or rock—to unfounded claims." The legislature of Maine was promptly convened by Governor Fairchild, and from it he obtained authority to make the appointments requested by Webster, but only under the proviso that no concession made within the territory should be regarded as an equivalent for anything yielded by the State of Maine. That is, as Webster said, the Maine commission had no idea of arguing the question of right in regard to conflicting positions, nor even to listen to any argument in opposition. The result was that, when negotiations were finally undertaken, four parties were present—the United States, Great Britain, Massachusetts, and Maine; and, remembering the long series of failures that had followed former attempts at settlement, it looked doubtful, indeed, whether such a complicated procedure could possibly succeed.

The commission selected from Massachusetts was composed of Abbot Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen: a worthy group, of whom Abbot Lawrence was easily the dominating figure. Like Lord Ashburton himself, he was a man of great practical experience, among the leading, if not the foremost, industrial leaders of the Commonwealth, familiar with large financial undertakings and thoroughly conversant with the lessons of compromise and conciliation that go with enterprise on a large scale. His genial, candid, reasonable personality, as well as his high social position, fitted well with the temperament of the British negotiator, and called forth the cooperation of his collegues as well as a spirit of reciprocity from his opponents.

The Northeastern Treaty (1842)

It was, therefore, Webster, Lawrence, and Ashburton that finally (August 9, 1842) perfected a settlement. The northeastern boundary was minutely described, in which Great Britain received about 5000 and the United States some 7000 square miles of the disputed territory, with the further stipulation that the navigation of the St. John's River was to be open to the manufactured products of Maine. By the eighth article of the treaty both parties agreed to maintain a naval squadron on the African coast to cooperate in the suppression of the slave trade; and the tenth article, perhaps the most far-reaching of all, provided for the mutual extradition of criminals who sought asylum in either country. To Webster as Secretary of State and plenipotentiary was due the major credit for the successful completion of the agreement on the part of America. The services of Abbot Lawrence were particularly significant. "It is doing no injustice to Mr. Webster nor to anyone else," wrote Charles G. Loring, "to assert that by means of Mr. Lawrence's efforts and his influence upon the other commissioners, to him (quoting the words of Mr. Nathan Appleton) more than to any other individual is due the successful accomplishment of the negotiations which resulted in the important treaty of Washington."

INTERNATIONAL TRADE (1818–1854)

The sea-borne trade of the United States was pretty well confined during the early middle period to transoceanic commerce with Great Britain, to food and produce exchange with the West Indies, and to its own coastwise trade. The history of the question was highly complicated. Repeated negotiations by such astute statesmen as John Quincy Adams and James Monroe had failed to regain the privileges of commerce enjoyed with the British West Indies, Newfoundland, and the Maritime Provinces before separation from the mother country. New England was naturally eager to reestablish relations with these lost markets, but it had become a firmly accepted principle of American commerce to exclude all foreign vessels from the coastwise trade. The British, on the other hand, were quite willing to share the transoceanic carrying trade with America, but closed the door on her possessions in the western hemisphere; and, while desiring to maintain a monopoly for English ships in West Indian products for Europe, would have liked very much to have the advantage of participating in the coastwise trade of the United States in order to add the profits of another cargo to the triangular sail from London to Halifax to Jamaica and home.

In 1818 Monroe resorted to retaliation, and at his suggestion Congress closed American ports to British ships coming from ports not regularly open to American ships. Great Britain thereupon opened Halifax to American ships, hoping to draw trade to that port which had before gone to the islands, with the idea that the cargoes could then be reshipped to their ultimate destinations in British ships. To meet this the United States thereupon forbade the exportation of her products to the West Indies in British ships, and refused imports from there unless they came directly. Then followed a series of reciprocal concessions, in the form of differential tonnage and impost duties, that finally culminated (1825) in an act of Parliament offering the United States the same rights in the West Indies that she gave to English vessels in her own waters, provided the act was accepted within one year—which was not done.

In the presidential campaign of 1828, Adams was reproached for his failure to accept this offer, and Jackson, as the successful candidate, felt the obligation to remedy the error as far as possible. When Van Buren, his Secretary of State, therefore repudiated the former American claims, he suggested at the same time a change in American opinion; but, while England received the advances cordially, Canada protested the destruction of her advantages in the West Indies. Some six months later (May, 1830), however, necessary action was begun and soon completed by both countries to open the American and West Indian ports respectively, without restriction as to tonnage or destination; and, while duties were still allowed and used, so clearly an American policy was hardly open to criticism by the United States.

Even after the separation from Maine, Massachusetts remained the leading ship-owning state until 1843, when New York for the first time surpassed the Commonwealth. In the struggle to maintain her supremacy, Boston absorbed the commerce of other Massachusetts seaports; and the leading shipping centers—Newburyport, Beverly, Salem, Marblehead, Plymouth—turned to manufacturing. In the thirties the yearly average of craft from foreign ports entering her harbor was almost fifteen hundred; coastwise shipping increased in the same proportion; and by 1844 fifteen vessels entered and left her waters every day for a year.

Under such conditions the Commonwealth was vitally interested in foreign commercial relations during the middle period. Her leading citizen, John Quincy Adams, had given a large part of his time as President to the question, and much of the earlier legislation was due to his initiative. But he characterized his attitude towards England as "defensive only, intended to prevent a monopoly under British regulations." Senator Nathaniel Silsbee was bitter against the act of 1825, as it affected the United States, for giving far too much and offering far too little; and James Lloyd, as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, reported a bill in the following year (1826) to authorize the President to proffer reciprocity to foreign nations on "an entire equality of commercial intercourse."

Long months of debate in this direction led to the treaty of reciprocity with Canada in 1854. The agreement was of great benefit to Massachusetts commerce—more so, perhaps, than any treaty in American history. It did away with the artificial limitations on the markets and sources of supply to the north; and, while the trade was carried almost exclusively in Canadian boats (which weakened the benefits received), a constant stream of firewood, coal, fish, flour, and grain came, nevertheless, to Massachusetts ports to be exchanged for goods from the Indies, whaling products, hides, and manufactures.

When the subject of its repeal was before Congress, the report of a special committee of the Boston Board of Trade (1865) urged its retention. "Why," it asked, "with the history of the controversy which preceded the 'McLane Arrangement' in 1830, *annul* the treaty of 1854, without an attempt to *revise,* and continue it? If we adopt this extreme course, another long and angry dispute will certainly follow; and, the legislation on both sides will become, possibly, quite as barbarous as at any previous period." But at the end of the fixed term (1864) the notice required by the treaty was given and the agreement annulled.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ANTISLAVERY CRISIS IN MASSACHUSETTS (1830-1850)

By Oswald Garrison Villard
Editor of The Nation

The Abolition Controversy

"Utterly deprived of that protection and of those immunities which belong to them as citizens, and given up to be the prey of ruffians and assassins, the popular theory of self-defense and the example of worldly patriotism in all ages authorize them to resist unto blood—to proclaim a war of extermination—to light up the fires of a new revolution—and to rally together upon the 'tented fields,' armed and equipped for mortal combat. . . . The causes which induced our revolutionary fathers to rush to the strife of blood were as dust in the balance, compared with the anguish, outrage and peril to which Abolitionists are subjected."

Such, according to the *Liberator* of August, 1835, was the state of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the thirties of the nineteenth century. The nation was at peace; outwardly Massachusetts was prosperous, content, and calm. But within, fires were raging, the caldrons of hate and civil strife boiling and hissing. Yet the intolerable conditions in the Commonwealth, actual or exaggerated, were solely due to the insistance of certain citizens of Massachusetts that they had a moral and legal right to concern themselves with negro slavery in the eleven southern States of the American Union. Had these agitators held their peace, Massachusetts would have been free from internal strife. There was no labor question; the times were prosperous. It was generally a period when the State was laying the solid foundations of its future great prosperity. To the minds of the merchants and manufacturers of 1830 to 1850, this injection of what they deemed an extraneous issue, with which New England was only remotely concerned—if at all—was contrary to peace, concord, and prosperity.

All the powers that then dominated society, church, and state in the community that had been the birthplace of American liberty were opposed to the antislavery agitation within Massachusetts, and even to any discussion.

STATUS OF SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS (1830–1850)

This violent reception of the organized abolitionists was contrary to the previous history of slavery and abolition in the Commonwealth. The first of the thirteen original States to declare that slavery was contrary to principles of free government was Massachusetts, in the famous clause of the Constitution of 1780: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights," which was construed by the Supreme Court of the State to bar any form of personal bondage except for crime. This applied also to the status of quasi-slavery of white and negro indentured servants, which had existed for a century and a half. Surely a protest against slavery could not be contrary to the Constitution of Massachusetts.

Socially the distinction of races continued, though based on custom rather than on law. In 1830 still lived some hundreds of persons who had been legally held as slaves in Massachusetts up to 1780. They and their offspring had a status not essentially different from that of the lowest stratum of the white race. They might exercise the suffrage under property and residence qualifications the same as for white people. Though there were Negro quarters in some of the large towns, Negroes in general lived among the poorer white element on amicable terms. In some places there was still the so-called "Nigger Election," a mock performance following the regular election.

Again, Massachusetts was a source of antislavery influence in the West. The colony of Massachusetts people established on the Ohio was included in the first territory organized by Congress, which was also the first area in which slavery was prohibited by Congress. Massachusetts people participated in carrying out that law when the territories of Indiana and Illinois were organized.

In the intense rivalry between northern and southern States, which grew out of the annexation of Louisiana in 1803, Massachusetts members of Congress and Massachusetts legislatures were the most violent and determined opponents of the extension of the United States southwestward. They also stood against the Missouri Compromise, which finally involved the admission of Maine as a State—a measure favored by Massachusetts.

The Social Issue (1830–1860)

Nevertheless, there was a powerful element in Massachusetts which, from 1830 to 1860, never ceased to protest against action or language within the boundaries of Massachusetts denunciatory of slavery. The chieftains in this movement were the so-called Cotton Whigs, partly made up of cotton manufacturers who did not wish to quarrel with the region that furnished the staple of their industry, and partly of shipowners who wanted to keep on good terms with the South. Furthermore, though the social magnates in Massachusetts violently quarrelled with each other over the Unitarian controversy, they reprehended strong language applied to Southern members of Congress and urbane visitors from the South. With exceptions noted farther on, the abolition movement in Massachusetts began with people of little social distinction or political influence. Except John Quincy Adams, no Senator or Representative from Massachusetts took up the cause either of the freedom of body for the slave, or the freedom of speech for the freemen. Daniel Webster, the mighty champion of the Union against nullification, never understood the force or the basis of the antislavery movement. The abolitionist, from 1830 on, was attacking property rights, social prestige, concord with the South, and even union of free and slaveholding States. So the possessing classes of the Commonwealth united in urging that things be left precisely as they were, and in listening with approval to those who declared that, whatever the defects of the slave system, the Negro was much better off in chains in the South than in freedom in barbarous Africa. Was he not receiving the benefits of the Christian religion? It is always easy, when the "pocket nerve" is threatened, to declare that everybody should mind his own business and ignore that age-old question as to whether one is or is not one's brother's keeper.

The Pocket Nerve (1830–1860)

More than that, the attack upon slavery was held to be utterly reprehensible since it was an attack upon the sacred right of private property, thus striking directly at the family and the state. In this instance, the fact that that property consisted of living and breathing human beings in no wise altered the bitter disapprobation of the patricians of Massachusetts. Since the merchant classes largely supported the churches, those organizations obeyed their masters' voices. When the abolitionists began their crusade, not a single Boston church opened its door to them, until there came a stirring revolt within the church which saved it from the charge that on questions of human liberty it was wholly dead—or wholly controlled by Mammon.

For those who interpret all history in economic terms, the antislavery struggle now seems inevitable, for its causation was economic as well as humanitarian. New England both profited and suffered, though indirectly, by Eli Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, as did the South. In the first decades of the nineteenth century the rich and prosperous citizens of Massachusetts profited by their trade with the slave States, and looked with indifference upon the waning of what had been a promising movement, both north and south, toward the emancipation of the blacks. For example, there had been three important antislavery societies founded as early as 1780, of which that in Pennsylvania was the most active. Massachusetts not only had her cotton mills and cloth industry, her vessels in the coastwise trade, but also her clipper ships carrying cotton in its natural and fabricated condition across the seas. More than that, some of her citizens were by no means above the rich profits which came from the illicit and incredibly inhuman and villainous slave trade, which most of the powers by that time outlawed on all the seas. New England's complicity in slavery was beyond question. As a realization of this interest came after some years, the abolitionists more and more divided their fire between the slavery promoters of the State and the Southerners who held men and women in bondage.

When the revolt in the church came on, the question of its attitude towards slavery, like the abolition furor itself, seemed a great outrage to the rest of the pulpits, to the press, and to an overwhelming majority of the public. Why must the good name of the State be tarnished by a movement which, without restraint of language, denounced the conductors of the Republic and soon the Republic itself, which spread doctrines of hate and dissension against all who lived below Mason and Dixon's Line? That the chief offenders outside the church were of obscure origin; that they were not foreign-born agitators but Americans of old stock; that they refused to be silenced by denunciation, contempt, threats of imprisonment, and even mob violence—all that only added fuel to the flames of resentment. This the officials of the State shared with the members of the best clubs; they freely denounced those who were disturbing the domestic peace, who were setting a section against a section, who were inflaming Americans against Americans. They, the successors of the men who died so that there should be no taxation without representation and fought for self-government in the land, found in the black skins of the slaves complete reason why the principles of liberty and brotherhood and self-government, and the right to the bodies of one's wife and children as well as to one's own, did not apply to the men and women who were daily sold on the same auction blocks with horses and cattle.

BENJAMIN LUNDY

As it fell, a native of Newburyport became the forefront of the offending. This challenging person was William

Lloyd Garrison, born December 10, 1805, son of a sea captain, who had to leave school at the age of thirteen to become an apprentice in the office of the Newburyport *Herald.* Just why there should have been born in him, rather than in some one else, an all-controlling determination to purge the United States of slavery, is one of those mysteries of the human soul which must always remain inexplicable.

To the sufferings of the slave his heart was early attuned, but the impulse to devote himself wholly to the slavery issue came from without—from one Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, who had observed the workings of slavery and the interstate traffic in blacks at close range. With amazing devotion and self-sacrifice, Lundy, a man of delicate frame, dedicated his small means, acquired in the saddlery trade, and his whole life to the cause of abolition. He denied himself the society of wife and children, while he ranged from one end of the country to the other and visited Mexico and Haiti.

Here and there he acquired a subscriber to his irregularly appearing *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* Everywhere he sought out those who like himself had freed themselves from all color prejudice, who believed that the teachings of the Scriptures, the Ten Commandments, and the doctrines of Jesus were unaffected in their application by the color of an individual's skin. Between 1826 and 1828 this apostle covered twenty-four hundred miles in nineteen States, upwards of sixteen hundred of them on foot, "from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the banks of the Mississippi." During these wanderings he held fifty public meetings. As a contemporary said, he "multiplied antislavery societies in every quarter, put every petition in motion relative to the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, everywhere awakened the slumbering sympathies of the people. . . . Rivers and mountains vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is anticipated in his rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated."

A.W.Elson & Co.Boston

From a photograph by Rockwood, N. Y., 1874 Courtesy of the Author

William Lloyd Garrison

Garrison's Connection with Lundy

Seriously deaf, Lundy was not a good speaker and could not hold or interest an audience, yet "he never spoke in vain." In March, 1828, he met Garrison at the boarding house in which the latter lived, and fired him to his life's task. Garrison, despite his youth, had already been connected as editor and publisher with three newspapers. He readily joined Lundy as a partner in the publishing of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Baltimore itself, the first number of their joint editorship appearing September 2, 1829, and the last, with which the *Genius* ceased publication as a weekly, on March 5, 1830. With Mr. Garrison's accession to the staff, it entered upon troubled waters. His advocacy of immediate unconditional emancipation, his assaults upon the American Colonization Society, which promised to end slavery by sending the Negroes back to Africa or elsewhere, his fiery uncompromising language, and his attacks upon individuals by name rapidly reduced the subscription list of the newspaper.

Six weeks after the suspension of the weekly *Genius*, Garrison entered Baltimore jail a prisoner, having been sentenced to pay a fine of fifty dollars and costs for libeling Francis Todd and Nicholas Brown of Newburyport. Their fellow townsman had denounced them in the *Genius* for transporting seventy-five slaves from Annapolis, Maryland, to New Orleans, which he said was a bad way "to illustrate New England humanity and morality." According to Garrison, men who participated in the slave trade should be "sentenced to solitary confinement for life"; they were "the enemies of their own species—highway robbers and murderers." For this accusation Garrison, being entirely without means, spent seven weeks in jail. Then his fine and the costs were paid by a rich merchant of New York, Arthur Tappan, who for a considerable time thereafter became one of Mr. Garrison's stanchest supporters and financial backers.

Founding of the *Liberator* (1831)

The failure of the *Genius* only stimulated in Mr. Garrison the determination to go on with a weekly of his own. That he was penniless, unknown, without social position or influence, and with scarcely a moneyed supporter, that he had no capital but his pen and his use of fiery language, deterred him not at all. The encouragement of a few friends sufficed; and on January 1, 1831, in Boston, he and a new partner, Isaac Knapp, began the publication of the *Liberator*. This became in many respects one of the most powerful and successful journals ever published in the United States, although it never made money and its edition never ran beyond four thousand copies. For the first few months, Garrison and Knapp slept on the floor of their composing room and subsisted "chiefly upon bread and milk, a few cakes and a little fruit, obtained from a baker's shop opposite and a petty cake and fruit shop in the basement"—and they were often hungry. Being a skilled journeyman, Mr. Garrison, who was then twenty-six years old, did his own typesetting. For years he composed his editorials at the case, putting them directly into type without first committing them to paper, and he performed the actual printing and the addressing and mailing. He borrowed the money for his equipment, but he had not a single subscriber when he completed his first issue; and the arrival of $54 for twenty-seven Philadelphia subscriptions in advance seemed like manna from Heaven.

When indignant protests as to the *Liberator* and its fiery contents began to reach Mayor Harrison Gray Otis of Boston, that worthy had to admit that he had never heard of the youthful editor or his paper. He made an investigation, and then wrote to the governors of Virginia and Georgia that city officers "had ferretted out the paper and its editor; that his office was an obscure hole, his only visible auxiliary a negro boy, and his supporters a few very insignificant persons of all colors." The Mayor was sure that this "new fanaticism" was not likely to win converts "among the respectable classes of our people." He lived to admit his grave error of judgment; the city over which he presided erected a monument fifty years later to the editor in his "obscure hole." This letter of Mayor Otis moved James Russell Lowell to write a poem on William Lloyd Garrison containing these stirring stanzas:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnitured and mean;
Yet there the freedom of a race began.

* * * * *

O Truth! O Freedom! how are ye still born
In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!
What humble hands unbar those gates of morn
Through which the splendors of the New Day burst!"

Character of the *Liberator*

The published correspondence made whole sections of the country acquainted with his doctrine before his fellow townsmen were aware of his existence. The State of Georgia took the *Liberator* seriously, for the legislature, December 26, 1831, paid Garrison the unique and extraordinary compliment of offering a reward of $5,000 for his arrest and conviction, or those of any persons circulating the *Liberator* within the limits of that State. A grand jury at Raleigh, North Carolina, had already (in October) indicted Garrison and Knapp for the felony of circulating the *Liberator* in North Carolina.

So long as reforms are to be achieved and reformers to achieve them, there will be continuing debate as to which of two methods is the wiser; whether to use only polite phrases and by wounding no one's feelings to keep cool the tempers of all parties to a controversy, so as to make possible calm and quiet reasoning together; or whether the proper journalistic weapons are the rapier and the sledgehammer. Some historians have believed that Garrison's methods were the wrong ones; and they lay at his and Horace Greeley's doors the chief responsibility for the resort to arms in 1861, because of their "intemperate" language. The other school believes that the hour produced the right men and the right method; and that emancipation of the slaves would have been postponed for decades if the Garrison school had been less harsh and more charitable in its expressions.

Garrison himself adapted Charles James Fox's words in the salutatory of the first issue of the *Liberator* and said. "On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation." He then added his own declaration: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD." The charge that he was retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of his invective and the precipitancy of his measures he always vehemently denied.

Garrisonian Principles (1831–1861)

Perhaps Garrison was wrong, but it is a fact that few, if any, great reforms have been achieved save when some persons burned within and fairly flamed their indignation at the wrong to which they addressed themselves. It is rare, too, when such souls appear, that they can either restrain their words or be certain always to weigh every event in just scales and to do complete justice to every one whom they assail. In any case it is undeniable that with Garrison's appearance upon the scene the Massachusetts antislavery movement was galvanized into life and became at once highly disturbing and incendiary. It is also true that the violence of his writings caused lasting schisms in the ranks of the abolitionists, as did also some of his religious views and some of the other radical causes which he espoused, as well as his refusal to put the abolition movement into politics. Some of his warmest supporters were alienated from time to time by the scorching vigor of his denunciation of individuals, of the church, and of the national government; they wished him to leave individuals alone and to concentrate on the slavery system.

The founding in Boston on January 14, 1835, of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race was an attempt on the part of some of the abolition elements affiliated with the Colonization Society to abolish slavery by exerting "a kind moral influence upon the community." In place of the "universal and immediate abolition" demanded by the Garrisonians, this short-lived society with the long name urged that slavery be abandoned "with the least possible delay." Similarly, there was formed in 1835 a Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society of dissenters from Mr. Garrison's violence of language; it lived only about a year. Some later schisms and bolts were more serious and more lasting.

Garrison did not originate the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation. That had been advocated before his time by the Rev. George Bourne in 1815, and by the Rev. James Duncan, of Vevay, Indiana, in 1824. But he nailed this banner to his mast and refused every suggestion of a compromise.

Women's Rights

To his major crusade he added advocacy of temperance, women's rights, and international peace, the corner stone of the latter campaign being nonresistance—the refusal to defend one's self against violence or take up arms at the behest of one's government or State. Every one of these causes, and his liberal views as to the Sabbath, drove supporters away from him.

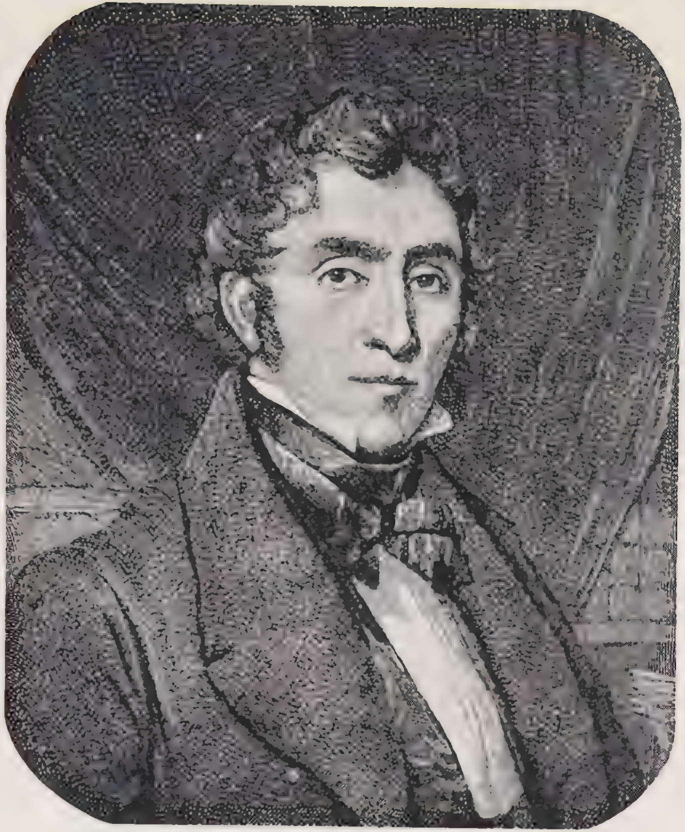
It is impossible at this date to understand the bitterness of feeling aroused by the admission of women to the antislavery work and meetings. Thus, when the New England Anti-Slavery Convention met in Boston on May 30, 1838, six orthodox clergymen of high standing and one important layman had their names struck from the rolls because of their hot indignation that any one should so contravene the prescription of God and the primary dictates of a civilized society in permitting women to appear in public meeting with men and to degrade themselves by speaking from the platform and debating from the floor. The editor of the *Christian Mirror* insinuated that "it was disreputable for a woman to be closeted with two men in committee"; and the Rhode Island Congregational Association unanimously refused to receive a memorial from an abolitionist convention in Boston on the sole ground that it came from an "unscripturally women-ruled convention." The poet Whittier, though an ardent abolitionist, was one of the most scandalized.

New England Antislavery Society (1832–1837)

Besides rousing people to feel deeply and passionately with or against him, Garrison gave a practical side to the antislavery campaign, despite his idealism and his refusal to compromise. With twelve others, white and black, he formed in Boston, on January 6, 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society. "We have met tonight," he said, "in this obscure school house; our members are few and our influence limited; but, mark my prediction, Faneuil Hall shall ere long echo with the principles we have set forth. We shall shake the Nation by their mighty power."

To the new society flocked the few who, like Benjamin C. Bacon, had early espoused the abolition cause. Bacon had served as office agent and secretary of the "Anti-Slavery Depository." From that moment on the Garrisonians pressed for a National Anti-Slavery Society until one was organized in Philadelphia amid almost unanimous "public contempt and odium." It adopted, on December 5, 1833, the declaration of principles drafted by the editor of the *Liberator*. Before this event, in 1833 he visited England to bring the American antislavery movement into close touch with the British, which, then under the leadership of Wilberforce and Clarkson, was well on its way to the emancipation of the West Indian negroes (August 1, 1834). Ever thereafter the British abolitionists gave aid and comfort to the leaders of the struggle in Massachusetts.

Thus officially launched, the movement grew apace. It drew to it fanatics and cranks—it was at an antislavery convention that Maria Weston Chapman exclaimed: "The good Lord uses instruments for His purpose I would not touch with a fifty-foot pole"—but also men and women of extraordinarily fine character and entirely selfless purpose. The very dangers they faced bound them together; for years Garrison never knew, when he left home in the morning, whether he would live to return. Still more were they tied to one another by the spiritual exaltation that comes when one gives one's life unselfishly to the cause of others. Quakers many of them, theirs was a marvelous serenity of spirit. Some



After a mezzotint by Sartin Courtesy of the Author

BENJAMIN LUNDY

After a daguerrotype Courtesy of the Author

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN

of the earliest recruits were the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Connecticut, and later of Leicester, Massachusetts, whose service to the cause was priceless; Samuel E. Sewall and A. Bronson Alcott; Moses Brown, of Providence; General Samuel C. Fessenden, of Portland, Maine, the father of the distinguished Senator William Pitt Fessenden; and John Greenleaf Whittier, of Haverhill, whose first poems Mr. Garrison had published when editor of the Newburyport *Free Press.*

With these as a nucleus, the Massachusetts group grew rapidly; soon it won men and women of high social position, who cheerfully sacrificed their status on the altar of liberty. In Pennsylvania those of corresponding sentiments gave aid and comfort; in Vermont, which Garrison visited in 1828-1829. he was allowed by the Bennington *Journal of the Times* to plead emancipation. In Maine, and above all in the Western Reserve of Ohio, kindred spirits arose in ever-growing numbers and established successful stations of the Underground Railroad. By December, 1837, no less than two hundred abolition societies were in existence. The conscience of the nation began to awake; against desperate odds the battle was on.

Proslavery Opposition (1835)

With every day that it was waged, the proslavery element predominant in Massachusetts made itself increasingly felt, and drifted more toward forcible repression and mob violence. The "best citizens" of Boston in a meeting at Faneuil Hall, on August 21, 1835, denounced the Anti-Slavery Society and all interference with the South and its "peculiar institution." Ex-Senator Peleg Sprague, Richard Fletcher, and Harrison Gray Otis were the speakers, with the mayor, Theodore Lyman, Jr., in the chair. The orators were bitter in their excoriation of the fanatics, who, it was stated, unfortunately could not be prosecuted because there were no laws covering their offences. Men like Edward Everett demanded such legislation.

They deprecated violence, yet their implications were plain. George Thompson, the brilliant English orator, who had come to the United States to speak for immediate abolition, received especially severe castigation, with the admonition to return home. The determination to stamp out this brand of unsettling sedition was manifest in this new meeting. Yet four years later the city authorities themselves were compelled to open Faneuil Hall to the abolitionists, at whose first meeting in the actual "Cradle of Liberty" Peleg Sprague's father spoke.

Meanwhile proslavery violence had broken out all over the country and began to have its effect in Massachusetts. In Charleston, South Carolina, a mob of three thousand persons burned copies of antislavery publications, taken from the mail by connivance of the local postmaster, whose lawless acts were officially sanctioned by the Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, himself a Massachusetts man. In Mississippi several persons were lynched by mobs who suspected them of being abolition emissaries. A reward of five thousand dollars for the head of Arthur Tappan was offered on the New York Stock Exchange. In Massachusetts, George Thompson was mobbed at Lynn and at Abington, and narrowly escaped a mob at Concord, where Whittier was pelted with mud and stones, while Samuel J. May was greeted with a "shower of brickbats" at Haverhill. The latter procedure became almost the order of the day at all antislavery meetings.

September 17, 1835, saw the erection of a double gallows, for himself and George Thompson, in front of Garrison's house in Boston. Public discussion of schemes to abduct both of these men and deliver them to the South, and offers of rewards of $20,000 for their persons showed the length to which Southern sentiment was willing to go. Finally, the Boston *Centinel* declared that Thompson would never be allowed to address another meeting in this country. The Boston *Transcript* called him the "vagabond," the "wandering insurrectionist."

The Garrison Mob (1835)

October 21, 1835, the crisis came. Thompson and Garrison were both scheduled to speak on that day at a meeting of the

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. A placard widely circulated beforehand offered a money reward for personal violence to Thompson.

This was the work of two highly respected merchants in business on Central Wharf. It had its effect and produced what has ever since been known as the "broadcloth mob," because it contained, as the *Commercial Gazette* reported the next day, "many gentlemen of property and influence,"—and also many graduates of Harvard College. The mob, which numbered several thousand, rendered the women's meeting impossible. Thompson was out of town; Garrison left, and retired to the adjoining office of the *Liberator*. Mayor Lyman appeared and begged the mob to disperse, assuring it that Mr. Thompson was not in Boston. He then ordered the assembled women to leave. They did so in procession with complete calmness, passing through the howling, taunting, and vituperative mob. "As far as we could look either way," wrote Maria Weston Chapman, "the crowd extended—evidently of the so-called 'wealthy and respectable'; 'the moral worth', the 'influence and standing.' We saw the faces of those we had, till now, thought friends. . . ."

To appease the mob, Mayor Lyman then had the antislavery office sign on the wall of the building torn down and thrown to it. That merely inflamed the crowd. Garrison, on the advice of friends, sought to escape through a house in the rear. He was caught, a rope was coiled around his waist, and he would have fared ill had not he been seized by three or four strong men who dragged him to the mayor's office for safekeeping. Afraid that the mob, which had followed the prey, would wreck his office, the mayor took the course of committing Garrison to the city jail for the crime of "unlawfully, riotously and routously assembling, disturbing and breaking the peace" and because he "a riot did cause and make"! The mob nearly took him from the sheriff as he was driven to the jail, where he was released, to leave the city for a few weeks at the earnest solicitation of the city authorities and his friends.

SUPPORTERS OF GARRISON

This episode made friends for the "traitors." Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, who witnessed the mob, "from that moment became an abolitionist" and subscribed for the *Liberator;* so did Charles Sumner. The *Liberator's* circulation took a big leap upwards. Wendell Phillips, also an indignant eyewitness, did not join the movement publicly for a year and a half. Then he became its matchless orator, sacrificing his profession (the law), his high social position, the public honors which were unquestionably awaiting him, and all the worldly ambition which his private means, his extraordinary gifts, his handsome and fascinating personality surely warranted. The truest and most generous of friends to Garrison—whose funeral oration he pronounced—Phillips had no reservations in throwing himself into the conflict in which he repeatedly imperilled his life. An aristocrat to the finger tips, he became that most hated of social agitators, a traitor to his class and social group. But he found no difficulty in affiliating with the motley army of abolitionists, and none earned a deeper approbation or more earnest devotion.

Garrison never let go of the fundamental principle that slavery and genuine democratic government were incompatible. This conviction he fortified by a journalistic instinct that placed him alongside James Gordon Bennett as an originator of journalistic methods, and beside Horace Greeley in his skill at enraging his opponents. The key to his amazing publicity was that he had an unerring sense of what was news. He compelled his enemies to quote him and thus to widen his propaganda. The obscure newspaper man became a national figure.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS IN CONGRESS

Meanwhile the vexed subject began more and more to inject itself into the National Legislature at the Capital. There the events leading to the annexation of Texas and war with Mexico were set in train; there the acts of the Massachusetts antislavery extremists were roundly denounced and watched with never-failing alarm, disapprobation, and bitterness by the Southerners, who dominated Congress and the presidency.

Around one noble Massachusetts figure a storm raged steadily for nearly twenty years. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, set an admirable example of public service by entering Congress after his retirement from the White House and serving as a Representative until (February 23, 1848) he fell dying upon the floor of the House. For the extremists in Boston he had at first little or no use, and to the last he could not find himself in sympathy with the strange causes which they linked to their demand for emancipation. August 18, 1835, he wrote in his diary: "There is a small, shallow, and enthusiastic party preaching the abolition of slavery upon the principles of extreme democracy; but the democratic spirit and the popular feeling is everywhere against them."

He himself was opposed to immediate emancipation; he even would not vote for the abolition of slavery in the Territory of Florida or the District of Columbia, though he was ready to present petitions asking for the removal of the Capital from the District to some other site and to vote for that removal. He had cried out years before (1820): "O! if but one man could arise with a genius capable of comprehending, a heart capable of supporting, and an utterance capable of communicating those eternal truths which belong to the question,—to lay bare in all its nakedness that outrage upon the goodness of God, human slavery." Although he did not hesitate to denounce the Abolitionists—until the whirligig of time made him welcome and seek their support—he was himself anathema to the slaveholders, notwithstanding the fact that his approach to the problem in Congress was much more as a champion of political and constitutional rights, and especially of the right of the American people to petition their congressional rulers, than as an opponent of slavery.

Antislavery Petitions in Congress

When he offered fifteen antislavery petitions (December 12, 1831) for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, there was little or no excitement in the House. A repetition of the offering (February 4, 1833) revealed great uneasiness. Mason, of Virginia, declared that, if this sort of thing continued, the end would be the abolition of slavery in the United States. Two years later the House declined to refer these petitions to the Committee on the District of Columbia, but laid them on the table. Still Adams persisted. January 7, 1836, Senator John C. Calhoun moved that two of these petitions relating to slavery in the District of Columbia be not received by the Senate. The debate raged for two months, when the motion was rejected; the petitions were received, and their request scorned. By May 26, 1836, the lower House had gone so far as to vote that all petitions relating to slavery should be laid on the table without being printed or referred to a committee. "I hold the resolution to be," said Mr. Adams, "a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents"—and he therefore refused to vote upon it. This gag rule was reenacted in the House in 1837, but in nowise did it deter John Quincy Adams from his almost daily pastime of offering petitions.

Attempt to Censure Adams

The climax came February 6, 1837, when the Massachusetts statesman asked leave to present a petition purporting to be from twenty-two slaves. The House burst into a storm of rage unparallelled in its history, which lasted three days. Adams was held to be a base "defiler of the House." He was threatened with prison for this incitement to insurrection; that he be censured at the bar by the Speaker was an almost unanimous demand. He took it with curious calm and, after the Southerners had for some time unloaded their abuse and threats, declared that they might punish him as severely as they pleased, but that they must permit him to set them right on one or two points. He had not offered the petition, but had merely asked for a ruling on it, as it was not a petition *for* the abolition of slavery, but one *against* abolition, the twenty-two slaves wishing to continue in chains! The speaker thereafter, a New York member, more than intimated that Adams was far gone in his second childhood. The second declared that Adams had only injured his cause, since he had "irritated almost to madness" his opponents, for his amusement. Intentional or otherwise, the presentation of that petition remains the best and most effective practical joke in the history of Congress. It aroused widespread indignation on both sides, and more than ever drew attention to the determination of Congress that Americans should not raise with their official representatives any questions bearing on slavery.

The Massachusetts legislature voted in this year against the congressional gag resolutions. Other States went on record, and petitions doubled and redoubled. In 1837-1838 the petitions bore no less than 200,000 signatures. Adams himself wrote on April 19, 1837: "In the South it [slavery] is a perpetual agony of conscious guilt and terror attempting to disguise itself under sophistical argumentation and braggart menaces." Indeed, the South by its violence and by this trampling underfoot of constitutional law was the best advertiser of the antislavery propaganda. Meanwhile, Adams became for once the hero of the abolitionists, whose extremists forgot for the moment that he was a Whig and opposed immediate emancipation. He was visited by many of the "fanatics," as they cheerfully called themselves—Birney, Garrison, Jackson, Whittier, Goodell, the Grimkés, and Benjamin Lundy. Their aid he both welcomed and sought in his contests in his district. He remained, however, opposed to separate political action, as he was outspoken against the annexation of Texas until it seemed to him hopeless to fight any longer. None the less, he drifted steadily toward the disunion attitude of the extreme abolitionists.

Massachusetts Abolitionists

Gradually other men of prominence joined the cause. Edmund Quincy, like Wendell Phillips, spoke out when Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered at Alton, Illinois, by a proslavery mob because he published an antislavery paper. Ellis Gray Loring, another man of highest Boston social position, and Francis Jackson, together with Edmund Quincy, called a meeting to protest against the Lovejoy murder, which filled Faneuil Hall with the despised abolitionists—the mayor now consenting. Both Phillips and Quincy were sons of former mayors of Boston. Quincy's father was also President of Harvard College; he made every social sacrifice to join the abolitionists, and became one of its most successful leaders, joining Garrison in his advocacy of non-resistance to force. Whatever he and Garrison and others could do to make it clear that they were opposed to forcible liberation they did. Loring, who was a distinguished lawyer, lost a large number of his numerous clients when he threw himself into the cause, and severed many pleasant and valuable social ties. "No one of the Boston circle of abolitionists was more beloved for his amiable spirit, or more trusted for judgment and integrity." To him, perhaps, more than to anyone else, was due the necessary financial support of the *Liberator*. In every one of its crises he was at the forefront to raise funds, for that journal was supported with difficulty.

Henry G. Chapman and his brilliant wife, Maria Weston Chapman, had early joined the Massachusetts abolitionists "against the earnest remonstrances of their pastor, Dr. William Ellery Channing, and under the condemnation of all their friends and acquaintances." So, too, did David Lee Child and his wife, Lydia Maria Child. Nevertheless, there were never enough of these converts to make the abolitionists fashionable, or to endanger their Spartan virtues by making their cause popular. To the end they were anathema to folk of their own kind; with some, even as late as when emancipation came to make the freeing of the slave a matter of national rightdoing.

The Literary Abolitionists

Nor did the approval of the cause by literary lights, such as Whittier, Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and James Russell Lowell, lend sanctity to it. Lowell, beginning in 1840, labored unceasingly for the cause, contributing in all more than fifty antislavery articles, besides much very effective verse. "The aim of the true reformer," he wrote in his first contribution, "is not only to put an end to Negro slavery in America; he is equally the sworn foe of tyranny throughout the world."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, though critical at first of "abolition bigots," became by 1840 a warm adherent of the cause. In 1844 he noted Garrison in his diary as "so masterly an agent for good. I cannot speak of that gentleman without respect." As late as 1851 Emerson was hissed and howled at by part of his audience when he spoke against the Fugitive Slave Law in Cambridge City Hall. Still another intellectual recruit was Professor Charles Follen of Harvard College, a former German revolutionist. To his advocacy of immediate abolition was attributed the failure of the college to renew his appointment when his professorship lapsed.

Like Emerson, the Rev. John G. Palfrey was at first lukewarm, although he had emancipated fifty slaves who came to him by inheritance; but the fight for Texas aroused him, as it did Charles Francis Adams and Charles Sumner. Though Palfrey was then Secretary of State of Massachusetts, he offered ringing resolutions at a meeting on November 4th, 1845, at which was formed a committee to oppose the annexation of Texas. This meeting marked the political debut of Sumner. Later, as Congressman, Palfrey did much to take the place left vacant by the death of John Quincy Adams.

Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch was in sympathy with the Garrisonian abhorrence of force and of political action. "As an orator he was unsurpassed in fluency, logical strictness and fervor, lacking only the measure of time and space." Tall of figure, of noble countenance, his dress was unconventional, his beard very long and flowing. To reinforce the regular speakers, Frederick Douglas, the foremost and ablest of the escaped slaves, was called in, as were other fugitives who could tell their tales from the platform, or show scarred backs or other evidences of ill treatment.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS AND CHARLES SUMNER

Of the other apostles, Sumner became steadily more effective as the years after 1845 passed, finally entering the Senate in December, 1851. William Ellery Channing at first seemed to the radical Garrisonian abolitionists timid, compromising, and really of help to the proslavery cause. Channing was extremely cautious, and preferred to attack a wrong as a wrong rather than the individuals responsible. Nevertheless he had a wide following; and when he declared for disruption of the Union rather than annexation of Texas, his voice carried far. As to Theodore Parker, there was no question at any time where or how he stood. He "touched, quickened, and inspired thousands of minds," and was a lofty pulpit figure in a period when the Christian church in America was all but entirely faithless to its tenets.

As such recruits came in, as the people of Massachusetts, like those of all other States, became more and more stirred, as the slavery issue became predominant, the Bay State movement made rapid strides. May 1, 1838, there were 222 societies in Massachusetts, and funds sufficient for the expenses of a large group of antislavery propagandists and for shipping antislavery circulating libraries. There were 2,000 such societies in the free States by 1840. By 1838 six of the twenty-eight Methodist conferences were permeated by the abolition doctrine, and fully one thousand Methodist clergymen were counted as adherents to the cause. State after State took political action against proslavery lawlessness and aggrandisement, and political conventions began to go on record on this all-dividing issue.

Antislavery Finance

The financing of this unpopular cause was never easy, yet at times the response was surprising to the abolitionists themselves. In New England a chief source of revenue was in the numerous fairs. Of these the Massachusetts (later National) Antislavery Bazaar, instituted in 1834, usually held in Faneuil Hall, was the social event of the year in the abolition movement. Gifts for it came from England and Europe, and often forty or fifty New England towns were represented. The evenings were distinguished by addresses given by the various leaders. In 1845 a committee of thirty women, headed by

Maria Weston Chapman, issued a little four-page paper, *The National Anti-Slavery Bazaar Gazette,* announcing the "great event." A special feature of these bazaars was the publication and sale for the cause of *"The Liberty Bell,"* a volume of contributed poems and articles, usually edited by William Lloyd Garrison, with a portrait of one of the leaders as frontispiece.

To the State abolition treasury came gifts from outside of Massachusetts, notably from such rich men as Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro, New York, an owner of 376,000 acres of land, and Arthur Tappan, of New York City. Still it is not surprising that the treasurer of the Massachusetts society accounted for only $2,036.74 in 1834. By 1839 this sum had risen to $10,883.45; in 1849 the amount was $6,188.02. With these small sums, the society made a prodigious amount of noise. Its paid and unpaid lecturers made every possible sacrifice and frequently went hungry. Salaries were of the lowest. In all branches of the work, in all the several abolition camps, there was remarkable devotion and great unselfishness. New England was at this time deeply interested in forums, lyceums, and debates on public platforms, and Massachusetts had an extraordinarily intelligent citizenship to appeal to, for out of 250,000 native adults it had but 1,000 illiterates.

National Antislavery Society

As for the National Antislavery Society, founded December 4th, 1833, it financed itself largely by levying upon the State societies, notably Massachusetts. As early as 1835 its annual budget called for $30,000, chiefly for the employment of field agents, the free distribution of journals and other printed matter, and the organizing of new societies—in 1836 they were formed at the rate of nearly one every day. Of this $30,000, $14,500 was raised at the annual convention in May, while $4,000 more came from the New England Anti-Slavery Society's Convention, at which Isaac Winslow electrified the assembly by presenting a thousand-dollar bill. The high-water mark of the national society's budget was $47,000 in 1840. As for the specifically abolition press, to which a considerable portion of these sums were devoted, it grew rapidly in numbers. This period was in a way the golden age of American journalism, since the low costs of printing a weekly —and the radical abolition papers were exclusively weeklies— made it possible for any daring spirit, with some to help him, to issue his own organ. These papers, of course, represented varying viewpoints; and some, like the Massachusetts *Abolitionist,* were founded expressly to offset and attack Garrison's *Liberator.*

Advance in Public Sentiment (1835–1840)

The outlook for the cause was so encouraging by 1836 as to lead Charles Sumner to write to Dr. Francis Lieber, "We are becoming Abolitionists at the North fast." Still there was much discrimination, contumely, and violence to face, which scarcely ended until the Civil War. Sumner was himself hooted and hissed at Harvard in 1848. A casual report at the end of 1835 reads thus: "Brother Phelps has been mobbed in Worcester County. . . Rev. Mr. Grosvenor has been mobbed in Worcester County. . . Charles Stuart has been mobbed in the western part of the State of New York. . . Rev. George Storrs has been mobbed (according to law) in New Hampshire." In 1837 not a single meeting house or hall of any size could be obtained for the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. It met in the loft of a hotel stable, which enabled Garrison to declare, "Abolition today, as on every day, stands upon a *stable* foundation."

The legislature granted, however, the use of the House of Representatives for a single evening session of the society. The House upheld John Quincy Adams and denounced the Federal House of Representatives for its violation of the right of petition, and soon thereafter it granted the right of trial by jury to fugitive slaves. In the face of reaction and bitterness, there was thus steady progress in Massachusetts.

Clerical Opposition (1835–1837)

This political advance was accompanied by increasingly bitter dissensions among the abolitionists themselves. The

Liberator's refusal to ally itself with any political movement or party, while calling on all abolitionists to vote against all in public life who showed proslavery sympathies, alienated those who felt that political action afforded the only hope of emancipation for the slaves. The *Liberator's* bitter criticisms of the churches and clergy aroused equally bitter resentment. Dr. Channing at the beginning of 1837 denounced the abolitionists in these words: "Their writings have been blemished by a spirit of intolerance, sweeping censure, and rash injurious judgment." To which Garrison retorted, "A million letters like this would never emancipate a single slave, but rather rivet his fetters more strongly."

In the middle of July, 1837, there appeared a pastoral letter from the General Association of Massachusetts to the orthodox Congregational churches under its charge, with the purpose of closing these churches to antislavery speakers and of barring especially the lectures of the sisters Grimké, two Southern women, daughters of a judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, former slaveholders, who came to live and work for abolition in the North.

This pastoral letter was soon (August 2) followed by an "Appeal to Clerical Abolitionists," signed by five clergymen headed by the Rev. Charles Fitch of Boston, directed against the Garrisonian "abuse of gospel ministers and excellent Christians" for failure to speak out and the demand of the extremists that antislavery notices must be read by any minister to whom they were handed. This in turn brought out a third "Appeal" from the abolitionists of the Andover Theological Seminary. This document dwelt especially upon the abolition attacks on the gospel ministers, criticizing their "unsettling the domestic economy, removing the landmarks of society and unhinging the machinery of government," and finally, their encouragement of "public lectures by females"—then an incredibly wicked blow at the very foundations of society, certain to unsex all women if continued.

Laymen like Lewis Tappan, who wrote to Garrison protesting that he had not "been sufficiently kind and Christlike," joined the protests. The editor's nonresistance seems to have hurt him little, his championing the emancipation of women a great deal. Besides being charged with infidelity, atheism, and a desire to destroy the churches, he was accused of advocating free love, communism, etc.

NEW RECRUITS (1837–1845)

These debates as to whether Garrison was a fit leader and whether he should or should not be removed from his editorship were interrupted by the murder of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, already mentioned. This reduction of the whole question of the personal liberty of all individuals down to the fate of one individual, who was murdered for abolition publications in a free State, stirred the whole country. Besides winning Wendell Phillips and Edmund Quincy as active recruits for the abolition propaganda, this crime roused the secular journals to the gravity of the proslavery attacks upon the freedom of the American press and other constitutional rights. It also induced Dr. Channing to join with some of the more militant abolitionists at the great Boston protest meeting in Faneuil Hall. At this the attorney-general of Massachusetts, James T. Austin, delivered a dissenting address which stirred Wendell Phillips to one of his greatest flights of oratory.

From that time on events outside of New England more and more engrossed the interest of antislavery men and the abolitionists, and brought to many who did not wish to be drawn into the struggle a realization that the fight was no longer only a battle for freedom for the slave, but had become also a combat for the constitutional right of the American citizen to speak in public and to write with complete liberty. It was thus a double fight which the antislavery men and the abolitionists were waging; in this phase of their militancy they could unite and agree.

VIOLENCE OF GARRISON (1837–1840)

In other directions the schisms among them became more pronounced. It was not only that Garrison would not approve of the resort to political methods and that he sponsored other

From a photograph Courtesy of Harvard College Library

WENDELL PHILLIPS

reform movements besides antislavery. He was given to censorious rebuking of other antislavery men who could not see eye to eye with him as to methods, and felt it his duty to show up what he considered the fallacies of other means of attack. That he was usually justified by the more distant event nowise mitigated the wrath he aroused. He vigorously opposed by name, as "unfit representatives of abolition," such friends as Gerrit Smith, William Goodell, and Myron Holley in central New York, and James G. Birney and others who were bent on a political antislavery movement and actually started the Liberty Party, as later he denounced Cassius M. Clay, the Kentucky abolitionist, for taking part in the slaveholders' war against Mexico. The Liberty and Free-soil Parties were targets for his broadsides as long as they existed.

Naturally there were reprisals. Thus at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts society, January 23rd, 1839, there was a determined though unsuccessful attempt to depose Mr. Garrison and to substitute another organ for the *Liberator,* following attacks upon him in the Middlesex and Cambridge societies. This was sponsored by Henry B. Stanton, Rev. Amos A. Phelps, Rev. Alanson St. Clair, and Rev. Charles T. Torrey (destined to die in a Baltimore jail while under a long sentence for running off slaves.)

Stanton opposed Garrison because of his nonresistance, his refusal to vote at any election or to countenance political action, but the latter was sustained by an overwhelming vote (180 to 24). The opposition at once proceeded to found a new weekly as a rival to the *Liberator,* the *Massachusetts Abolitionist,* to be edited by Henry B. Stanton and John G. Whittier. This was followed by a break with the New York executive committee of the national society, which had been alienated by Garrison's reply to the "Clerical Appeal" and his refusal to go to the polls. February 13, 1839, it notified the Massachusetts society that their financial arrangements were at an end and that thenceforth it would send its own financial agents into the State. At the quarterly meeting of the Massachusetts society its management was again upheld, by a vote of 142 to 23, in its controversy with the national society.

Rival Societies (1839–1840)

The inevitable result was a struggle for control, and the founding of a rival Bay State organization, "The Massachusetts Abolition Society." At a national convention of abolitionists held in Albany, July 31, 1839, the Garrisonians were outvoted and their leader withdrew, but out of the gathering came only tame resolutions looking toward political action.

The fight for the control of the national organization took place on May 12, 1840. Nearly four hundred and fifty delegates, four hundred from Massachusetts, journeyed to New York by special train and steamer; one hundred came from the Bay State by other routes. Both sides sought to control the convention, to which there were a thousand delegates. The Garrisonians won the first test by a majority of 110. The meeting went on record as opposing the formation of an abolition political party, or the nomination of abolition candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

Thereupon the minority seceded and formed "The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," which established the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* as its propaganda organ. It was destined to live less than two years, its expenses and those of its journal being borne by Lewis Tappan. None the less the secession affected the original society considerably, its income of $47,000 dropping to $7,000, and not rising above $12,000 until 1856. Its membership, both of individuals and allied societies, was never again as large. Two years later Garrison was elected president of the society, and conducted it until its disbandment.

Abolition in Politics (1840–1850)

The decade from 1840 to 1850 proved in some respects the bitterest and most trying for the antislavery forces of all complexions, for it witnessed the annexation of Texas, the indefensible Mexican War, and the resultant annexation from Mexico of Arizona, New Mexico, and California at the behest of the Slave Power. Yet the leaders of the movement remained calm and sanguine. With remarkable prevision they had accepted the annexation of Texas as inevitable long before the event. They rejoiced that it brought to their ranks recruits without number and that the State of Massachusetts officially protested both against the annexation of Texas and the war. Their sympathies were so deeply enlisted on the side of the Mexicans that, in the annual report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the year 1845, it was declared that "the triumphs of the American armies are the triumphs of cruelty, of injustice, of oppression," won by "a piratical horde of banditti." Wendell Phillips was the author of a resolution, unanimously passed, denouncing Governor George N. Briggs "as perjured in his own principles, as a traitor by his own showing—as one before whose guilt the infamy of Arnold . . . becomes respectability and decency." His offense was that he called on the Commonwealth to rally to a war to complete the annexation of Texas, "which he has himself so often declared 'a violation of the Constitution,' 'equivalent to Dissolution,'—a triumph of Slavery and Despotism."

Organization of Antislavery Parties (1840–1848)

With feelings running as high as this, it is not surprising that more and more the radical wing emphasized their cry of "No Union with Slaveholders"—to the dissatisfaction of a group of men who were then being drawn into the movement in the firm belief that emancipation could only be secured by political means. Typical of these was Charles Sumner, who took his first plunge into politics in 1845, six years before he entered the United States Senate from Massachusetts. Dr. Bowditch and many others turned first to the Liberty Party and then to the Free-soil Party in their impatience for results. The dissolution of the Union and the abrogation of the Constitution, "which bind the Slave and the Free in one inevitable chain," was voted by the American Anti-Slavery Society on May 7, 1844. By a vote of 250 to 24, the annual New England Convention on May 28, 1844, also voted for the motto "No Union with Slaveholders." Garrison called the Constitution a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell—involving both parties in atrocious criminality." Said Wendell Phillips: "Love it as we may, and cherish it as we do, equally with the loudest of our opposers, we say: Perish the Union when its cement must be the blood of the slave!" In that year there were held one hundred antislavery conventions in Massachusetts, and in all of them the disunion doctrine made itself felt. Gradually the leaders became convinced that if there was any hope of heading off the annexation of Texas it could only be by stressing the threat of disunion if the South insisted. But the revolt of public sentiment in the North was not yet strong enough; Massachusetts politicians were still too much afraid of the dominant South.

The founding of the Free-soil Party in 1848 merely increased the Garrisonian attacks upon all antislavery men who wished to turn to the political weapon, particularly as it opened its doors to recruits who were not antislavery men and, like the Liberty Party, did not stand for immediate emancipation. Naturally when, in 1848, the same antislavery men who in 1840 had nominated James G. Birney against Martin Van Buren (polling less than 7,000 votes) turned around as Free-soilers and nominated the same Van Buren, the *Liberator* had a welcome opportunity to challenge the common sense and judgment of the political wing.

Denunciation of the Churches (1835–1856)

Only in their steady fire upon the church did the abolitionists surpass their criticisms of the antislavery politicians. Upon the proslavery ministers their attacks never ceased. As far back as 1839 the Massachusetts society resolved "that no man who apologizes for slavery, or refuses to hear an open and faithful testimony against it, . . . can have the least claim to be regarded as a minister of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." In almost every issue of the *Liberator,* in every report of the leading societies, the proslavery or silent clergy are scolded savagely, with unending reiteration.

As a lesser issue, both wings of the party continued to demand the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the

District of Columbia, as well as to support John Quincy Adams. Inconsistent the radicals thought him; yet their gratitude they never withheld from John Quincy Adams, the "Old Man Eloquent," especially when it was given to him to move the abrogation of Rule 25 of the House of Representatives, under which the gag had been so successfully applied for years in the matter of antislavery petitions. By a vote of 108 to 80 the rule was abolished. The South stood beaten. "Thus after ten years of hard fighting," reported the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, "the people of the Free States have indicated their right of praying their own servants to do what justice and the plainest dictates of enlightened self-interest demand." Adams himself, in 1848, declared that the Constitution was become but a shadow and that the vital and animating principle of the Government had been only the "preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery."

Antislavery Legislation (1840–1854)

There remained plenty of domestic issues for the Massachusetts agitators. The law forbidding racial intermarriage was repealed in 1844. After some years of protest the Jim-Crowing of negroes on two railroad lines was ended by a threat of legislation. The battle against the color line in Boston schools was not so easily won, but was steadfastly waged into the 'fifties. Warmly the abolitionists for years sought to uphold the hands of their State when it demanded from South Carolina and Louisiana that colored sailors on northern ships should not be held in jail, as if criminals, during the sojourn of their ships in the ports of those States. The Massachusetts Legislature acted vigorously, and in 1843 provided for the appointment of commissioners to deal with those States. Both agents, one of them the distinguished Samuel Hoar, were driven out—Mr. Hoar, under threats of personal violence. As a result the State in 1845 entered an "earnest and solemn Protest against the hostile acts of South Carolina" —with no result.

The case of a fugitive slave, George Latimer, who would have been returned to the South had his freedom not been purchased for $400, resulted in the legislature's passing a law in 1843 in accordance with antislavery demands, making it a penal offense for "any magistrate or State officer to assist in the arrest or delivery of any persons claimed as a fugitive slave and forbidding the use of all State jails for the slave's detention"—an act which put the duty of being official slave catchers upon the Federal officials. Latimer's was the first of the celebrated fugitive slave cases to stir the cities of the North. Gradually these began to pile up, arousing greater and greater anger and indignation, until finally the rendition of Burns in 1854 stirred such deep passions that it became impossible, even with the aid of United States Marines, to return any more fugitives.

Status of Antislavery (1850)

Thus, as the second decade of the intense and uncompromising moral agitation drew to a close, the fires of the conflict rose higher and higher. If with each year the abolitionists were more and more certain of the triumph of the cause, they could not, of course, foresee the approach of the Kansas-Missouri conflict; nor had the name of John Brown appeared above the horizon. Nevertheless they were so convinced that their cause involved human liberty everywhere and every sort of righteous living, that they felt that time fought with them, however many the triumphs of the slave power. They were wise and farsighted in their understanding that their greatest allies were the aggressiveness and the excesses of the slaveholders themselves, each of which roused multitudes to opposition. The abolitionists understood clearly, too, that economically the slave system nurtured within itself the seeds of death, that its unquenchable thirst for fresh lands to exhaust was certain to go unsatisfied. They were primarily concerned, therefore, in keeping Massachusetts in the forefront of the agitation, a position occupied by the Bay State from the founding of its first antislavery society.

None believed that the end was so near; that in 1850 the disunion some preached was but eleven years away; that the Great Emancipator was quietly practicing law in Illinois, and that by his pen the southern slaves would be freed within thirteen years. Steadily both antislavery wings came nearer together; steadily the old State led the Nation towards freedom; more and more its officials and legislature responded to that public sentiment which was now awake to the fact that no republic could be half slave and half free and still endure.

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CHAPTER XII

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS
(1789–1861)

By Harlan H. Ballard
Librarian of the Berkshire Athenæum

Geographical and Historical Setting

The only group of States in the Union known for centuries by a common name is New England. During the voyage of Francisco de Ulloa in 1539, the name California was applied to the peninsula discovered by Jimenez in 1533. In time it came to be used for the entire coast which still retains it. In 1579 Sir Francis Drake, believing himself to be its discoverer, named the same coast Nova Albion, or New England. The new name was rejected in favor of the older, however, and thus released, was chosen by Captain John Smith in 1615 for his own new-found shore. "New England," he wrote, "is that part of America opposite to Nova Albion in the South Sea. In regard thereto, being in the same latitude, I called it New England, and at my humble suit our most gracious King Charles was pleased to confirm it by that title."

The oneness of New England has a deeper source than the accident of a comprehensive name; during part of its history before the Revolution it was actually a political unit. After the possession and government of the land had been granted by conflicting charters to several companies, all rights and powers became vested in the Massachusetts Bay Company, which for a time included within its jurisdiction all the territory which was afterward divided into the six States of modern New England. In common with all the other English colonies, Massachusetts acted as a vice-regency of the King; but from the beginning a spirit of self-sufficiency was manifested here, which grew until in 1776 it yielded as its natural fruit the Declaration of Independence.

Divergent views of religious and civic polity led to the establishment of self-governing colonies centered in Providence, Hartford, New Haven, and elsewhere, but these were soon forced by the pressure of Indian and Dutch aggression to form the Confederation of New England, described in Volume I of this work. A certain bond of unity was found in their common English ancestry and in their longing for religious and political freedom from English persecution. It was hard for them to live peaceably together, but fear of foreign domination provided an antidote to internal dissension. Hence the history of Massachusetts, or any part of it, cannot be understood without some knowledge of all New England. This is particularly true of western Massachusetts; for the settlers of this region came not only from the older towns on the coast but also from Connecticut and Rhode Island. It is difficult to write the territorial history of Massachusetts on account of the frequent changes in its size and character. The permanent eastern boundary of the State is the Atlantic Ocean, but the northern, southern, and western lines were determined by compromise after years of dispute. The historian of western Massachusetts is perplexed by the uncertainty of the boundary lines; for while the boundaries of this section have been fixed, as long as the Commonwealth has existed, on the north, south, and west, the eastern division from the main colony has never been determined by legislation. Josiah Gilbert Holland included in his *Western Massachusetts* the four counties Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Hampshire, and also definite portions of Worcester County. Nevertheless there is one natural eastern line of this region; viz., the Connecticut River. The counties on the left bank of this river are linked into a common history with the counties to the eastward, which is very different from that of the seaboard and adjacent sections of the State.

The most practicable solution of this geographical problem is to confine the story to the four western counties as they now stand. These form a region which is neither a natural nor a political unit, but rather the disassociated fragments of old

Hampshire county; from which Berkshire was set off in 1761; Franklin, in 1811; and Hampden, in 1812. These four counties have been treated in the discussion of the judiciary divisions of the State. Nevertheless, before the division of Hampshire the courts of that county sat in alternate years in Springfield and Northampton. Here must be sought the earlier records of nearly all towns of western Massachusetts—in the probate records in Northampton, and in the records of deeds in Springfield.

Natural Features of Western Massachusetts

What are the characteristics of western Massachusetts as it has been fashioned by the craftsmanship of nature and freed from all dividing lines of human origin? The picture has been drawn by Holland in the Introduction to his *History of Western Massachusetts*: "Among the hills of northern New Hampshire and the mountains on the southern border of Canada, the Quonektakut river has its source, forming for a long distance the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire. It sweeps across the western portion of Massachusetts and, passing through the State to which it has given its name, discharges its waters into the sea. Another natural feature, the Green Mountain Range, originates in the same northern latitude and, giving its name to Vermont, traverses that State and, rolling across Massachusetts still farther west, passes into Connecticut and loses itself upon its seaward looking plains.

"In their passage through Massachusetts the river and the mountain range have imparted the grandeur and beauty that characterize its surface. Fertile and beautiful meadows spread out on either hand until they meet the eastern and western slopes that gather tribute for the sea-bound stream. This river, these meadows, these inward looking slopes, and these tributary streams have determined the character of the industry which has appropriated them to the uses of human life. There is hardly a farm or a work-shop, a dwelling or a church, a road or a mill but is connected in some way with the Connecticut river. Thus also has the Green Mountain range given its character to Berkshire and shaped there also the plastic forms of industry. The streams that gather on the mountain sides turn the wheels of lonely or clustered manufactures; herds and flocks feed upon the sweet grasses that grow among the rocks and upon the smoother slopes, while many a favored home-lot nestles down upon a broad intervale watered by a stream that has found an open path, and shut out from bleak winds by the elevations that rise on every side.

"This beautiful realm won from a wilderness by toil has had an interesting history. The links of association that bind the present population to the past are strong. Multitudes who now till the soil of the eastern valley, or pursue the rougher husbandry of the western hills, bear the names and the blood of the first settlers; while the streams, hills, and meadows from the Housatonic to the Connecticut and from Hoosac to Taconic are still called by names first shaped by the Indian tongue. This region, beautiful in natural scenery, varied in its industry and inhabited by descendants of the noblest men that ever founded a nation, must have a glorious destiny."

Holland could not have thus transformed the map of western Massachusetts into a charming picture if he had not been a poet, or if he had not lived among and loved the scenes which he describes. To a geographer a map may seem to be merely a flat sheet of paper covered with black lines, sprinkled with numerous dots, labeled with unfamiliar names; but to a mind enriched by hallowed memories and gifted with imagination those curving lines swell into rolling rivers and tumbling brooks, those pencilled hatchings grow into rockbound and forested mountains to be climbed for the sunrise.

"The first outlook from Greylock was magnificent. The east tinted with ruddy light, the landscape floating in a dreamy twilight out of which the higher hilltops were becoming distinctly outlined, and the west, unconscious that day was dawning, still under the stars. Wonderful was the effect of slowly increasing light upon the sleeping world. Hills before blended in a common mass took form and substance. Valleys hidden from view unveiled their beauty with maidenly reluctance; and the whole expanse became lighted with ever increasing radiance. The grandest effects were at the west, at the south, and to the north. Hilltop after hilltop flashed the advancing watchfires of morning, while here and there a wanton window flaunted back the rays. In the underbrush a bird chirped a morning greeting to his mate."

Imagination changes winding lines of ink to rivers, and shaded lines to hills. The surface of the map includes undulating meadows and forests and fields of waving grain; and each tiny dot expands into a quiet village or a busy city throbbing with human life.

Origin of the Names of Towns

Place names are fossil ripple marks of history. Our forefathers retained enough Indian names to suggest the red man's language and traditions; but such names they used chiefly for rivers, lakes, and mountains, to whose wild beauty they are best adapted. Most of the New England towns were named in memory of English homes. Such names form a procession on the map from Gloucester to New London, from Dorchester to Hartford, and westward and northward through Connecticut to Hadley and Sunderland, and in Berkshire County to Tyringham and Stockbridge.

By the time that the towns further north required names, disaffection with England had begun; hence the names next chosen were those of Englishmen believed to be friendly to the American colonists: for example, Barrington, Lenox, Richmond, Pitt, and Holland. Later followed the names of American patriots: Washington, Lee, Otis, Hancock, and Adams.

Official Basis of the Towns

In this study of the economic expansion of western Massachusetts from 1820 to 1861, it would be out of place to attempt the individual histories of the one hundred towns in that section of the State. It is, however, possible to determine what common characteristics and what bonds of common interest existed among these scattered settlements, which may make it possible to regard them as a united people. With few exceptions, the settlers had a common ancestry, a common language, a common form of government, and a common religion. They set up similar county courts. They established identical forms of town government by similar local officers elected by the same procedure, all based on colonial or State legislation, elucidated by central judicial decisions. They belonged, with a few exceptions, to the Congregational Church, which in many important matters was a part of the town organization.

All these towns were organized by individual statutes of the General Court; and their organizing acts, which were in effect charters, were granted as a rule subject to the same legal conditions. This system of local town organization is interesting, and seems to have originated in Massachusetts. We do not find the general form of town organization definitely prescribed in any colonial or provincial statute. Fragmentary quotations from statutes are frequently found in the introductory chapters of town histories. By comparing and piecing together a number of such fragments, it appears that the following conditions were generally laid down for the local town government:

(1) Towns could be founded only by lawful owners or "proprietors" of a sufficient quantity of land. Their land was called a "proprietary" or a "propriety."

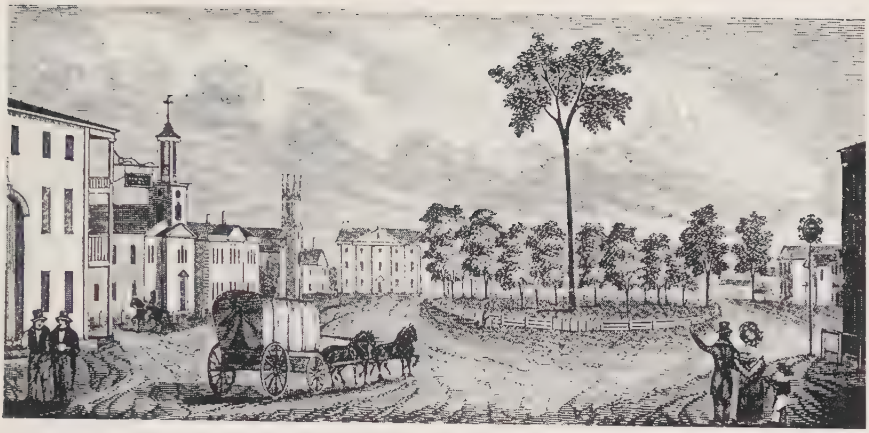
(2) The approved normal size for a township was thirty-six square miles, though there were many deviations from this size.

(3) The required number of settlers was sixty families, expected to be actually living on the proprietary land within a specified time, usually from five to seven years.

(4) The proprietors must lay out a suitable main street with necessary cross roads, and roads connecting with other towns. The main street must not be less than eight rods in width, and the other roads not less than four rods.

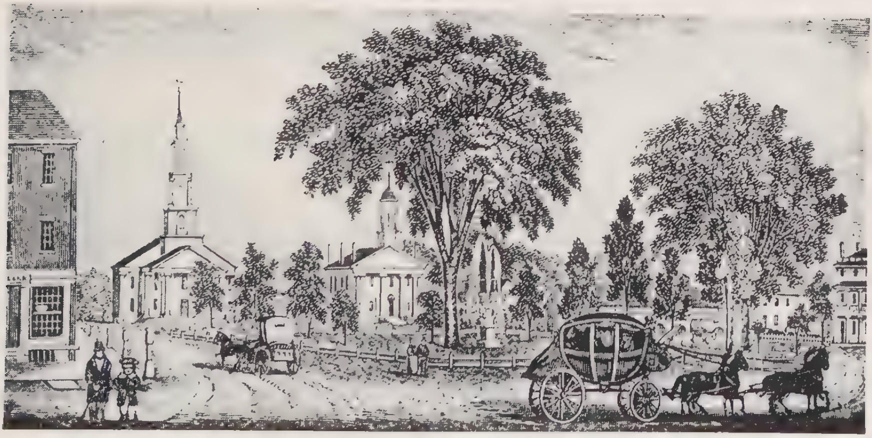
(5) In the central part of the town the proprietors must lay out sixty plots and draw lots for choice of them. Hence lands so drawn were called "lots."

(6) Besides these sixty lots, three lots were to be reserved: one for the first settled minister, called the "minister's lot";



From Barber's Historical Collections

CENTRAL PART OF PITTSFIELD



From Barber's Historical Collections

COURT SQUARE, SPRINGFIELD

one was called the "ministry lot" (pronounced "min-is-*try*"), intended for the perpetual support of the ministry, or less frequently for the use of a second minister; and one was for the support of education, called the "school lot."

(7) Within a reasonable time every settler was to build a house at least eighteen feet square and of "seven foot stud," and to bring five acres to English grass or to plowing.

(8) The town must engage within one year a good and learned protestant minister, and engage to pay him a suitable salary.

(9) A meeting-house of specified dimensions must be erected at once on a suitable site as near the center of the town as possible; and a lot of eight acres must be laid out near it for an open common, a drill-ground, and a burying place.

(10) Failure to fulfill these conditions was punishable by the forfeiture of the land and by the revocation of the grant.

These regulations are frequently set forth in Massachusetts colonial records from about 1650 to 1776. That they were not required after the Declaration of Independence indicates that they had been imposed by the State with little regard to local desires. Forgetful of this, many town historians have attributed an exaggerated degree of religious fervor to the proprietors because of their prompt reservation of lots for church and school, and appropriation of money to hire a minister.

These regulations were not imposed upon towns in Connecticut unless founded on a grant of land from Massachusetts; but they were required by the Plymouth Company in 1689 in the case of "Mount Hope Lands," which involved the incorporation of Bristol, Rhode Island; and also by Governor Wentworth in connection with many New Hampshire towns. They apply also to sixty or more land grants to towns which afterward became part of the State of Vermont. Governor Wentworth, however, expressly stipulated that the minister should be of the Church of England.

OFFICIAL PRACTICE IN FOUNDING TOWNS

After chartering a new town, the Colony or Province determined, or commissioned the proprietors to determine, the size of each lot; prescribed the extent and character of fences, roads, and bridges; appointed committees to call the first town meeting; arranged the order of its business, nominated its chairman, and sometimes appointed the first selectmen. They then kept vigilant eyes upon the town, scrutinized its stated reports, and punished it for the non-fulfillment of specified conditions. The whole procedure is well illustrated by the following typical instance taken from the printed *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (Volume X, Chap. 73, p. 35):

"Resolve upon the Report of the Setlemt of Rutland (1720):

"We The Subscribers of the Committee for Setling the Town of Rutland, Considering the Grant of the said Town made by the Hon^{bl} General Court, tho't it became us humbly to represent to this Great & Honbl Court our complying with & fulfilling, the Directions & Conditions of the said Grant, Which were that within seven years time, Sixty Families be settled thereon, & sufficient Land reserved for a Gospel Ministry & School &c, Accordingly Sixty Dwelling Houses are erected & Sixty Families Dwelling in them, (a List of the Names of the Heads of them is here exhibited) & a convenient Ministry Lot & School are Assign'd. W^{ch} that this Honbl Court might be duly ascertain'd of, We prevail'd with three of the worthy Members of this Honbl Court, Viz. John Chandler & Francis Fulham Es^{qrs} & Mr Joseph Wilder to come upon the Place & observe the same, Wch we humbly presume are ready to confirm this our report, And we crave Leave further to add, That the proprietors of said Township have expended several hundred Pounds in Erecting a Meeting House, Cutting & Making of Roads to the said Town passable, In getting & Maintaining a Learned Orthodox Minister, & Bringing forward Settlements thereon, Wch We hope, If Divine Providence continue to smile upon us, will be a good & serviceable town in this his Majesty's Province.

"Estes Hatch
Thomas Smith Thomas How
Jacob Stephens Stephen Minot

"We the Subscribers testify to the Truth of the aforewritten Report, As to the Number & Houses & Names of the Heads of them, Having visited & seen each Family as set^{led} upon the Spot, the thirteenth & fourteenth days of October 1720, We also certify That we were shown a Lot for the Ministry & another for the School, Each containing thirty Acres (Being the same in Quantity and as good in Quality as the rest of the Lotts). The Rights of which are equal with the other Lotts, both very conveniently laid being near the Meeting House, There is also Land left for a Green containing twelve Acres or Upwards, On which stands the Meeting House very commodious, The Dimensions wherof, were fifty feet long, Forty feet wide & twenty feet Stud:

"(Sign'd) John Chandler
Francis Fulham
Joseph Wilder"

A similar procedure was followed in the grant of the town of Sandisfield in 1735:

On the 15th day of January, 1735, "At a Great and General Court assembled for his Majestie's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," Edmund Quincy, Esq., from the committee of both Houses, made report on the petition for a grant of land lying between Westfield and Sheffield. The committee were of opinion that there should be four townships of land opened upon the road between those towns, and that "they be contiguous to one another or either join to Sheffield or to the township lately granted to the proprietors of Suffield, and each of the contents of six miles square," and that they be "situated as near the road as the land will allow, and that there be 63 home lots laid out in each township, one of which to be for the first settled minister, one for the second settled minister, one for the school and one for each grantee who shall draw equal shares in all future divisions," said lots to be laid out in a "regular, compact and defensible manner as may be," and that they give security to the value of forty pounds to perform all things on their lots and within their respective township, wherein they are admitted, in the same manner as the "Grantees in any of the towns between the rivers Connecticut and Merrimack," and that a committee of five suitable persons be appointed by the court for the service aforesaid, and "impowered and obliged as is before provided for, with respect to bringing forward the line of towns between the rivers aforesaid."

Sources of the Settlers in Western Massachusetts (1781–1820)

Bold and hardy frontiersmen were the first adventurers into western Massachusetts. Towns were often colonized by groups of families, by entire neighborhoods, or by seceding congregations; though incongruous elements were if possible excluded. Scotch-Irish pilgrims peopled Sudbury, Blandford, Pelham, and Colrain. Bands of Quakers made their way from Rhode Island to northern Berkshire, and built their church in Cheshire. Shakers from New York formed settlements in Hancock and Tyringham. Baptists left Framingham for New Framingham, now Lanesborough.

But the great impulse for immigration into the hill country of western Massachusetts came from the farmers and tradesmen in the overcrowded towns of Connecticut. The only vacant lands lay to the north and west. Many families moved up the Connecticut Valley into New Hampshire and the grants which later were included in the State of Vermont.

The Revolutionary War checked the movement to more distant places; the expedition of Burgoyne in 1777 disrupted the settlements in northern New York; and the western frontier of Massachusetts was pushed nearly to the Hudson River. The peaceful wooded hills of Hampshire and Berkshire, therefore, attracted men who sought cheap land, and those whose friends had met ill fortune in Pennsylvania or

New York. Titles to land were unclouded, and the stream of immigration increased greatly at the close of the war.

Middlefield, for example, which in 1780 had only about thirty families, received during the next ten years nearly a hundred more. Besides 114 settlers from Connecticut, 87 came from Massachusetts towns. The Connecticut men proved to be the better home makers: they acted together and, being in the majority, practically owned the town. Of the selectmen chosen in Middlefield between 1793 and 1800, thirteen were from Connecticut and four from Massachusetts; and between 1800 and 1830 all were from Connecticut except one.

Soon after 1800 large tracts of farm land were opened for settlement in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. These were more fertile, more easily tilled, and also cheaper than New England farms. Many of the restless and uncongenial minority yielded to the temptation. Within ten years nearly a hundred families emigrated; and by 1820 about ninety more young men and their families had left Middlefield to its peaceful and harmonious, but decadent, solidarity.

Political and Religious Unification
(1780–1820)

The distinguishing characteristics thus impressed upon the towns of western Massachusetts continued to mark them for many years, and, indeed, in some instances may be still observed. Nevertheless, the necessity of united action against common enemies, the uniform procedure of their local government, the gradual removal of discordant elements by emigration, and the harmonizing effect of propinquity and intermarriage combined to make one people out of many towns. After the adoption of the national and State constitutions, dawned an era of religious toleration and even of friendly coöperation among the denominations. Among the first evidences of this was the relief of other denominations from taxes levied for the support of a Congregational minister.

Usually the Baptists were the first to profit by this more liberal spirit, as they had been among the first to protest against Puritan intolerance. In 1635, Roger Williams and his colony of Anabaptists established their independent organization in Providence; but as late as the time of the "Great Awakening" in 1740, there were only eight Baptist churches in Massachusetts. Before 1780 they had increased to 73. In towns incorporated later, a Baptist church usually came next in order after the Congregational, and in a few instances was the first to appear. The Methodists generally came third in point of time. They were handicapped by the antagonism of John Wesley to the Revolution, which he called the "wicked rebellion." The Episcopal church suffered severely from the Revolution, inasmuch as many of its clergymen had been loyal to England. For years after the war an Episcopal church was the last to be started in a newly organized town. The Baptists on the other hand were everywhere welcomed as they had been uniformly patriotic, zealous, and friendly.

A significant development of the times was the famous "Haystack prayer-meeting" in Williamstown in 1806. To the inspiration of the young participants in that storm-driven gathering, with the addition of Adoniram Judson and other students in Andover, the American Board of Foreign Missions, a Congregational body, ascribes its origin. We have almost lost sight of the significant fact that through these same young men came also the prime incentive to Baptist missions in America. Adoniram Judson with his wife and Reverend Luther Rice sailed to India under the auspices of the new Congregational board. Forbidden by the East India Company to preach in Calcutta, Judson consulted Reverend William Carey, the distinguished Baptist missionary from England, was baptized by him, and consequently dropped by the American Board. News of this conversion, brought to America, led to the organization in 1814 of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

In several of the towns of Berkshire and Hampden Counties union churches were formed, in which Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists worshipped together; and in 1792, Mr. Azariah Eggleston of Lenox, an ardent Episcopalian, gave a large Christmas party in rooms decorated with evergreens, where oranges first appeared in Berkshire, and gathered around his festal board "Orthodox" and Episcopalian neighbors, who ate and drank in fraternal fashion with their respective clerical leaders, Reverend Daniel Burhans and Reverend Samuel Shepard.

The Protestant semimonastic order, of Shakers, which arose about 1800, was friendly to all other sects, but was exclusive in its own form of worship. After 1820, many other denominations found space for their churches. Before 1860, Roman Catholics were acknowledged as fellow Christians, and have since grown rapidly in numbers and influence throughout western Massachusetts.

Social Unification (1800–1820)

A powerful though silent influence for general harmony must be credited to the Masonic fraternity, which before 1800 had established several flourishing lodges in the western counties. Many of these cherished charters signed by Paul Revere; and in all of them was breathed the spirit of their great American brothers, Washington, Franklin, Price, and Warren. In these lodges men of all creeds met on a common level and did their part toward promoting the brotherhood of man.

Another fraternity, the Washington Benevolent Society, was useful as a check upon the too rapid and dangerous spread of ultrademocratic ideas, and helped to save this country from such terrors as attended and followed the French Revolution. Founded in New York City in 1806, by Gulian C. Verplanck and Isaac Sebring, as a Federal organization in opposition to Tammany Hall, it extended its branches throughout all the States, and won thousands of adherents to the conservative policies of Washington.

The first branch outside of New York was established in Pittsfield, Mass., June 13, 1811. Through the influence of the Appletons, Goulds, Sedgwicks, and Dwights, the "Massachusetts Washington Benevolent Society" was formed in Boston in 1812 in the office of Nathan Hale; and it celebrated the twenty-fourth anniversary of Washington's first inauguration on April 30, 1813. An oration was delivered by Josiah Quincy in the Old South Church. The procession was escorted by the Boston Light Infantry, the Winslow Guards, and the New England Rangers. Two hundred and fifty schoolboys marched, in white and blue, wearing wreaths of Washington roses, and with miniature copies of the "Farewell Address," bound in red morocco, suspended on their breasts. In the procession, composed of thirteen divisions corresponding to the thirteen States, were William Sullivan, Josiah Quincy, Nathan Hale, and Nathan Appleton; as vice-presidents of the society, Governor Caleb Strong, Lieutenant Governor Phillips, and Colonel Humphrey. After the death of its founder, Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, in 1870, William Cullen Bryant closed a memorial address with this apostrophe: "Farewell! thou that hast already entered upon thy reward! May all those who are as nobly endowed as thou and who as willingly devote themselves to the service of God and mankind be spared to the world as long as thou hast been."

Intellectual Energies (1780–1820)

Besides the beneficent influence of Williams and Amherst Colleges, and of other institutions of learning, including academies and public schools elsewhere described in detail, the lives and teachings of two men, Elkanah Watson and Amos Eaton, were noteworthy factors in the material and intellectual development and consequent unification of western Massachusetts prior to 1820. Watson, a gentleman of the old school, a Masonic friend of Washington and Franklin, purchased the elegant mansion and extensive farm now owned by the Country Club of Pittsfield. There from 1807 to 1816 he studied, practised, and taught to the struggling farmers of Berkshire, of Massachusetts, and of the nation, the principles of intensive agriculture and stock breeding. He organized and conducted the Berkshire Agricultural Society, introduced the first pair of merino sheep, caused their wool to be manufactured by the best artists into fine cloth (samples of which were exhibited in our principal cities), and was the first promoter of the woolen factories for which Berkshire has long been famous.

Before coming to Pittsfield at the age of fifty, he had travelled extensively, constantly striving to understand and to alleviate the peculiar hardships of the newer settlements. He was one of the prime movers for better road building, and in the inauguration of the canal system of New York. He founded the Albany Bank. By the example of a life of unremitting and unselfish industry, by a succession of carefully prepared addresses, and by a wide correspondence with learned societies and distinguished men, notably President John Adams, he made his influence far-reaching and permanent. Watson was painted by Copley in powdered wig, ruffled shirt and silver knee-buckles.

Professional Men (1800–1820)

In striking contrast was the appearance of Amos Eaton, graduate of Williams, 1799, a huge and rugged teacher, who lectured before his alma mater on practical geology and botany with such acceptance that he issued the first edition of his *Manual of Botany* in 1817. The petition of the entire student body for the privilege of publishing the work of this visiting lecturer, and the accompanying gift of the money and time required for that purpose, is perhaps unparalleled in the history of American colleges, and affords a sure proof of Eaton's unique power in arousing enthusiastic devotion to science and to himself among his hearers. He gave courses of a like character in many towns of Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Hampshire Counties, and in Connecticut and New York. To use the later words of President Merrill Gates, he knew "how to ring the rising bell in the dormitory of the soul." Everywhere he kindled the lasting interest of men and women of all ranks. He inspired the scholarly activities of Albert Hopkins, Ebenezer Emmons, Chester Dewey, James Hall, James Dwight Dana, John Torrey, Lewis Caleb Beck, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and Mary Lyon.

Miss Lyon spent several months under his roof, and received from him personal instruction in scientific subjects, which at that time were reserved for men. She became the founder of Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary. Mr. Van Rensselaer furnished the means which enabled Eaton to establish the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, where between 1824 and 1842 he graduated most of the professional civil engineers in America. These were men thoroughly grounded, so far as knowledge then extended, in the principles and practice of surveying, bridge building, chemistry, physics, intensive gardening, road making, botany, and geology: in a word, in the practical application of science to the common concerns of life.

In 1823, Dr. Henry H. Childs and other trustees secured a charter which enabled them to open in Pittsfield the Berkshire Medical Institution, from which until its close in 1867 there flowed a constant stream of educated physicians, who ministered not only to the health but to the moral and social improvement of many towns in western Massachusetts.

MANUFACTURES AND MANUFACTURERS

Before 1820 also, advantage had been taken of the abundance of water power furnished by the Connecticut, Hoosac, and Housatonic Rivers and their mountain tributaries, and numerous factories were in successful operation, including sawmills, fulling mills, tanneries, nail factories, gristmills, and woolen mills.

Out of the many firms and corporations who developed manufacturing in western Massachusetts may be noted the following: Arthur Schofield Pontoosuc Manufacturing Co., Pittsfield Manufacturing Co., D. & H. Stevens, and J. V. Barker, of Pittsfield; the Beaver Mill of Wells, Brayton & Co., Ingalls, Taylor, & Co., the Union Mill, and the Centreville Factory of S. Blackinton & Co., North Adams; Berkshire Woolen Co., Great Barrington; Charles H. Plunkett, Plunkett and Kittredge, and Hinsdale and Richards, of Hinsdale; satinet mill of L. Bassett & Co., Lee; Ayers & Aldrich, Granby; Conway Manufacturing Co., Conway; Greenfield Manufacturing Co., makers of doeskins, Greenfield; Otis Manufacturing Co., Otis; and Gilbert & Stevens, of Ware.

Cotton mills also abounded, including the Chicopee Manufacturing Co., Cabot Manufacturing Co., Perkins Mills, and Dwight Manufacturing Co., of Chicopee; Hampden Mills, Hadley Falls; Boston Duck Co., Thorndike Manufacturing Co., and Palmer Manufacturing Co., of Palmer; Glasgow Mills (ginghams), South Hadley; Shattuck & Whittin, Coleraine; Agawam Canal Co., West Springfield; Plunkett, Clapp & Co., and S. C. Russell, Pittsfield; O. Arnold & Co., Richardson, White & Co., Brayton & Co., Greylock Mills, Stephen Brown & Co. (later S. Johnson & Co.) of North Adams; Pollock & Co., S. L. Arnold & Co., Plunkett & Wheeler, R. Leonard & Co., Plunkett & Brown, Adams, Seeley & Co., B. F. Phillips & Co., of South Adams; Elisha Jenks, Cheshire; Munson & Peabody, and the Monument Mills, at Housatonic.

Quite as important among the industries of this section as woolen or cotton was the manufacture of paper. Among early paper mills were the David Ames Paper Co., of Chicopee; Parsons Paper Co., and the Hadley Falls Co., of Holyoke; Carew Co., of South Hadley; Southworth Manufacturing Co., West Springfield; L. L. Brown Paper Co., of South Adams; Warren Wheeler & Co., and John Cariel & Co., New Marlborough; Wiswall, Crane, and Willard, David Carson & Sons, the Pioneer Mill of Zenas Crane and Martin Chamberlin, Crane & Co., the Bay State Mill of Crane and Wilson, the Defiance Mill of Henry Chamberlin & Co., and the Excelsior of Z. M., & J. B. Crane, in Dalton; the paper-mills of Samuel Church, Owen & Hurlburt, Benton & Garland, Charles Ballard, Smith & May, E. S. May, Platner & Smith, of Lee; and of Gibson & Colt, of Pittsfield.

Noteworthy, also, were the print works of Arnold, Jackson & Co., North Adams; the charcoal works of Chaffee & Sons, Becket; the glass factories of Cheshire and Lenox; the iron mines and iron works of Lanesborough, Lenox, Richmond, and West Stockbridge; the chair factory of Hale & Gould in Erving; the tanneries of A. P. Butler & Co., in North Adams, H. Nelson Dean in South Adams, J. W. Wheeler &

Co. in Becket, and Benjamin F. Pond in Montague; the boot and shoe factories of Millard & Co., and E. Rogers & Co., North Adams; the confectionery factory of Kibbe, Crane & Co., Springfield; factories for making steam boilers, engines, etc., conducted by McKay and Hoadley, and later by Dodge and Francis, in Pittsfield; the Springfield Car and Locomotive works of T. W. Wason; six carriage factories in Belchertown; seven whip factories in Westfield; J. T. Trask's match factory in Gill; the gold-pen factory of Warren & Hyde in Williamsburg; the Hampden Paint and Chemical Co. in Springfield; three rake factories in Sandisfield; the works of George Hull & Son for making leather in the same town; the Massachusetts Arms Co. in Chicopee; The U. S. A. Armory in Springfield; the drum factory of Abner Stevens in Pittsfield; the carriage shop of H. P. Dorr in Stockbridge; the factories for making tools and cutlery controlled by the Ames Manufacturing Co. (of Chicopee), Ransom Cook, the inventor of the auger, and the Shelburne Falls Co. (Shelburne Falls); the South River Co., of Conway; the Greenfield Tool Co., the American Machine Works, and the Agawam Foundry, in Springfield.

Resources of Western Massachusetts (1820–1830)

Briefly to review the condition of Western Massachusetts in 1820 to 1830, the basis was a large newly opened territory, with virgin soil, unwasted woodlands, plenty of free water power, pure air, and unrivalled natural beauty.

This region was peopled by a class of men and women characterized by thrift, industry, restless ambition, intellectual alertness, intense patriotism, and faith in themselves and in God. Natural and divine selection had fitted them for their work.

United and harmonized by common struggles for liberty,—religious, social, and political,—they had at last attained victory and peace. Among them appeared great leaders in classical, scientific, practical, and religious education. While by memories of their former homes, by constant and wide correspondence with older and larger communities, and by reading their own local newspapers, they were vividly aware of the rapid development of culture and comfort in Boston and Hartford and Albany, they were themselves still compelled to depend upon their own hands and brains for the necessities of life.

The new freedom of their churches made them responsible, and therefore tolerant; their town meetings trained them to govern themselves and take an intelligent interest in the government of the State and the nation. Fraternities had taught them the advantage of cooperation. Schools and colleges and lecturers sharpened their hunger for knowledge.

Necessity became the mother of their invention; and, as their needs were universal, there quickly was developed that all-pervading "Yankee ingenuity" which has made western Massachusetts famous. From the Revolution to about 1820, every household became a hive of industry. For many years nearly everything needed in the average home was made within its precincts. The typical western-Massachusetts man was a farmer, and besides that acted as his own tool maker, blacksmith, shoe maker, soap maker, chandler, mason, and carpenter. Farmers' wives were also spinners, weavers, tailors, poultry-women, cooks, preservers of fruits and vegetables, gardeners, and interior decorators.

It is significant that Schofield's "woolen factory" did not at first manufacture woolen cloth, but rather the spindles, combs, looms, and other devices by the use of which women could make cloth at home. The Berkshire Agricultural Society by annual premiums encouraged all kinds of domestic industry, the effects of which may be judged from one example. In 1819, the prize for the largest quantity of articles manufactured in one family during 1818 was awarded to Mrs. Sarah Perkins of Becket. She reported "448 yards of fulled cloth, 171 and ¼ yards of flannel, 53 yards of carpeting, 142 ¾ yards of table linen."

By 1820, however, factories and mills had so multiplied that production exceeded local consumption; and in spite of severe foreign competition, many sorts of goods were exported. Springfield and Pittsfield, for example, sent thousands of muskets annually to the general government; many ships were driven by sails made in western Massachusetts, and Berkshire manufacturers were appealing to Congress for the protection of a tariff. The excess of domestic products over home consumption led to the substitution of buying and selling with money instead of the simpler method of barter; and this necessitated the establishment of stores, which at first were often opened in one or more rooms of the village inn.

Improved Transportation

Every improvement in pioneer life gave new occasion for travel. Towns sent representatives to Boston; lodges sent delegates to the grand lodge; church conventions summoned ministers and deacons from distant points; students had to journey many miles to college or academy; goods must be carried back and forth between town and country. Hence the need for better roads became imperative. Fortunately the same causes which revealed this need provided the means for meeting it. The organization of towns, fraternities, parishes, colleges, banks, and factories demonstrated the advantage of corporate action, and the methods of effecting it. Lawyers had been trained to make contracts, engineers to construct roads and bridges. Banks and business were ready to supply the necessary initiative and capital. Before 1825 more than twenty turnpike corporations had been chartered by the State in western Massachusetts; and about an equal number of bridge-building companies. For example: in 1797 Asaph White, Jesse King, and others were incorporated as the Second Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation for laying out a road from Charlemont over an old Indian trail to Adams, with the usual privilege of establishing tollgates. The sixth Massachusetts turnpike was run in 1799 from Amherst, through Pelham, Greenwich, Hardwick, New Braintree, Oakham, Rutland, Holden, and Worcester, to the great road at Shrewsbury leading from New York to Boston. In 1803 John Hooker, George Bliss, and their associates were incorporated as the proprietors of the bridge connecting Springfield and West Springfield. The toll for each foot passenger was three cents; for each horse and chaise, chair, or sulky, sixteen cents; for each coach, chariot, phaeton, or other four-wheeled carriage, thirty-three cents.

A usual stipulation was that, when enough tolls had been collected to reimburse the company for the cost of making and maintaining a turnpike or bridge, with an added profit of twelve per cent, the property should revert to the town or State, the tollgate should be removed, and the road opened to the public for free traffic. At least three bridges were financed by duly authorized lotteries, as also were some colleges, and even one or two churches.

The opening of turnpikes and bridges was followed by the establishment of regular lines of stagecoaches, among whose early promoters was Jason Clapp of Pittsfield, who manufactured his own coaches and, incidentally, provided the special coach in which General LaFayette rode when crossing Berkshire County in 1825. In 1825 also Isaac Newton, Jr., through the *Franklin Post and Christian Freeman* "informs his friends and the public that he has purchased the Tavern Stand in the center of the pleasant village of Greenfield," then the head of river navigation, "and every exertion will be made to render this house a quiet resting place to those who travel for business or pleasure." Newton's hotel was built on honor. It was a grand hotel. There were two lines of stages passing by it daily between Boston and Albany. Another line ran from Hartford, Conn., to Hanover, N. H. Elegant coaches rolled up to the hotel piazza in grand style to the music of the driver's horn.

Canals and Railroads

This feverish development of rapid transit was not confined to the land. An important series of canals was constructed to pass around such rapids and falls of the Connecticut River as obstructed navigation; and these, with an ingenious system of sliding caissons and a series of dams provided with required fishways for shad, rendered the river passable by boats and rafts twenty feet wide and sixty feet long, from the mouth of the Chicopee River to the town of Montague. The cut around the falls near South Hadley in 1793 under the direction of Benjamin Prescott of Northampton was the first canal in the United States. About 1825, a project was broached for digging a canal from Boston to the Hudson River. The scheme involved a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain; but the cost of the work, together with the advent of the railroad, caused the plan to be abandoned, and the tunnel was postponed for many years, until George W. Mowbray of North Adams perfected the commercial use of nitroglycerin.

June 14, 1827, the State appointed commissioners for the survey of one or more routes for a railway between Boston and Albany. Only one route was seriously considered; and of that, only the portion between West Springfield and Greenbush, N. Y., was actually surveyed. The report of the commissioners was chiefly devoted to a discussion of the possibilities of horse power acting over the varying grades of the road; a detailed estimate of the way freight that might be expected, which was set at a total of 84,360 tons a year; and of the number of passengers to be carried, which from a computation of those then using the stagecoaches was expected to exceed 30,000 annually.

This report was submitted by the General Court to the State Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, which, after a careful examination of the southern route previously considered, and also of two other routes further north, reported in June, 1829, that the line passing through Worcester and Springfield was the least expensive, the easiest to travel, and the one which would serve the largest population. The board discussed the question of steam *versus* horse-power, and recommended the latter. It advised that the road be built by funds raised by loans in the name of the State; and submitted the report of Engineer James F. Baldwin, who was working in collaboration with his brother, Loammi, with his maps and detailed items of the several surveys. Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, once Speaker of the national House of Representatives, seconded the suggestion that railways should be built under the direction and support of the Commonwealth, saying that a railroad "is among the few improvements that a State can most successfully manage," and that "what is intended for the beneficent use of the great public should never be placed in private hands."

The General Court did not agree with Sedgwick, and took no steps beyond the incorporation of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company; until in March, 1833, it granted to Nathan Hale, David Henshaw, and their associates a charter of the Western Railroad Corporation, to build a road from Worcester to the line of the State of New York. That corporation was organized in January, 1836, with Thomas B. Wales as president, Josiah Quincy, Jr., as treasurer, and Ellis Gray Loring as clerk. New surveys were made, and work on the first section of twenty miles west from Worcester was begun in February, 1837. Oct. 1, 1839, the road was opened for travel between Worcester and Springfield, with locomotives operated by steam, as horse-power railroads had already become counted among the things of the past.

Social and Scientific Life

By 1855 western Massachusetts was covered by a network of at least fifteen distinct railroads, and these served not only to let the inhabitants out from behind their mountain barriers, but to let in visitors and summer residents attracted by the charming scenery and pure air of the Berkshire hills. Then Lenox became famous as an inland Newport, and furnished a delightful retreat for Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry Ward Beecher, Charlotte Cushman, Fanny Kemble, Sam Ward, and numerous members of the "upper crust" of Boston and New York. Herman Melville, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Henry W. Longfellow found rest and recreation in their homes in Pittsfield. All these and many more formed intimate friendships with one another, and with the cultured families of Dalton and of Stockbridge.

The spirit of inventive genius and of initiative in public welfare, which inspired the construction of turnpikes, bridges, canals, and railroads, was seen later in the invention of friction-match machinery in 1836 by Alonzo D. Phillips, of Springfield; in the promotion of the Union Pacific Railroad by Thomas Clark Durant, of Lee; in the laying of the first

Atlantic cable, in 1866, by Cyrus West Field, of Stockbridge; and in the invention and demonstration of the Stanley transformer by William Stanley, at Great Barrington, in 1886.

Who Were Who in Western Massachusetts Before 1861

Years ago it was thought rather clever to tell inquiring strangers that the "productions of Berkshire County are ice and men." None could dispute the primacy of ice; the Berkshire production of men was remarkable in the history of Massachusetts and of the Union. Witness the following list of individuals prominent in the history of western Massachusetts prior to the Civil War. In education it includes Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College; and the first four presidents of that college,—Ebenezer Fitch, Zephaniah Swift Moore (later President of Amherst), Edward Dorr Griffin, and Mark Hopkins. Stephen West, Alvan Hyde, Samuel Shepard, Timothy M. Cooley, and Emerson Davis were vice-presidents of the college.

Among the trustees of Williams were the following westerners: John Bacon, Daniel Collins, Israel Jones, David Noble, Theodore Sedgwick, Thompson J. Skinner, Seth Swift, Henry Van Schaack, William Williams, Elijah Williams, Job Swift, Ammi Robbins, Samuel Henshaw, Daniel Dewey, John Williams, Joseph Woodbridge, Nathaniel Bishop, Jacob Catlin, Ezra Starkweather, Thomas Dwight, Daniel Noble, Theophilus Packard, Levi Glezen, Thaddeus Pomeroy, Joseph Lyman, Thomas Snell, George Bliss, Herman Humphrey, Isaac Knapp, Ezra Fisk, George Nixon Briggs, Emory Washburn, William Perrin Walker, Charles A. Dewey, Rufus W. Bailey, Nathaniel Scudder Prime, James McKown, John Nelson, Milo Lyman Bennet, Edward A. Newton, Ralph W. Gridley, David Buel, Henry W. Dwight, William Buel Sprague, Daniel N. Dewey, Edwin W. Dwight, John Whiton, William Porter, William D. Snodgrass, Richard Townley Haines, Horatio Nelson Brinsmade, Henry L. Sabin, Thomas E. Vermilye, Charles Stoddard, Thomas Robbins, John Todd, Absalom Peters, Henry Walker Bishop, Adam Reid, Joseph White, Bradford R. Wood, Charles A. Thompson, Erastus C. Benedict, Homer Bartlett, William Hyde, and Nicholas Murray.

Professors in Williams College were Gamaliel Smith Olds, Chester Dewey, Ebenezer Emmons, Albert Hopkins, Edward Lasell, Joseph Alden, Nathaniel Hitchcock Griffin, Addison Ballard, Isaac Newton Lincoln, T. Edwards Clark, John Bascom, Arthur Latham Perry, and Paul Ansel Chadbourne.

Among the presidents of Amherst College were Herman Humphrey and Edward Hitchcock. Among the trustees of Amherst College were Joseph Lyman, David Parsons, Theophilus Packard, James Taylor, Rufus Graves, Nathaniel Smith, Elisha Billings, Joshua Crosby, Noah Webster (lexicographer), Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Richard Salter Storrs, Alfred Ely, John Leland, Lucius Boltwood, Israel Elliot Trask, Joseph Vaill, Lewis Strong. Professors in Amherst College included Gamaliel Smith Olds, Jacob Abbott, Wellington H. Tyler, W. S. Tyler, Sylvester Strong, Nathan W. Fiske.

These western Massachusetts men became governors: Caleb Strong of Northampton, George Nixon Briggs of Pittsfield, and Emory Washburn of Worcester, governors of Massachusetts, and Silas Wright of Amherst, governor of New York. The most distinguished resident of Western Massachusetts has been Calvin Coolidge, mayor of Northampton, governor of Massachusetts, and twice President of the United States.

The list of Senators of the Federal Government from Massachusetts includes: Silas Wright of Amherst; Julius Rockwell of Lenox; Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge.

Among ministers of the gospel the following were most eminent: Thomas Allen, Pittsfield; Timothy Cooley, Granville; Stephen Williams, Longmeadow; Samuel Hopkins, Great Barrington; Thomas Rand, Holyoke; William Allen, Pittsfield; James Ballard, Charlemont; Alvan Hyde, Lee; Jonathan Edwards, Northampton; John Todd, Pittsfield; David Dudley Field, and Henry M. Field, Stockbridge.

A noted scientist: Dexter Marsh, Greenfield. International jurist; David Dudley Field, Jr., Stockbridge. Farmer-statesman: Jonathan Smith, Lanesborough. Historians: Richard Hildreth, Deerfield; J. E. A. Smith, Pittsfield. Poets: William Cullen Bryant, Great Barrington; J. G. Holland, Springfield, and E. W. B. Canning. Military officers: William Eaton, Brimfield; Benjamin Tupper, Chesterfield; Joseph Dwight, Great Barrington; John Stoddard and Joseph Hawley, Northampton; Ebenezer Mattoon, Amherst; John Brown, Pittsfield; James Easton, Pittsfield; John Fellows, Sheffield; John Patterson, Lenox. Justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts: Charles A. Dewey, Williamstown; James D. Colt, Pittsfield. Journalists: Phineas Allen, founder of *Pittsfield Sun;* Samuel Bowles, founder of the *Springfield Republican;* Henry W. Taft, first Editor *Massachusetts Eagle,* Lenox, 1833, now the *Berkshire County Eagle.* Novelists: Catherine Sedgwick, Stockbridge; and Nathaniel Hawthorne, resident of Lenox. Actress: Frances Anne Kemble of Lenox.

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CHAPTER XIII

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURE
(1820–1889)

By Arthur W. Gilbert
State Commissioner of Agriculture

Prime Conditions

The period from 1820 to 1889 evidences a real awakening of scientific agriculture in Massachusetts. It was during this period that the farmers slowly but definitely realized the value of agricultural education. They became convinced that no more in the cultivation of the soil and in the breeding of farm animals than in any other pursuit can "the blind lead the blind" with an unfaltering step toward a progressive objective.

Knowledge of correct agricultural practices was proved to be an economic asset and the probable factor influencing a successful financial season. It was during the development of this period that the agricultural population learned that progressive farming was not a development resulting from instinct or heredity but a process of growth requiring careful observation, patient study and a practical common-sense testing of scientific principles. Men drifted away from the old idea that the son must farm as the father and the grandfather, as they realized that reason, knowledge and invention have as wide a field in agriculture as in any other life work.

Full allowance, however, must be made for the difficulties that surrounded the agricultural activities of the early settlers of Massachusetts. They exchanged a land probably more advanced in European civilization than any other for one entirely new to them, with a climate and soil unlike any that they had ever known before. Their previous experience afforded them little or no aid in a wilderness that must be subdued by their own hands in the midst of a thousand obstacles. The system of cultivation that they had learned and practised in the mother country would not serve them here. They must start anew, and acquire through diligent toil knowledge applicable to the new problems. It is, therefore, little wonder that their progress was slow; in fact the greater wonder is that they advanced at all, that they did not perish in the wilderness amid the privations and sufferings of long winters and the perils resulting from frequent outbreaks of unfriendly Indians.

These sturdy pioneer settlers, with inferior animals and rude implements, started the great agricultural industry of Massachusetts upon the basic principles of industry and frugality. They passed on to future generations the virtues of perseverance, integrity, fortitude, Christian charity, and a love of independence, all of which have been instrumental in molding and shaping the progress of agriculture in the nineteenth century.

A detailed analysis of the progressive features of the agricultural development during the period of 1820 to 1889 naturally must include such important factors as the evolution of farm implements and machinery, live-stock improvement and crop production, progress in the dairy industry, development of agricultural societies, organization of the State Board of Agriculture, agricultural education, the effective work of the State Experiment Station, the important function of the Cattle Commission, and the general improvement in farm living conditions.

Evolution of Farm Implements

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the American farmer used a type of plow made mostly of wood, perhaps utilizing the natural twist found in the trunk of some tree, and a moldboard. The local wheelwright assisted him in the woodwork construction, and the blacksmith furnished a steel point and in some cases armor plate for the landside and moldboard. The farmer also had a spike-tooth harrow, made with straight teeth, forged by the local blacksmith, in a wooden frame. The scythe, sickle, hand rake, and possibly a larger rake known as a bull rake, were the implements used for harvesting.

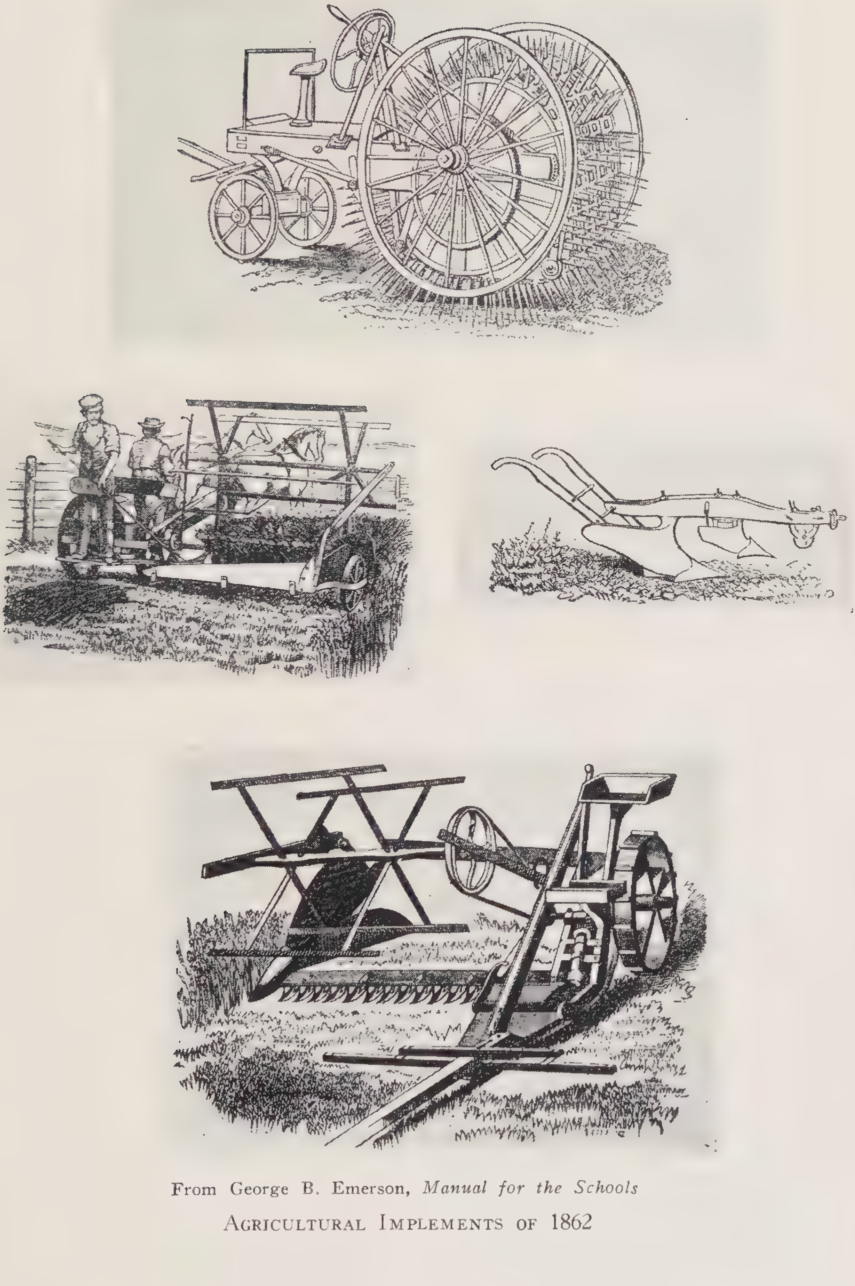
The evolution of the plow has been especially significant in view of the basic importance attached to the development of this implement. It is reported that in 1819 Jethro Wood, of Scipio, New York, obtained a patent on a plow made of iron, with the different parts cast separately. This invention caused a new era in the history of the plow. It resulted in a period of manufacturing as distinguished from the period of building in small quantities by blacksmiths or plowwrights, and further, by making it possible for the farmer to replace a broken or worn-out casting with a new one from the factory.

Frederick Holbrook, Professor of Agriculture at Cornell University and later war governor of Vermont, invented certain improvements to the plow during the years from 1850 to 1860. He constructed plows with different moldboards adapted to various conditions of soil, and brought out the sod and subsoil and swivel plows. Later inventions which tended to perfect processes of chilling and toughening iron to make it suitable for moldboards, and the process of making steel, revolutionized the plow-making industry in that cast iron was practically eliminated from this field. The first developments of the sulky plow were also made during the period from 1820 to 1889, and the use of wheels on this type of plow permitted a more uniform depth and width of the furrow and allowed the plowman to ride.

The earliest form of the harrow used in this country was undoubtedly the spike-tooth, fastened in an A-shaped or square wooden frame. Disc harrows came into prevalent use during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

IMPROVED MACHINERY

Drills and planters came into use during the last half of the nineteenth century. Charles W. Billings, of South Deerfield, Mass., invented a corn planter about 1850 and a few years later S. E. Harrington, of North Amherst, Mass., invented a drill for sowing onion and other small seeds. Early types of



From George B. Emerson, *Manual for the Schools*

Agricultural Implements of 1862

these inventions were faulty in that they offered little opportunity of adjustment for different-sized seeds of the same variety. The cutting of grass and grain by machinery was thought of in England during the eighteenth century. In this country the inventions of Obed Hussey in 1833 and of Cyrus H. McCormick in 1834 first introduced the efficient form of cutting bar with vibrating sections passing through guides or fingers, as is now common in harvesting machines. Developments of the mowing machines and harvesting machines were very rapid during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the general use of this type of labor and time-saving machinery in Massachusetts much increased the productive capacity of the individual farmer. In 1890 a great amount of the farm work, previously done by hand, involving much manual labor, was accomplished with greater efficiency and in much less time by the use of improved farm machinery. Every machine in use during the latter part of the period from 1820 to 1889 represented a number of successive inventions. In fact, it was a period of great evolution of farm implements and machinery. It is difficult to imagine what would have been the condition if only the types of machines in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century had been in operation at its close.

It is important to mention, however, that the arrangement of fields in many New England farms was not as favorable to the use of machinery as might be desired. One continuous field of considerable size can be cultivated much more cheaply than two separate fields of the same combined area. In this respect the farmers of the West enjoyed an advantage in that the natural conformation of the land was adapted to the use of labor-saving machinery. Nevertheless the farmers of New England found it convenient to cooperate in the ownership and use of expensive farm machinery.

Cattle and Horses (1840–1874)

Concurrent with the evolution of the farmers' implements, a very marked change took place in the character and number of farm animals; and coincident with the improvement in the farmers' "weapons of production" and the development of steam transportation facilities, a very noticeable change occurred in farm management, involving, as it must, all phases of crop production.

In 1840 there were enumerated in the State of Massachusetts 282,574 head of neat cattle valued at $5,439,549, while in 1880 the neat cattle numbered only 261,121: a falling off of over 21,000 from the number in 1840, but considered worth $6,637,297. This was a result of the introduction of the best English breeds by the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, of importations by some of the far-sighted individual farmers in the Commonwealth, and of the readiness and good judgment of the farmers in using the imported stock for the improvement of herds of native cows. The exclusion of grade bulls from competing at county shows, by the State Board of Agriculture, undoubtedly had much influence in advancing the quality of Massachusetts cattle during this period. In 1820 not a Jersey was recorded in the State; there were no pure-bred Devons or Herefords. A few Ayrshires and Durham Shorthorns were being tested to determine whether or not they could endure the rigor of the Massachusetts climate and prove desirable for dairy purposes. Importations of well-bred bulls and cows from the best herds of England started the development of numerous Shorthorn herds, to such an extent that it was quite rare during the latter part of the nineteenth century to find a "native" on any of the progressive farms.

During the last half of the nineteenth century the western cattle-producing States took over the eastern markets for beef and beef products. It was only natural that this development should take place, in view of the greater facilities for carrying on the production of beef cattle in the western States, and the further fact that refrigerator cars made it possible to carry the heavy western beef to the eastern consumer in good condition.

The working oxen in 1880 numbered only 14,571 as against 46,611 in 1850; the ox as a steady force was superseded by the horse. Working horses in 1850 numbered 42,216, and

59,629 in 1880. During this period considerable progress was made in breeding horses to Morgan stock. The draft horses also were improved by infusion of Percheron blood imported by the Massachusetts Society, and also by Clydesdales and Normans which came to Massachusetts from Canada and the West.

Sheep, Swine and Poultry

The sheep industry suffered a very serious falling off. In 1838, 384,614 sheep sheared 1,056,327 pounds of wool; in 1875, 58,773 sheep sheared 206,935 pounds of wool. This diminution was mostly among the Saxonys and Merinos. It became very difficult to compete with the West and South in raising sheep and growing fine wool at a profit. Hence the farmers sold their flocks of Merinos and never replaced them. The destruction of sheep by dogs was an economic factor in the decline of the sheep industry. Notwithstanding the great decrease in the number of sheep, the average value of sheep increased considerably.

Toward the end of this period came a trebled increase in the value of the sheep, and a double increase in the weight of the fleece, while the lambs raised were a third more in number and each was worth three or four times as much as in 1840. This improvement resulted from making mutton and lamb of primary consideration and wool secondary. The wool raised in 1880 was medium, combing, and coarse, and could be produced from larger and more profitable sheep.

Swine decreased in numbers from 104,740 in 1845 to 41,255 hogs and 41,009 pigs in 1875; but the total value increased by $45,886. During this period little attention was paid to the breeding of hogs for fine points. The Berkshire hog was introduced in 1832, but for a time fell into disfavor, although during the last quarter of the nineteenth century they apparently returned to prominence and were greatly improved. In 1844 the Suffolks were introduced and had material influence in improving the larger breeds of pigs in this State. Since then, the Chester Whites, Poland Chinas and the Yorkshires have been added.

A great advance was made in poultry raising during the last half of the nineteenth century. It is estimated that the value of poultry and eggs in 1840 was approximately $178,000; and the total value of poultry products in 1875 was $1,789,000. It would appear that the business of poultry farming became greatly systematized during this period. The majority of pioneer farmers were raising as a side line the common dunghill fowls, and permitted them to lay their eggs wherever they chose, relying upon the sagacity and self-interest of the farmers' children to find the hidden nests.

By 1875, more careful attention was given to the breeding of poultry and to well-constructed houses. The manure was more carefully preserved for its fertilizing value. Pure-bred chickens were raised, and brought more quickly to maturity, and were cared for by proper feeding and housing.

CROPS

Each farm during the earlier period of agricultural development in Massachusetts was more or less a self-sufficient unit. However, a period of specialization in crop management became evident during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and crops that did not show a satisfactory profit were discarded. This process was accompanied by a much greater crop diversification.

The Middle West states quickly demonstrated natural facilities for growing grain. The virgin soil of these great plain States with its abundance of plant food, the comparative cheapness of this land to the early settlers, and its adaptability to the use of the new machinery were important factors in decreased cost of production which permitted the farming interests of the Middle West to undersell our Massachusetts producers. The advent of improved steam transportation from this section of the country to New England permitted easy access on our Massachusetts markets of grain crops grown more economically in other States, and eventually caused our farmers to concentrate upon those phases of agriculture that allowed a greater profit and required the minimum amount of labor and attention to produce successfully.

Statistics of Agricultural Products (1845–1875)

A census of Massachusetts agriculture, covering a period of thirty years, was prepared by Col. Carroll D. Wright in 1875:

Products.	1845	1855	1865	1875
Apples:				
Bushels	......	......	......	3,252,957
Total value	......	$1,121,262	$1,244,420	$1,450,252
Value per bushel	......	......	......	$0.45
Beans:				
Bushels	......	......	6,389½	41,879
Total value	......	......	$22,468	$97,052
Value per bu.	......	......	$3.52	$2.32
Acreage	......	......	149½	1,354⅛
Bu. per acre	......	......	42¾	31
Beets:				
Bushels	......	......	133,589	237,880
Total value	......	......	$117,161	$116,091
Value per bu.	......	......	$0.88	$0.49
Acreage	......	......	690	974⅞
Bu. per acre	......	......	193½	244⅝
Cabbage:				
Heads	......	......	......	7,660,722
Total value	......	......	$184,869	$440,691
Value per head.	......	......	......	$0.06
Carrots:				
Bushels	......	632,117	225,015	191,646
Total value	......	$148,041	$105,695	$86,503
Value per bu.	......	$0.23	$0.47	$0.45
Acreage	......	1,479⅞	623¾	439¼
Bu. per acre	......	427⅛	360¾	436
Celery:				
Bunches	......	......	......	627,329
Total value	......	......	$2,750	$49,614
Value per bunch	......	......	......	$0.08
Cranberries:				
Bushels	......	......	34,621	110,184
Total value	......	$135,200	$101,538	$288,113
Value per bu.	......	......	$2.93	$2.61
Cucumbers:				
Bushels	......	......	1,000	38,236
Total value	......	......	......	$43,844
Value per bu.	......	......	......	$1.15
Number	......	......	2,365,000	37,414,726
Value per 100.	......	......	......	$0.30
Total value	......	......	$35,627	$163,334
Lettuce:				
Heads	......	......	......	2,683,211
Total value	......	......	......	$96,410
Value per head.	......	......	......	$0.04
Onions:				
Bushels	......	240,971	210,831	359,706

Products.	1845	1855	1865	1875
Total value	......	$187,446	$322,412	$338,205
Value per bu. ..	......	$0.78	$1.53	$0.94
Acreage	......	769⅞	839¼	1,045
Bu. per acre ...	......	313	251	344¼
Parsnips:				
Bushels	......	......	......	30,377
Total value	......	......	......	$24,977
Value per bu. ..	......	......	......	$0.82
Acreage	......	......	......	137¼
Bu. per acre ...	......	......	......	221¾
Pears:				
Bushels	......	......	......	59,259
Total value	......	$88,144	$243,068	$118,302
Value per bu. ..	......	......	......	$2.00
Potatoes, Irish:				
Bushels	4,767,115	3,991,456	3,832,523	3,630,546
Total value	$1,309,030	$2,521,906	$2,499,845	$2,349,815
Value per bushel	$0.27	$0.63	$0.65	$0.65
Acreage	......	41,982⅞	42,082¾	33,616
Bu. per acre ...	......	93¾	91	108
Pumpkins:				
Pounds	......	......	......	4,214,881
Total value	......	......	......	$37,789
Value per ℔ ..	......	......	......	$0.009
Squashes:				
Pounds	......	......	......	6,978,689
Total value	......	......	$96,611	$147,124
Value per ℔ ..	......	......	......	$0.02
Strawberries:				
Quarts	......	......	......	1,156,801
Total value	......	......	$30,728	$214,940
Value per quart	......	......	......	$0.19
Tobacco:				
Pounds	265,560	......	9,306,067	5,993,666
Total value	$16,686	$57,474	$1,577,100	$1,032,262
Value per ℔ ..	$0.06	......	$0.17	$0.17
Acreage	......	421	5,615⅞	3,757⅝
Pounds per acre	......	......	1,657	1,595
Tomatoes:				
Bushels	......	......	......	230,565
Total value	......	......	$23,160	$137,945
Value per bu. ..	......	......	......	$0.60
Turnips:				
Bushels	......	523,735	534,096	697,501
Total value	......	$116,351	$187,913	$252,222
Value per bu. ..	......	$0.22	$0.35	$0.36

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

The extent and importance of the dairy industry in Massachusetts during the last part of the nineteenth century is evidenced by the Census of 1885, in which it is shown that more than a quarter of the agricultural products produced in the Commonwealth were dairy products. The value of milk was $10,312,762; butter $2,521,071; cream, $202,706; and cheese, $33,987. The quantity of cheese produced in Massachusetts decreased nearly three fourths from 1875 to 1885. This fact was true as regards the production of cheese under actual farm conditions; but it should be specially noted that during this period a great advance was made in the manufacture of cheese under special factory conditions.

The first cheese factory went into operation in April, 1864. The Massachusetts Cheese Manufacture Association was formed in West Brookfield in 1886, under the auspices of Dwight Ellis of Warren and a few others. By 1869, twenty cheese factories were in successful operation in Massachusetts.

As early as 1880 a very profitable market for fluid milk was developed, and accordingly the production of cheese by the manufacturing interests decreased. It was also unfavorably affected by the competition of Canada and some of the northern dairy states.

The year 1885 marks the beginning of the establishment of cooperative creameries or butter factories; and twenty-seven such cooperative creameries were established prior to 1890. The twenty-four of these organizations that reported show a total of 2,193,983 pounds of butter made in 1889, selling at an average price of twenty-six cents per pound. Considerable butter was also made during this period by milk contractors from surplus milk. The production of butter on farms decreased in amount because of the creameries, thus evidencing the breaking up of the "self-sufficient farm production unit."

Most of the surplus milk produced was bought by contractors and disposed of in Boston. The milk inspector of Boston reported for the year 1889 an average dairying consumption of 207,493 quarts. The quality of milk in Boston as a whole was very good; but more definite and first-hand standards of quality were urged for fluid milk. The statutes of the Commonwealth at that time required that to be of good quality milk must yield on analysis not more than 87% of water fluid in mixture, 13% of milk solids, nor less than

9.75% of milk solids, exclusive of fat, except during the months of May and June, when it should not contain less than 12% of milk solids. Thus a sound foundation was established during the last quarter of the nineteenth century for further improvements in the dairy industry. Even during this period attempts were made to eradicate diseased cattle from the dairy herds. Milk inspectors were appointed in all the large cities, and every effort was made to assure to the people a pure milk supply.

Agricultural Societies

The usual organization of an agricultural society was a body of citizens incorporated under the laws of this State for the purpose of promoting useful improvements in agriculture, by holding annual exhibitions at some central point and bringing together for these exhibitions livestock and the products of the soil. Contests of skill in certain agricultural operations often added to the interest of these annual fairs. Exhibitions were usually held in the open with very little expense attached to them; and admission was charged to people not members of the associations, thereby creating a fund which, in addition to the admission fees, assisted the organizations in the later purchase of land and buildings for exhibition and fair purposes.

The first of these bodies in Massachusetts was the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, organized at Boston in 1792. At the close of the Revolutionary War, the country was in a somewhat unsettled condition, and agricultural interests were slow to recover from the effects of the serious setback occasioned by this war. From 1800 to 1820, the business of the Commonwealth was more prosperous and many new agricultural societies were established. From 1820 to 1844 no new agricultural societies were organized, with the exception of the Bristol County Society in 1823 and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1829.

The success that these first agricultural societies had in the life of the community was largely responsible for the organization of many new societies during the last half of the nineteenth century; and in 1889 there existed thirty-five agricultural societies incorporated by special acts of the legislature and represented on the Board of Agriculture. The names of the representatives from the agricultural societies to the State Board of Agriculture during the year 1889, and the year of organization of the respective societies are indicated in the following table:

Society	Incorporated	Member of State Board of Agriculture
Massachusetts	1792	E. F. Bowditch, Framingham
Berkshire	1811	Alonzo Bradley, Lee
Hampshire	1814	D. A. Horton, Northampton
Essex	1818	Benj. P. Ware, Clifton
Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden	1818	F. K. Sheldon, Southampton
Worcester	1818	C. L. Hartshorn, Worcester
Bristol County	1823	N. W. Shaw, North Raynham
Massachusetts Horticultural	1829	E. W. Wood, West Newton
Barnstable County	1844	Nathan Edson, Barnstable
Hampden	1844	Geo. S. Taylor, Chicopee Falls
Housatonic	1848	J. H. Rowley, South Egremont
Franklin County	1850	J. C. Newhall, Conway
Worcester County West	1851	P. M. Harwood, Barre
Middlesex	1852	W. W. Rawson, Arlington
Worcester North	1853	Geo. Cruikshanks, Fitchburg
Middlesex South	1854	S. B. Bird, Framingham
Middlesex North	1855	A. C. Varnum, Lowell
Worcester South	1855	G. L. Clemence, Southbridge
Eastern Hampden	1856	Wm. Holbrook, M. D., Palmer
Nantucket	1856	Charles W. Gardner, Nantucket
Highland	1859	Hiram Taylor, Middlefield
Martha's Vineyard	1859	N. S. Shaler, Cambridge
Hoosac Valley	1860	S. A. Hickox, South Williamstown
Hingham	1867	Edmund Hersey, Hingham
Marshfield	1867	Geo. J. Peterson, Marshfield
Union	1867	C. B. Hayden, Blandford
Worcester Northwest	1867	Wm. H. Bowker, Boston
Plymouth County	1870	Augustus Pratt, North Middleborough
Deerfield Valley	1871	J. D. Avery, Buckland
Amesbury and Salisbury	1881	Wm. H. B. Currier, Amesbury
Hillside	1883	Wm. Bancroft, Chesterfield
Blackstone Valley	1884	Valorous Taft, West Upton
Bay State	1886	F. H. Appleton, Peabody
Attleborough	1887	Isaac Alger, Attleborough
Oxford	1888	D. M. Howe, Charlton
Spencer	1888	J. G. Avery, Spencer

It will be noted by reference to the above list that from

1844 to 1889 the number of societies was greatly increased, and they used progressive methods. Much was accomplished by their institution of agricultural fairs, whereby individuals of the town or county brought together their livestock and products of the soil, met and compared them, and suggested improvements. The fair came more and more to assume an educational aspect. It constituted the best type of school, that in which all are teachers and all are learners. An obvious advantage of the fair was that it drew general attention to the products and processes of agriculture. Massachusetts farmers had carried on their labors in comparative privacy: no one supervised them; few were interested in the exact way in which they did their work. A bushel of corn or potatoes brought the same price, no matter by whom raised or how small the crop. On the other hand, the mechanics and merchants of cities and villages were brought into constant comparison with each other, and their daily employment depended upon the success with which they met this constant competition.

An important factor, therefore, in the establishment and development of the fair by the agricultural societies, was the bringing together of the farmers under the scrutiny and criticism of each other. The defects of one man's farm management were much more clearly brought to his attention when his work was reviewed with one who understood thoroughly how it should be done. The fairs were meeting places of the great agricultural educators and the most progressive farmers of the State. These men were sincerely interested in the improvement of all phases of agriculture, and welcomed the opportunity to instruct other farmers who had not the advantages of education and wealth. Every good method of farming was thus made contagious, every sound principle catching; and progressive farming became an educational epidemic through the influence of the agricultural fair.

A second advantage of the fair was the exhibition of the most modern tools and machinery for the farm, which as far as practicable were operated on these occasions. A farmer was able, therefore, to decide on the merits of an implement before the purchase, and was stimulated to judicious purchase by the opinions of men of experience and judgment. The best qualified men of the community were always present to examine and make known their decisions and preferences as to stock, crops, fruit, and produce of all kinds. It has been said that, "he is a very smart man or a very stupid one who has been in faithful attendance on an agricultural fair and has gained nothing worth his labor."

Another influence of the fairs was the prizes which directed attention to a higher quality of farm produce or to an added improvement in livestock, and which brought about a pleasant rivalry among those interested in progressive farming. To do anything better than his neighbor does it makes a man think well of himself and inclines him to try again.

Institutes or annual meetings of the agricultural societies were well attended by prominent men and women engaged in agricultural work during the period from 1820 to 1889. Addresses were usually made by prominent State officials, men of vision who understood the importance of this fundamental industry to the welfare of the State. Papers on special agricultural subjects were read and propounded by agriculturists who were best qualified to speak on a special topic relating to farm improvement. The institutes were in fact the starting point from which the elaborate extension service in agriculture, now supervised by the Agricultural College, developed.

Plans for Agricultural Development (1836–1852)

The establishment of strong agricultural societies and their unified endeavor for the welfare of agriculture led to official aid to scientific agriculture. Henry Coleman was appointed in 1836 as State Commissioner for an agricultural survey of the State, and he prepared three volumes on the agriculture of Massachusetts. His work was suspended in 1840 by the legislature.

A board of commissioners was created by the legislature in 1850 to report upon the expediency of establishing agricultural schools or colleges. This commission consisted of Marshall P. Wilder, Edward Hitchcock, Samuel A. Eliot, Thomas E.

Payson, and Eli Warren, and their report was made to the legislature at its annual session in 1851. They recommended that a State Department of Agriculture be established to consist of one member from each society of the incorporated agricultural societies receiving the bounty from the State, to be elected by the society. A convention was assembled at the State House in Boston on March 20, 1851, composed of delegates from the various agricultural societies of the Commonwealth, in order to draw up measures for their mutual advantage and for the promotion of the cause of agricultural education. This convention further established a central Board of Agriculture, whose duties would be substantially those which were proposed for the state department. This Board consisted of Marshall P. Wilder, president; Henry W. Cushman and John W. Lincoln, vice-presidents; Allan W. Dodge, corresponding secretary; Edgar Whittaker, recording secretary; with three delegates from each incorporate society receiving the bounty of the Commonwealth.

At a meeting of this Board, January 14, 1852, it was resolved to petition the legislature as follows:—

"Resolved, That, inasmuch as agriculture is the chief occupation of her citizens, the Commonwealth, in the organization of its government, should be provided with a department of agriculture, with officers commensurate with the importance of the duties to be discharged and the labors to be performed."

STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (1852–1889)

These various efforts finally culminated in the establishment of the State Board of Agriculture, which succeeded the existing voluntary central board. An act to that purpose was passed in 1852, and the first meeting of the newly created Board of Agriculture was held July 22, 1852, presided over by Governor George S. Boutwell.

The secretary of the Board published for distribution each fall such an abstract of the returns of the agricultural societies as he deemed useful; and he appointed agents to visit the towns of the State for the purpose of inquiring into practical farm operations, of ascertaining the adaptation of agricultural products to soil, climate and markets, of encouraging the establishment of farmers' clubs, agricultural libraries, and reading rooms, and of disseminating useful information on agriculture by means of lectures or otherwise.

The Board of Agriculture aided to form public opinion with regard to agricultural education. The members of the Board worked unitedly for the establishment of the Massachusetts Agricultural College until it was founded in 1863, and continued thereafter to exercise a special influence in the development of this agricultural educational center. Through the published volumes of annual reports and other publications dealing with agricultural subjects, the Board did much for the improvement of agricultural literature in the Commonwealth, and a valuable agricultural library of several thousand volumes was available during this period to those farmers of the State seeking information on all phases of progressive agriculture. The law for the protection of sheep and for the inspection of fertilizers originated in the Board of Agriculture.

Thus the State Board of Agriculture became a source of agricultural information, and has continued to be a medium through which the basic principles of scientific agriculture are expounded. It has been administered by men with a broad knowledge of the agricultural needs of this Commonwealth. The influence of the Board of Agriculture has always been of direct importance to the farmers of the State, and of great indirect import to the allied manufacturing interests whose success and progress depend primarily upon the development of this basic agricultural industry.

Early Plans for Agricultural Education (1776–1850)

As the agricultural societies began to function and the good resulting from an exchange of ideas on agricultural principles and practices was given more serious consideration, it became apparent that the prospective farmers needed an education in scientific agriculture.

Probably the first expression of this need for agricultural education was found in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, published in 1776.

"An Address to the Essex Agricultural Society" by Andrew Nichols, at their first Cattle Show at Topsfield, October 5, 1820, gave further expression to the need of systematized agricultural education in the following words:—

"And, is it altogether visionary to suppose, that the best interests of this county would be promoted by the establishment of an agricultural academy, where such studies as are best calculated to make accomplished and scientific farmers might be advantageously pursued, and the students required by returns to labour one or two days or half days every week, with an experienced husbandman and gardener, who should be selected to manage a farm connected with the institution. Such a seminary, well endowed and properly managed, would furnish more useful instructors for town schools in agricultural districts than can now be obtained. It would answer all the purposes of a pattern-farm, rapidly disseminate knowledge of the greatest improvements in the art, and produce the most accomplished farmers and useful citizens."

An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1822 to introduce the study of agriculture in Dummer Academy, Newbury, Essex County.

On Easter Monday, April 8, 1833, the Farm School, Thompson Island, Boston, commenced operations in a small way. This institution was established for the purpose of training boys in gardening, agriculture, and other useful arts, and of awakening in them habits of industry and order and preparing them to earn their livelihood.

A practical course of study in scientific agriculture was introduced at the Teachers' Seminary, Andover, in 1840. It was the object of this course to afford facilities for young men to obtain a knowledge of the various branches of natural science, in order that they might be able to understand and apply the principles of scientific agriculture which lie at the foundation of all successful farm practise. It was proposed to teach botany and physiology, mineralogy, geology, and chemistry in their application to agriculture, and to afford students the opportunity to witness tillage operations under the direction of a teacher.

Chapter 148 of the Acts of 1856, entitled "An Act to aid in the Establishment of an Agricultural Department in Westfield Academy," authorized the town of Westfield to vote and appropriate a sum, not exceeding $5,000, to be applied in the establishment of an agricultural department at Westfield Academy.

Other evidences of the trend toward a more complete system of a higher education in agriculture, which finally terminated in the founding of Massachusetts Agricultural College, were the establishment of the Bussey Institute, in 1835, as a department of Harvard College under the trusts created by the will of Benjamin Bussey, of Roxbury; and the founding of Smith Agricultural School in Northampton, as provided under the will of Oliver Smith, who died in Hatfield, Hampshire County, December 20, 1845.

In the Amherst College catalogue of 1843-44 appeared the name of Professor Charles U. Shepard, A.M., listed among the faculty as "Lecturer on Agricultural Chemistry and Mineralogy."

The Massachusetts Academy of Agriculture and the Massachusetts Agricultural Institute were incorporated in 1845 and 1848 respectively for the purpose of satisfying in part the growing desire for instruction in agricultural science and improvements in all arts connected with the practice of farming. Several of the agricultural societies petitioned the legislature during 1848 relative to the establishment of an institution for the promotion of agriculture; and Governor George N. Briggs in his inaugural address of January 8, 1850, brought the issue to the attention of the legislature, recommending favorable action.

Establishment of Massachusetts Agricultural College (1850–1863)

In the final report of Henry Coleman, the first Commissioner of Agriculture (1837–1841), who was appointed by the legislature to make an agricultural survey of the Commonwealth, the necessity of special education for farmers was urged as follows:

"In order to render the agricultural profession more attractive and respectable, we must seek its intellectual elevation. Improvement of the mind confers a rank which wealth cannot purchase, and commands a respect which the proudest aristocracy may envy. It is too late in the day to decry the value of science in agriculture. Who can name an art, or trade, or business, in which knowledge is a disadvantage or a prejudice to success, or in which, indeed, it is not a substantial help? Why should agriculture, combining as it does so many reasons and opportunities for the application of skill and knowledge, be an exception to every other art and business?"

An effort to carry these prior suggestions into practical operation was made in 1850, when Marshall P. Wilder, then president of the Norfolk Agricultural Society and also president of the Massachusetts Senate, introduced a bill looking to the establishment of an agricultural school or college. A Commissioner was authorized to visit and report upon the agricultural institutions of Europe. Dr. Edward Hitchcock was selected; and his report was made to the legislature of 1851, containing a detailed account of more than 350 institutions. The recommendation of the commissioners, based upon this report, was that the legislature establish a central agricultural college with a model and experimental farm.

The continued demands of the agricultural interests in this State, supplemented by the constant advocacy of the State Board of Agriculture for agricultural education, prepared the way for the success of the Massachusetts Agricultural College which was finally incorporated in 1863. Under the Merrill Act of 1862, the Government granted 360,000 acres of land to Massachusetts for the establishment of one or more colleges for the education of the industrial classes.

Governor Andrew, the legislature of 1863, the Board of Agriculture, and all others interested combined in an earnest effort to make suitable provisions for the establishment of an institution that would teach the science of agriculture. Several plans, differing in vital issues, were presented by able educators and agriculturists for this purpose. A joint committee of the legislature of 1863, whose chairman was the Rev. E. O. Haven, drew a bill which was approved by the Department of Agriculture and those progressive farmers most interested in a higher agricultural education. This plan called for the establishment of a strictly professional school for farmers as an independent institution. It was regarded as important that it should be in an agricultural region away from city influences, and that it should equal in its educational facilities the other colleges of the State. Its object was to teach the theory and practice of agriculture and to give its pupils a literary and scientific training of a high order. It was to be well equipped with apparatus and books; a farm with stock and tools; and the necessary professors, not only to systematize and teach all useful agricultural knowledge, but also to make original investigations and experiments for the advancement of the science of agriculture.

Massachusetts Agricultural College (1863–1889)

The legislature adopted this plan, and the Massachusetts Agricultural College was accordingly incorporated by an order of 1863. The members of the corporation were elected by the legislature for life and were chosen from among the prominent men in agricultural pursuits. President Henry F. French prepared a plan for the establishment of the college at Amherst in the Connecticut Valley, which was unanimously adopted by the trustees and approved by the Governor and Council. An excellent farm of nearly 400 acres was purchased near the town and suitable buildings were erected, and the college received its first class on the second day of October in 1867. Thirty-three young men, averaging eighteen years of age, most of them sons of farmers, presented themselves for entrance.

The growth of the institution, so far as money and members are concerned, from 1867 to 1889 was gradual and sufficiently impressive to leave no doubt as to its permanently important place in the agricultural advancement of Massachusetts. The College served most effectually in awakening a spirit of investigation and inquiry, in creating respect for the business of farming, and in promoting desirable improvements in agricultural practice.

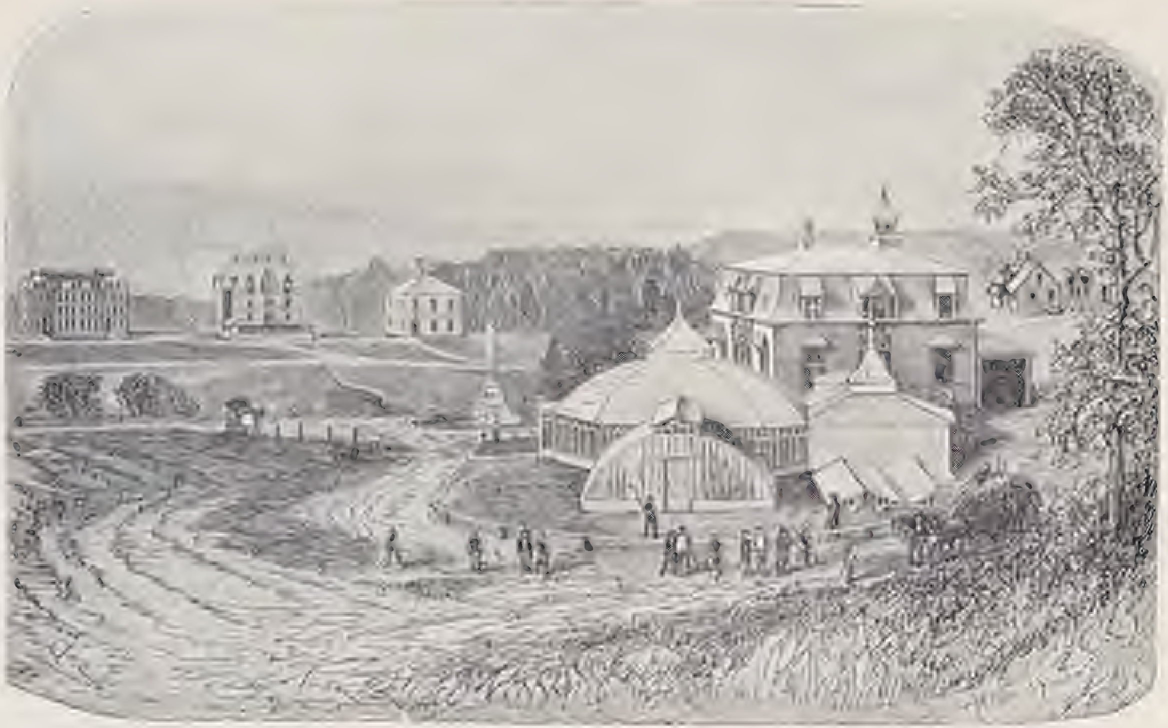
The work of Dr. Goessmann, professor of chemistry, upon fertilizers brought order out of chaos, and our present fertilizer laws owe their origin in a large measure to his work and influence. His investigations in regard to the sugar beet and sorghum as sugar plants during this period were of great value, though the profitable establishment of these industries was found to be impossible. He accomplished, while giving his entire time to the college, a great amount of useful work in determining the value of food substances, and in pointing out the influence of special fertilizers upon the quality of fruits and upon diseases affecting crops.

Professor Stockbridge during this period carried out notable experiments which led to the introduction of special fertilizers for crops. He was one of the first to demonstrate that the benefit derived from frequent cultivation of the soil in dry weather was to be explained by the fact that such treatment causes the more complete retention of moisture already present and the absorption of larger supplies from the air.

The experimental work of President Clark attracted widespread attention; and although not so essentially practical in its bearings, it was of great permanent value.

Educational Service of Massachusetts Agricultural College (1863–1889)

Alongside the influence of the college upon enlightened agriculture on the farms in all parts of the State, was the personal education of young men to become better farmers or to serve agriculture more effectively because of the education they received. Of those who graduated from this institution from 1867 to 1889, only one sixth of all the graduates were employed in agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Among these graduates could be found two college presidents, several professors of agriculture, two directors of experiment stations, and several vice-directors. More than



Courtesy of the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture

Massachusetts Agricultural College in the Early Nineteenth Century

one half of the entire number graduating during this period were either actively engaged in the pursuit of farming or in closely allied work.

An objection often raised to this type of education was that all graduates receiving their education and training at the Massachusetts Agricultural College were not farmers. The obvious reply is that an education so meager in its requirements that the students would be fitted for only one pursuit in life would be unworthy of Massachusetts and contrary to the intent of the act of Congress donating the land for the purpose of establishing colleges of this type.

The service of Massachusetts Agricultural College by preparing leaders in the field of agriculture, in allied fields, and in non-agricultural pursuits, has been set forth by different presidents of the Massachusetts Agricultural College as the primary objective of a graduate of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. A survey of the graduates now as then would indicate that this fundamental objective has been reached in the great majority of cases and the advancement in agricultural practices stands today as a monument to the greatness of achievement of the learned professors, instructors, and graduates of this institution and the other agricultural schools and institutes organized during the first half of the nineteenth century, who have so effectively served the best interests of the Commonwealth.

Service to the Public (1882–1889)

The State Agricultural Experiment Station, located at Amherst, carried on extensive research work along agricultural lines during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The station was established by an act of the legislature in 1882, and began actual work upon the grounds of this station on April 1, 1883. The most learned men in agricultural research were assigned to this new phase of agricultural enlightenment as a further effort of the Commonwealth to assist the farmers in a better understanding of their problems. The results of the work of the Experiment Station were published in bulletin form, and were made available for free distribution to the farmers of the State. The station has also issued bulletins upon matters of general interest to the farmers. Those upon the gypsy moth, tuberculosis, and profitable use of commercial fertilizers, have been found to be especially instructive. In meeting the expense of publication and distribution of some of these bulletins, the Experiment Station received assistance from the State Board of Agriculture and the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture.

Professor Maynard, in charge of the horticultural experimental work, felt strongly that the farmers and gardeners themselves could not afford the costs of making necessary experimental trials along horticultural lines. At that time a great number of small fruits were advertised and sold by nurserymen without any scientific study of their value. Hence the necessity for trials under the direction of trained specialists in horticulture. Under the supervision of Professor Maynard, careful tests were made of various solutions and preparations recommended for spraying fruit trees and vines, as well as some garden crops, for the prevention of disease and destruction of insects, and of apparatus devised for such work. This work was carried on upon the State's grounds and also in some of the orchards of prominent fruit growers in different parts of the State, under the general charge of the officers of the Experiment Station.

Another line of profitable experiments brought out the fertilizer needs of potatoes, and the resulting information was passed on to the potato growers of the State. Very important experiments, indicating the special fertilizer requirements of such crops as oats, mixed grasses, millet, and beans, were made on the station farm on small plots specially prepared for this purpose, on which the result of a special fertilizer was clearly evidenced by the respective growth of the plants.

Professor C. H. Fernald, in charge of the entomological department of the Experiment Station at this time, was notably successful in this special phase of agricultural research work. It required a man of Professor Fernald's education, training, and experience to cope with the insect enemies of agriculture if progress was to be made in their extermination, and he was assigned by the Agricultural College to this difficult problem. It was very clearly shown during the first few years of the life of the State Agricultural Experiment Station that it supplemented in a very practical and thorough way the work of the Agricultural College; and it brought home to the progressive farmers of the State very definite agricultural principles, upon which continued success of the agricultural life of a community is dependent.

The State Cattle Commission (1860–1886)

The first important legislation relative to the work of this commission was passed in 1860, because of the importation into this country, in June, 1859, from Holland, of two Dutch cattle, now known as Holsteins. They were found to be sick with an unknown disease. Both of them soon died. In the large herd of the same kind of cattle, within a month other cattle were found sick, exhibiting the same symptoms. The disease spread rapidly and produced great losses; and the farmers became very much alarmed. The inhabitants of Brookfield petitioned the legislature for some sort of legislation which would enable the city or town to control this disease, and this petition was supported by the Department of Agriculture.

The result was that in April, 1860, the Cattle Commission Law for the suppression of contagious diseases among cattle was passed, and a small appropriation was made available to pay expenses incurred in this work. Paoli Lathrop, of South Hadley, Dr. G. B. Loring, of Salem, and Amasa Walker, of Brookfield, were appointed commissioners. They made a survey of the State, and were greatly concerned over the conditions that existed. The law was based on the "stamp out policy," which made it necessary to slaughter a whole herd where a single animal was found to be sick with a contagious disease.

This disease was identified as contagious pleuropneumonia. The appropriations made by the legislature during the first year proved entirely inadequate to carry out the work of killing necessary herds and indemnifying the farmers for losses sustained. The Board of Agriculture, however, and the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture contributed generously to carry on this work, until a special session of the legislature was called and a larger appropriation provided for the elimination of this disease. It was not until 1864 that the Cattle Commission reported that no further traces of the disease could be found; but it is estimated that the work of stamping out this first contagious disease cost the State of Massachusetts nearly $100,000, and cost the private individuals a much larger sum.

Another disease with which the Commission contended was the foot-and-mouth disease, which made its appearance in 1878; its ravages were felt in all parts of the State. It was probably brought into the State by cattle coming from Canada to Brighton, whence it spread rapidly throughout the Commonwealth. The disease appeared in eighty different towns in the State and nearly four thousand head of cattle had it. It cost the State and private individuals more than $100,000.

Another disease that engaged the attention of the Cattle Commission was the hog cholera, that became quite serious in 1881. The Cattle Commission eventually put into effect a regulation which was sent out to all boards of health and provided that in all cases of cholera, after the owners had been warned, the boards of health should immediately proceed to isolate and quarantine the premises and let the hog cholera run its course. This regulation apparently had much to do with the effectual control of this disease, and in 1886 the Cattle Commission reported that hog cholera had practically been eliminated.

Massachusetts deserves considerable distinction and credit as being the first State in the Union to pass laws relative to the elimination and control of cantagious diseases among domestic animals. The Cattle Commission, composed as it was of the highest type of public-spirited men, did a most worthy service to the farmers of Massachusetts in the control of contagious disease during the period of 1860 to 1889.

Improvement in Farm Living Conditions (1820–1889)

All of the factors that influenced progressive agriculture had a pronounced effect for good upon rural life, and particularly upon the unit of farm society, the individual farm and family. The improvement in farm living conditions during the period from 1820 to 1889 was expressed in buildings, additional home facilities giving a greater degree of comfort, better transportation, more comprehensive farm papers, less distant schools and churches, and abandonment of many farms located on far-away, barren, and unproductive waste lands, with a resultant settling by an awakened farm population upon smaller fertile farms nearer the centers of farm-product consumption.

New farmhouses were built, with larger rooms, high-studded, and permitting a full allowance of sunshine and fresh air. Large fireplaces tended to promote additional cheer. The sites for all buildings were given more careful consideration; and trees, shrubs, and flowers were planted, so as to add materially to the attractiveness of the farm home.

One of the great elements in farm efficiency was the development of iron stoves. The progressive farmer was among the first to install this improved facility for heat. When the kerosene lamp was introduced as a more efficient means of light, the farmer again made haste to provide the home with this desirable improvement.

In 1820, not a mile was built of the later vast network of railroads, which in 1889 reached the remotest parts of the State. Every farm was brought within a half-day's journey of a market; and a quick and easy intercommunication between towns and counties was afforded, giving opportunities for forming and continuing acquaintance, gaining general information, and transacting business unimagined in the days of slow and tiresome locomotion. The turnpikes became highways, and the highways were perfected. An agricultural college, a state board of agriculture, county societies, farmers' clubs, institutes, and granges were established during this period, to enlighten and quicken the minds and to draw out the experiences of farmers by frequent meetings for free discussion and pleasant interchange of opinions on those subjects that most concerned a progressive agricultural people.

Much of the progress could be traced to a great advance in agricultural reading and education. Well-edited agricultural papers, State and county agricultural reports, and new books on rural problems had a stimulating influence upon the members of the farm family.

More churches and more schools were built where they could best serve the interest of the farmer; and these two factors, the church and the school, became increasingly important in stabilizing Massachusetts agriculture by causing a greater measure of happiness and satisfaction among the farm folks. Many honest tillers of the soil, who had been laboring in vain for years upon the unproductive soil of hill towns, in desperation left the scenes of perpetual work and few returns, and took up small productive farms near the industrial centers. The advantages of church and school could then be enjoyed by the entire family, and the course of a year's effort and labor could result in a financial gain. The small towns within easy reach of the markets became thriving, prosperous centers of agricultural development. Farmers and their families lived better and dressed better than ever before. They had more amusement and real enjoyment, more intercommunication and travel; and the farm homes were more generously supplied with the comforts and conveniences of living.

Factors of Agricultural Progress (1820–1889)

The outstanding elements in the advance of agriculture in Massachusetts during the period 1820 to 1889 included:

(1) Evolution of farm implements and farm machinery, and the resulting increase in the productive capacity of the individual farmer, from the general use of those labor and time saving inventions.

(2) Increased production in those farm crops best suited to Massachusetts conditions.

(3) Live-stock improvement and progress in a specialized

dairy industry, eventually centering upon the production of fluid milk.

(4) The establishment and development of agricultural societies and their influence in the promotion of agricultural pursuits.

(5) The constructive work of the State Board of Agriculture in molding agricultural progress from the very beginning of its existence.

(6) The growth of agricultural education, involving the founding of Massachusetts Agricultural College and the effective work of the State Experiment Station.

(7) The important work of the Cattle Commission in promptly stamping out contagious diseases among our herds and flocks.

(8) The general improvement of farm living conditions, influencing, as it did, the happiness and well being of those members of the basic industry of agriculture whose progress was so vital to community, State, and national prosperity.

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CHAPTER XIV

INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION
(1820–1889)

By John Gould Curtis
Fellow of the American Geographical Society

Interdependence of Industry and Transportation

Mutual handmaids of a sort are industry and transportation, for neither can go far without the impetus and companionship of the other. It is not always easy to see which has played the leading rôle in promoting a general development, but it is apparent that transportation is essential to the assembly of raw materials and the dispersal of manufactured products, and that the economic pressure for better transportation must come in some degree from growing industries.

Certain it is that in Massachusetts the early decades of the nineteenth century saw changes and developments of the first importance in both industrial methods and means of transportation. There was a shift from the craft industries conducted in homes and small shops to factory industries, producing on a tremendous scale and employing for the first time the principles of standardization that have been so important in American manufacturing. There was controversy over the relative merits of railway and canal at a time when it was assumed that horses would be the motive power on either waterway or railway, and there was quick recognition of the possibilities of the railroad when locomotives once were demonstrated.

In this period of Massachusetts history industrial developments comprise what is almost certainly the outstanding aspect. During these years were founded great plants, which continue to this day to make their contribution of employment, staple products, and prosperity in Massachusetts. During these years were fought the battles for the trade of the North and of the country beyond the Hudson, which the merchants of Boston, in distress, observed finding its way mostly to New York.

During these years also the early Massachusetts industries of fishing, whaling, and shipbuilding—the very foundations of the wealth of New England—were carried to new peaks of importance. The value of the whale fisheries rose and fell to oblivion; the wooden shipbuilding industry faltered before the competition of iron vessels; the fisheries were at times profitable only because they were, in effect, subsidized.

But through it all there was an ever advancing tempo of commercial activity, a reaching out for new contacts both at home and in far parts of the world, and the building up of Massachusetts as a center of manufacturing and commerce of the first importance.

Classification of Industries

If the not unreasonable view be taken that the development of transportation facilities was, after all, a reflection of the demands of men of commerce who wished to buy and sell and ship their goods, we may look upon the industrial growth of Massachusetts as the large factor to which improvements in transportation were a response. Considering, then, the industries as a preliminary to improvements in means of carriage, we may divide them into two general groups: those based upon the utilization of raw materials naturally available; and those based primarily upon the exploitation of power, the availability of large capital, or the accessibility of particularly qualified labor.

As was brought out in chapter ii of Volume I of this work, the natural resources of primary importance in New England were fish and timber. Fishing and whaling, although they were activities requiring skill and experience in those who carried them on, were nevertheless not in a class with manufactures, for the preparation of the product—the salting of the fish, and the trying-out of the whale blubber—was relatively simple.

Exploitation of the forests, so far as it related to the cutting of timber for export, was in the same class. The use of timber in shipbuilding and in certain other forms of woodworking, which in time became important, were also matters which required skilled workmen, but were essentially founded upon the availability of the raw material.

By contrast, the textile industries are the product of abundant water power, which cost so little to develop that it proved worth while to bring raw materials to New England, and in some instances even to return manufactured products to the source from which their materials came. This development of water power of course employed Yankee ingenuity, not merely in the building of efficient mill wheels but in the devising and adaptation of machinery which would accomplish tasks that had formerly been done by hand. Water power was also used in the establishment of paper mills on the Connecticut River, and in the operation of a large number of local industries that enjoyed less widespread importance.

The fact that Massachusetts gained and retained first importance in the shoe and leather business of the United States cannot be casually attributed to any single cause, but reflects rather a combination of circumstances. Early tanners were obliged to invest considerable amounts of capital in supplies on hand and, since the process of tanning was exceedingly slow, they were often glad to get hides from outside the immediate community. Some of the more expert gained local fame, and there is some evidence that cordwainers enjoyed special repute if they came from communities where exceptionally good tanning was done. As the frontier went westward, and cattle from the far end of the State were driven overland to Boston, more and more hides became available for Massachusetts tanners, and the shoe craftsmen employed themselves in turning this leather into footwear for export. Thus the shoe industry reflects the existence of skilled labor, the almost inevitable employment of rather large capital, and reliance to some extent on the pastoral hinterland of the early days.

Wealth of the Seas (1818–1869)

The fishing and whaling fleets of Massachusetts suffered severely in the course of the War of 1812, but mounted rapidly to prosperity after peace was established. In 1818 vessels in the whaling industry aggregated 16,750 tons, and from that time down until the first reverberations of the Civil War were heard the size of the fleet mounted continually. In 1820 it was twice as large as in 1818; by 1825 it stood at 82,316 tons; in 1841, at 157,405 tons; and the annual record from 1845 to 1860 shows only one decline below 180,000 tons. At the peak of the prosperity of whaling in 1858, the fleet reached a maximum just short of 200,000 tons.

Yet the size of the fleet engaged in the industry gives perhaps a less vivid picture of this extension of Massachusetts initiative than does the record of the voyages. As early as 1821 a Massachusetts whaling vessel had been seen off the coast of Japan, and it was not long before the Pacific Ocean provided the most favored grounds for deep-sea whaling. Having started this enterprise on the west coast of Chile, the men of Nantucket and New Bedford felt their way northward and made the whole of the vast Pacific theirs. In the years between 1835 and 1860, a fleet that averaged 600 vessels brought in annually sperm oil, whale oil, and whalebone worth about $8,000,000.

Much of the oil was used in the manufacture of spermaceti candles, which were the common form of domestic illumination and which, with millions of gallons of oil, were exported to the West Indies, South America, and Europe. Whalebone, employed for some of the purposes now served by spring steel, was sent to England and western continental Europe.

Authorities are not always in accord as to what was the primary cause of the decline of the whaling industry. It has commonly been attributed to the supplanting of whale oil by petroleum, and of whalebone by metal. But the fact ought not to be overlooked that whales were definitely becoming scarcer and harder to take. What was in the early days an off-shore fishery, carried on in open boats, had become a business operation requiring considerable capital, excellent organization, and voyages ordinarily two years or more in length. The overhead had very naturally increased, and the industry had become expensive to carry on, out of proportion to the returns that might be expected from it.

There were, of course, some instances of good fortune. A former whaler still living tells of the capture of a whale off Alaska and the shipping of the unprepared bone from this single mammal to San Francisco, thence by rail to the New England seaboard, thence by vessel to London, where it returned, after all the carriage charges had been paid, a net sum in excess of $3,000. Now this formerly valuable substance is virtually worthless. New Bedford, once the home port of half the American whaling fleet, outfitted her last whaler in 1869, and all that our own time retains of the mother of New England industry is preserved today in museums.

Cod and Mackerel Fisheries (1815–1871)

Codfish were the first objects of natural wealth to be noted by explorers of North America, and they are still the support of a flourishing industry. After the War of 1812 there was some controversy with the British authorities about the rights of American fishing vessels off the Maritime Provinces; but the matter was settled by the Conference of 1818, which conceded to American fishermen certain increased privileges for the drying and curing of fish, although they were to be excluded from some of the inshore fisheries of Canada. There were subsequent disputes and conferences, fortunately settled in an amicable way, the difficulties of contending claims being in part smoothed out by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and that signed at Washington in 1871.

No statistical record of the codfish catch was kept during the early years of the period under discussion, and about all that can be said of the expansion of the industry is that it was continuous. The fish lent themselves to preservation more readily than any other equivalent form of provisions, and they were consequently salted in large quantities both for domestic use and for export. Exports reached their height in

1804; and, although the fleet brought in more cod from year to year, the demand at home from that time on was so large that the quantity available for foreign consumption was kept down. In 1859 the cod fishermen of New England prepared products worth about $3,000,000.

Like the whaling fleet, the fleet engaged in cod and mackerel fisheries was much impaired in the course of the Civil War and there was a substantial decrease in tonnage; although, because the industry remained basically sound, it did not suffer as much as the whalers. The cod and mackerel fleet reached its peak in 1873 with a tonnage of about 100,000, and has shown a marked decline since 1885, apparently because people have learned to like so-called shore fish, which can be taken and prepared at considerably less expense. In Massachusetts, Boston was the center of the fish trade, although Gloucester became preeminent in the cod and mackerel fisheries about 1840 and has remained so since. Newburyport ranked high; and in the early years Wellfleet, Provincetown, and a number of smaller communities enjoyed larger importance than they have retained.

Shellfish and Other Specialties (1819–1890)

Qualities of peculiar usefulness to particular industries, or perhaps of especial gastronomic appeal, have given a kind of importance to several minor branches of the fishing business. From the Indians the early colonists had learned the use of fish as a fertilizer, and by 1830 the process was well established of steam-cooking the menhaden to extract the oil, after which the part of the fish that was left was turned into valuable fertilizer. In 1877 some sixty factories were carrying on this business to the tune of over a million dollars a year; but the fish did not appear in quantities after 1879, and the industry declined.

Halibut became important in America about 1830, but because the fish were caught only in midwinter this branch of the industry was extra hazardous and not very popular. On most of the streams and rivers shad and alewives were taken locally at the appropriate season.

Shellfish, which have become of very considerable value, were first made the basis of commercial operations about 1830, when lobsters were brought down from Maine for the Boston market. A little more than ten years later the lobster canning business was commenced in Maine, where the number and size of lobsters diminished so rapidly that close restrictions soon became necessary. Oysters were transplanted from Chesapeake Bay to the south shore of New England about 1840, and have risen in modern times to a position of first importance in the New England fisheries. The digging of clams was a source of food in the early colonial days, and became commercialized after 1860.

SHIPBUILDING (1820–1860)

It has been told in chapter ii of Volume I of this work how the magnificent clipper ships of New England came as the natural products of her forests. Within the period covered by this chapter, the craft of shipbuilding reached its height in the yards of New England. At first relying upon local timber, builders began about 1830 to obtain oak and hard pine from the South. Ships' knees in particular had been procured by elaborate searching out of abnormal shapes in the forests, although subsequently means were devised for bending irregular parts without seriously impairing their strength.

The special story of the clipper ships in all its romantic detail is told in another chapter of this volume. Here it is enough to explain that the development of transportation in this form, something like the subsequent development of the railroads, was a response to the demands of industry. Special ships were made for special purposes; they were well made, and for the most part they were made from materials native to the region.

Shipyards having been established, and having assembled about them numbers of men skilled in the crafts peculiar to shipbuilding, it was not too difficult for New England yards to shift, when the demand made it necessary, to the construction of iron vessels. This may have been a little easier because the importation of some materials had already become common. At any rate, the demand grew, and Boston maintained its prominent position in the shipbuilding industry by commencing, in 1860, the construction of iron steamers.

OTHER USES OF WOOD (1820–1889)

Whether there is some peculiar aid to Yankee philosophy in the business of whittling, or whether the soft, straight-grained white pine offered special allurements to the thinker's knife, is not to be settled with a word; but it is certain that Massachusetts men of a century ago exhibited a special aptitude for woodworking. A number of local industries of some importance were based upon the availability of a variety of suitable woods. Particularly was this true of the building of farm implements and vehicles, which required ash or hickory for parts that were subjected to severe strain, and lighter woods for such parts as wagon boxes. Handles for axes and scythes, and other tools and implements were manufactured of native woods.

But most of this industry satisfied only the local demand. Salem at an early date went into the making of furniture for export, and in 1831 sent abroad half of its product. In such places as Ashburnham and Gardner, and some other fairly small communities, there was specialization in the making of chairs. This industry of course reflected the availability of suitable materials, just as the transfer of the furniture industry to Michigan in later years reflected a similar special opportunity there, which became more valuable as accessible materials elsewhere dwindled. Massachusetts produced furniture worth well over $1,000,000 in 1837, and the value of the product for 1855 was just short of $6,000,000. By 1860 Massachusetts held second place in the Nation's furniture industry.

IMPETUS TO MANUFACTURES (1820–1889)

One reason why the manufactures of New England went ahead so rapidly during the nineteenth century was the fact that they had got an early start. They were centered in that part of the country where population was densest and where the domestic market was best. It was also a region well located for foreign trade, and the repute of New England goods early became established in foreign markets. Then, too, industries based upon the exploitation of natural resources, notably whaling, had made possible the accumulation of capital which was available for investment. Much of this went into manufacturing plants in Massachusetts, and a good deal of it went into the development of the interior, as will appear from the chapter on "Massachusetts in the West." Finally, it has long been apparent that seaboard towns had special advantages in the matter of obtaining foreign labor. In the establishment of the textile industries this was a matter of particular value, because men of the necessary technical skill had to come from abroad before it was possible to set up mills in this country.

Aside from these advantages of location, industry in Massachusetts gained impetus also from improvements in the utilization of iron. With the introduction of power looms in the textile industry, iron foundries in Worcester and Fall River began the casting of parts for the framing of the machinery; and a little later cylinders were also cast for cards. After 1840, although wood was still used, cast iron predominated in the machine assemblies.

Improvements in the design of water wheels, culminating in the development of the turbine, were reflected in technical improvements in casting methods, and elaborate designs were manufactured which made possible a combination of intricacy and strength which had been denied with wood. It is said that the wide use of stoves made necessary the casting of irregular shapes which should be both strong and light in weight, and that this requirement stimulated the technical advance of the industry. Then by 1850 malleable iron came into use, and to some extent supplanted forgings for certain machine parts.

This improvement in the devices with which the work was to be done was a response to the demands of industry and at the same time a stimulus to the advance of many industries. Principles which had been applied in woodworking were adapted to the working of metal, and nimble high-speed machinery was made possible because metal was used in its design.

WATER POWER OR STEAM (1820–1889)

There appears to have been at least one mill operated by steam in America as early as 1801, but the ready availability of water power and the cheapness with which it could be employed left little inducement for the introduction of the comparatively costly and inefficient steam engines, particularly in an area where coal was not then available and wood was the only fuel. Naturally, however, steam commended itself for use in transportation because water power was bound to its site, and the steam engine was the only portable form of power.

In colonial times small grist and fulling mills occupied water powers of local importance. With the development of the industrial use of machinery it became desirable to utilize larger rivers. On these wing dams were used to divert the water to the mill wheels, and in a few instances entire streams were turned aside.

By 1830 the water powers of the smaller streams were pretty well taken up. But ten years before that Ezra Worthen had pointed out the advantages of the falls of the Merrimac River as a site for a really large development. This resulted in the creation of the present city of Lowell, the story of which as an ideal mill community will be recited later.

Efficiency was not a notable feature of the wooden pitchback wheels, which were the commonest type in American mills down to 1840. Water flowed into buckets just as they passed the top of the wheel, and by its weight caused the wheel to rotate. A mechanic from New Hampshire adapted French ideas in the construction of a turbine which was introduced in Fall River in 1843; and more efficient designs were subsequently evolved until, in 1846, Uriah Boyden had put in operation three 190-horsepower turbines at Lowell, where their efficiency was determined to be 88 per cent. This was by far the most effective device employed up to that time, and added about 25 per cent to the power actually available in the mills.

In 1831, out of the 137 manufacturing plants in Massachusetts, printing establishments being excluded, all but seven were run by water power. There was a controversy during the next two or three decades over the relative advantages of water and steam, especially as it became feasible to bring coal by water to the growing New England communities along the coast. But water power, reflecting an evenly distributed rainfall and regulated by the chains of glacial lakes, was in general reliable and succeeded in holding its own. In 1870 it provided 70 per cent of the power used for manufacturing in New England, and even in the twentieth century one third of the New England cotton industry is still carried on by the power of water.

Transition to Shops (1820–1840)

There is a logical connection between the power sites of New England and the character of the industrial development. The utilization of machinery, especially if the machines are elaborate and expensive, predicates the assembling of such equipment in a factory and its operation by some considerable source of power. Factories with this requirement could not have grown up in Massachusetts when they did except for the availability of water powers.

Circumstances combined to make possible a shift in the character of industrial employment. Crafts which had been carried on in small shops, or perhaps by workers who received materials and performed labor upon them in their own homes, were found adapted to machine production and were expanded into factory industries.

In various communities various explanations are given as to the precise factors which brought about the change. The truth is that it was dictated by very broad considerations, and that certain local matters, such as dissatisfaction with the want of uniformity in home products or the necessity of quantity production to meet special demands, were mere catalyzers of a reaction which was bound to come.

The stages of the transition have been described by Tryon as three: "First, there was the stage in which the home was absolutely independent of the factory; secondly, the stage in which the factory was supplementary to the home; thirdly, the stage in which the factory was independent of the home."

By 1830 the girls and women of New England were carrying on their spinning and weaving, for the most part, not at home but in the factories. In some other industries the change did not come until considerably later; but the same stages are observable in the history of the boot-and-shoe industry, which by 1855 had turned well away from small shops and "putting out," to large plants in which elaborate machinery was employed.

PROGRESS OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY (1814–1860)

A very important advance in the manufacture of textiles was signalized by the introduction of ingenious machinery. Those devices which mark the leaps and bounds of the progress of textile manufacture in Massachusetts were in large part borrowed from England. In the old country manufacturers were striving to guard inventions and secret processes, and the exportation of plans or the emigration of men skilled in the industry was forbidden.

Francis C. Lowell, however, made a close study of the machinery in use in England, and succeeded in perfecting a power loom in Massachusetts in 1814; whereupon a factory was built in Waltham, said to have been the first mill in which cloth was completely manufactured under one roof.

Samuel Slater, trained in England, decided that his talents would command a special reward in the new country, and succeeded in evading the prohibition against emigration. He came to Rhode Island, and was so well versed in the intricacies of the English machinery that he was able to reconstruct it from memory and to get under way a successful plant there.

The ring spinner was perfected before 1840, and from that time on American mills manufactured increasing quantities of cotton cloth at decreasing prices, until in 1860 there were over 5,000,000 spindles, using above 423,000,000 pounds of cotton, in contrast to around 500,000 spindles which, in 1815, used about 5,000,000 pounds; and the cost of calico fell in that period from about 35 cents to 10 cents a yard.

Woolens (1820–1880)

Relying upon the wool of their own flocks, the colonists of early Massachusetts developed their household manufacture of cloth. Down to 1840 supplies came principally from Vermont and the Berkshires, where the fine wool of Merino and Saxony sheep was produced for the manufacture of broadcloth. Inferior sheep along the seaboard yielded a coarser wool, used in small plants for flannel and satinet.

The first power-operated spinning jenny was introduced in 1819, and in 1821 two warehouses were opened in Boston for the sale of American woolen goods. That same year a company was incorporated at Southbridge for the manufacture of broadcloths and cassimeres. The plant had thirty-two looms. In 1836 New England had about 60 per cent of the establishments using wool. They were for the most part on an unpretentious scale, as may be gathered from Cole's description of a small mill: "Housed in a wooden structure 26 feet by 50, and two stories high, were four sets of cards, 155 spindles, and 4 looms; while the labor force of the 'factory' consisted of only 9 persons."

The growth and localization of factories was a gradual process. Anything for which the raw material and simple machinery were so easily to be had quite naturally was widespread in frontier communities; and manufacture, therefore, moved westward until about 1870, while both during the intervening years and afterward the position of New England as the center of the industry was consolidated. By 1869 Massachusetts mills had three quarters of the combs employed in the worsted manufacture, and Boston was established as the principal wool market of the country.

Cotton (1813–1889)

It is quite impossible to discuss the subject of cotton manufacture without thinking at the outset of the name of Lowell

—a name which today brings to mind the industrial community on the Merrimac River, but which ought also to stir recollection of Francis Cabot Lowell, who conceived that community and in whose honor, though he never saw it, the town was named. The factory at Waltham with which he had been associated was successful, and it was thought desirable to expand operations. The site at Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimac was chosen with the deliberate purpose of settling the new development where it could be carried on to the best advantage. There was a thirty-foot drop of the river there and the mill was planned to make full use of that power.

Construction began in 1822, and by the autumn of the next year the plant was put in operation. At the same time a novel and elaborate program of building went forward to carry out the plans formulated by Francis Cabot Lowell, who thus became the founder of the paternalistic type of mill community. Tenements and boarding houses were built to accommodate the employees of the mill; and their daily life, whether at work or at leisure, was elaborately supervised. The character of the community will be discussed below. The system was widely copied in the textile developments of New England, and later found expression in a rather less idealistic way in the mining and steel districts of other States. In its original it reflected Lowell's conviction that the deplorable living conditions of English mill operatives must be avoided here, and that such a result could best be obtained if the company which employed them undertook to provide them with adequate dwellings and suitable food at a minimum cost.

The mills promptly attracted a considerable population, largely composed of the daughters of farmers, who occupied the mill boarding houses; and what was in 1822 a rural district of about 200 farm families had become by 1826 an industrial community with some 2,500 population. The nature of that population is brought out by the fact that only twelve were taxpayers.

Water powers influenced the location of similar enterprises at Nashua and Manchester in New Hampshire, and at Lawrence, Massachusetts, all on the Merrimac. Mills were built also at Fall River and at Chicopee Falls, and later at New

Bedford and Taunton. The factories of southern New England enhanced their advantage when coal became an important source of power in the industry, because they were advantageously located to receive it by water. In the cities along the Merrimac the skilful arrangement of canals made it possible to use the water again and again as it flowed from mill to mill, so that even as late as 1900 the census figures show that water was supplying 49 per cent of the power for the cotton mills of Lowell.

When the Civil War cut off the supply of cotton, New England manufacturers experienced a period of severe depression. Some mills were closed and others were converted to the manufacture of woolen goods; but protective tariffs after the war encouraged the industry again, and enabled American manufacturers to control the domestic market. The excellence and cheapness of their product enabled it to supplant linen as the common household cloth.

Leather (1810–1860)

Some mention has been made of the factors which helped to encourage the manufacture of boots and shoes in Massachusetts. This was one of the industries first established in response to local demand, and so early did it get on a productive basis that, though it was still a handicraft, over 135,000 pairs of boots and shoes were exported in 1810. Not until thirty years later did improvements in tools initiate the change in the character of the industry.

Down almost to the Civil War a great many shoes were made for local use in the tiny shops known as "ten-footers," although some of them were as large as fourteen feet square. Another part of the production came from "outworkers," who received from a central shop materials of their trade, and returned to it the completed articles, for which they were paid on a piecework basis.

Since some of these workers had highly individual ideas about shoe design, there was occasionally some very remarkable cutting done, and this, combined with the fact that the actual assembly of the parts was often not accomplished in a strictly conscientious way, impressed upon the manufacturers the necessity for standardization. It was apparent that this could be got if the workers were brought together where they could be supervised; and the movement to the shop began.

When the processes that had been performed by hand in the home or small shop were reduced to matters of machine practice, it became possible to employ power on a large scale, and the shop became a factory. This transition was marked by the invention soon after 1850 of a machine which served to sew together the uppers, and the perfection in 1858 of the McKay stitching machine to sew the uppers to the sole. The later introduction of machines for welting and lasting reduced to a minimum the importance of hand labor in this branch of industry.

In 1860 Massachusetts possessed more than a half of the factories of New England, and produced footwear worth over $46,000,000. Essex, Worcester, and Plymouth Counties produced in point of value more than one third of the boots and shoes of the United States.

Other Industries (1820–1889)

The early years of the nineteenth century marked the exhaustion of the bog iron ores that had played so important a part in the economy of the colonial settlers. Shipbuilders and operators of forges were under the necessity of using iron, and were confronted by the dilemma of getting European iron, subject to a high tariff, or domestic charcoal iron, that had been becoming increasingly expensive as the seaboard forests adjoining the ore deposits were exhausted.

By 1831 the machine manufacturers of Massachusetts were using almost none but imported iron and steel, and well before 1860 it became apparent that those industries in which large quantities of the metal were to be employed must be better located with reference to fuel and ore than was possible in Massachusetts. What it was possible to retain of such industries was of the class in which ingenuity and skilled labor play a principal part in determining the value of the finished product.

Two other industries which enjoyed greater distinction than they now do were rum distilling and the manufacture of tobacco. The rum distilleries of New England were entirely dependent upon imported raw material; but as the West and South were opened up and the Louisiana sugar producers, who resented the competition of the West Indian product, joined hands with the middle-western grain distillers, who preferred to have the public drink whiskey instead of rum, it was possible for them to secure a tariff on molasses which considerably impaired the domestic distillation—except for export, in which case the duty was remitted.

Clark comments that "with whisky costing 25 cents a gallon and two cigars retailing for 1 cent, the convivial indulgencies of the early Republic were easily purchased."

The special fitness of the soil of the Connecticut Valley for tobacco culture gave rise to a very early household industry there in the manufacture of cigars. About 1810 this had developed into a shop industry; and in 1831 it appears that Salem, Saugus, and Newburyport were turning out cigars at the rate of ten to twenty million a year. Cigars of Cuban tobacco could be produced at $5 per thousand, or less, of which about half represented the cost of the material.

Mill Towns and Conditions of Labor (1823–1860)

To read the account of the supervised life of mill operatives in that ideal community that was Lowell in the days of its founding, is to wonder whether all of the merits of the system were conceived with an eye totally to the welfare of the workers, or whether now and then there were not some thought that two birds could be killed with one stone and the millowners themselves might profit a little?

In the first place, women had not been accustomed to working away from home and, if they were to be induced to settle in Lowell and provide a working force for the mill, special concessions would have to be made to Mrs. Grundy. Accordingly, tenements were erected for families, and boarding houses were built which appear to have been operated more or less on the plan of the dormitories of a modern girls' college.

From two to six girls shared a room, and a parlor was provided for the reception of guests. Except by special permission of the housekeeper, the girls were not permitted to remain out after ten o'clock at night.

Considerable emphasis was laid also upon the importance of religion, with a resultant saving in illumination costs, for it was provided that lamps would not be lit on Saturday nights in the company houses, inasmuch as the workers were supposed to be preparing themselves by prayer and meditation for the Sabbath.

Such English observers as Dickens and Trollope were particularly struck by the comparatively high intellectual caliber of the mill girls, their interest in reading and music, their attention to serious lectures, and their apparent concern with the better things of life. If one assumes that the actual value of the lectures and libraries that were provided has not been exaggerated, it is still possible to explain the difference between the interests of those days and the interests of our own in part by the fact that the population of the early mill communities was almost entirely of pure Yankee stock. The workers came from homes that were essentially of a class, and they did not feel the reluctance to live intimately with each other that they began to feel when foreign labor was introduced; nor did they lack the common heritage of Yankee shrewdness and aspiration to better things. So it was that they could be reached as a group by the type of uplift that was directed to them.

Wages were not large, according to modern standards, and the working day was long—until 1850, 13½ hours a day, or about 80 hours a week, for a reward of $1.25, of which the corporation collected 75 cents for board. By announcement of the Bay State Mills at Lowell in 1850, "labor begins, or the gate closes, at 5 A. M. from May 1 to September 1, and at ten minutes before sunrise the remainder of the year. A first bell is rung 40 minutes before, to allow time to prepare for work. Labor ends 7:30 P. M. from September 20 to March 20; and 7 from May 1 to September 1; and 15 minutes after sunset for the remainder of the year. During the whole year dinner is at 12:30 P. M. 45 minutes are allowed for each meal." At that time skilled labor, such as that of carpenters, was being paid at the rate of from $1.25 to $1.50 a day.

That there was always a fairly close understanding between workers and mill owners in Lowell is evidenced by the fact that, down to 1890, there were only eleven strikes, and none of these was general.

In that community there was little employment of children; but in some other mills this was common, and boys and girls between six and fourteen years of age were frequently a majority of the operating force. Practically nothing was done before the Civil War, but in 1866 and 1867 Massachusetts forbade the employment in factories of children under ten; in 1869 evening schools were authorized, and in 1883 they were made compulsory in towns of over 10,000 population. By successive steps the age of compulsory attendance at schools was raised until 1889, when it was established at fourteen years and children were obliged to attend school for thirty weeks out of each year. The ten-hour-day law for women and children was held constitutional by the Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1876.

Beginnings of Transportation (1639–1835)

New England is isolated from the country west of the Hudson by reason of the fact that difficult highlands intervene and the general course of the rivers is from north to south. Such transportation as the aborigines required was accomplished either by packing over the trails or carrying in canoes on the rivers. These devices had naturally to supplement one another because of rapids and rough water, around which portages were necessary. The two routes that were known in those days as the Bay Path and the Mohawk Trail now accommodate railroads, which is perhaps the best testimony to the wisdom with which they were originally selected.

But the possibilities of such primitive methods made them inadequate even for the fur trade with the Indians; and as population began to spread back from the coast and industries began to develop, there was a demand for connection with the principal market and commercial center, Boston. As early as 1639 the General Court decreed that "the ways" should be from six to ten rods wide, in order that vehicles might pass. "The ways," however, were hardly more than tracks across country, and were characterized by bogs and a general condition of roughness and disrepair. The sad state of the highways and the cumbersome character of the wagons, then essential if they were to hold together on such roads, combined to make overland transportation very costly. Ease of haulage, the convenience of heavy loads, and the comparatively low expense had commended canals, the construction of which commenced about 1820 and was at times marked by an agitation far in excess of anything that was really achieved.

Stage Coaches (1818–1835)

In 1818 the Eastern Stage Company commenced the operation of coaches from Portsmouth to Boston, and in 1832 it was operating routes from Dover and Portsmouth in New Hampshire to Newburyport, Salem, and Boston; from Salem to Haverhill and Lowell; from Gloucester to Ipswich, and from Lowell to Newburyport. For its time, the elaborateness of this program was almost equivalent to the frequent motor coaches of today, which in their turn are giving competition to the railroads that by 1835 spelled the doom of stagecoaching. Lines that had prospered exceedingly on such moderate fares as $1 from Boston to Salem and $11 for the 200 miles from Boston to Burlington—lines that had operated with such efficiency that Henry Clay travelled from Salem to Boston in a single hour, and Daniel Webster from Boston to Portland at an average of sixteen miles an hour—went down before the competition of a still cheaper and faster form of travel, and passed out of existence except as they became tributary to the railroads.

Canal Projects (1652–1859)

Minor canals were commenced in 1652 by the town of Ipswich in connection with a local stream, and Samuel Sewall in his diary in 1686 recorded the proposal of a Mr. Smith of Sandwich respecting a cut through Cape Cod at the head of pointed an engineer to investigate the possibilities in 1776; but he went into the service of the Continental Army instead, and the investigation was postponed from time to time until about a hundred years later.

Meanwhile surveys were made in 1791 for canals to extend westward from Boston. In 1793 a canal had been undertaken to avoid Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimac; and about the same time similar works were commenced near Turner's Falls and South Hadley on the Connecticut. The Middlesex Canal was originally projected to open up the lakes of New Hampshire and the western interior of New England to navigation by the Merrimac River. Its first section was opened in 1804, and large sums were expended over a period of years in maintenance and improvement. An annual income of $36,000 was considered requisite to the payment of a fair dividend, but receipts long fell below that sum.

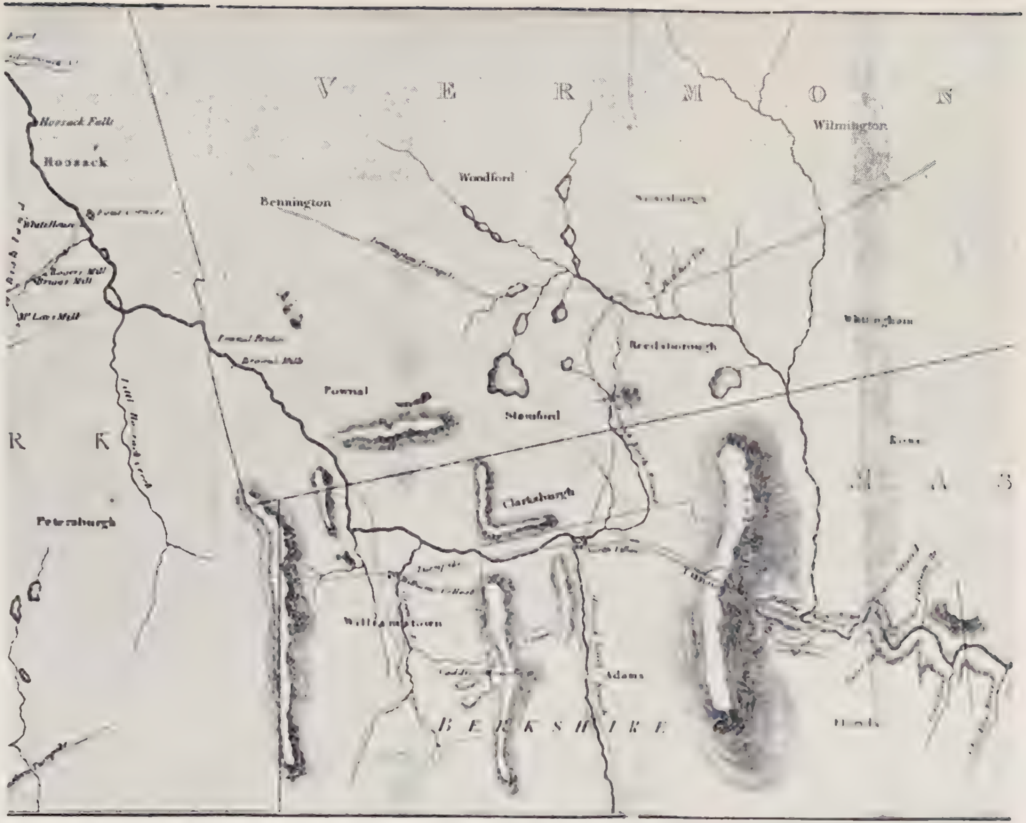
The Middlesex Canal was considered the finest structure of its kind until the Erie Canal was built. On it horses were able to haul boats carrying 14 tons at 3 miles an hour, at a cost for the entire 27 miles of the journey amounting to $1.70 for toll charges and $1.80 for freighting. "The traffic, which was mostly freight," says Vose, "was carried in flat-bottomed boats, with a rectangular midship section reduced a little toward the ends. By the regulations of the canal, boats were required to be not less than 40 feet nor more than 75 feet long, and not less than 9 feet nor more than 9½ feet wide. Each boat was drawn by one horse, the towing line being attached to a short mast, which was placed a little ahead of the center. The crew consisted of one man to drive and one to steer, except in the case of boats running up the Merrimac River, which had one man to steer and two to pole. These boats carried from 16 to 30 tons, and drew about 2½ feet when loaded. Freight boats were required to make 2½ miles an hour, and passenger boats 4 miles."

Cargoes consisted principally of products of the northern New England woodland—fuel, timber, lumber, pot and pearl ashes, together with some farm products and building stone. That the canal was regarded as a substantial convenience is evidenced by the increase in value of the adjacent lands by about a third over what they were worth prior to its construction, and accessible woodlands in New Hampshire were said by Daniel Webster to have increased five million dollars in value. Up to the time of the opening of the Boston and Lowell Railroad, the canal had been paying annual dividends of $10 to $30 a share for some years; but this new competition and the subsequent building of the Nashua and Lowell line reduced traffic to the point where it did not meet the expenses of operation, and in 1859 its charter was surrendered. Original shareholders approximately got their money back. A minor project was the half-mile canal, completed in 1821, from Fox Creek to the Chebacco River, connecting Ipswich and Essex. It returned a good profit on the investment of about $1,100.

The Blackstone Canal was completed from Providence to the Rhode Island line in 1824, and in the course of another four years the first boat moved through it from Providence to Worcester. Its life was short, however, for in 1844 the canal was sold out to the Providence and Worcester Railroad, which was constructed along the same route.

In 1825 there was considerable agitation for a canal from Boston to the Connecticut River, and over a period of years various routes were discussed. One of them was surveyed from Boston to Meriden on the Blackstone Canal, and thence to the Connecticut Valley, by a roundabout route which made the distance from Boston to Worcester about 26 miles more than it was by highway.

A resolution of the legislature on Febuary 25, 1825, created a commission "to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston to the Connecticut River and extending the same to some point on the Hudson River in the State of New York in the vicinity of the junction of the Erie Canal with that river." The problem of canal construction west of the Connecticut River stumped every engineer who tackled it. There was a feeling that some cheap form of transportation must be provided for the farmers of western Massachusetts, and there was a strong conviction on the part of the merchants


V E R M O N T
Wilmington
Hoosack Falls
Hoosack
Woodford
Bennington
Whitingham
Readsborough
Pownal
Stamford
Clarksburgh
Peterburgh
Rowe
R K
Williamstown
Adams
B E R K S H I R E
M A S

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

A Part of Col. Loammi Baldwin's Canal Survey, Which First Proposed the Hoosac Tunnel

of Boston that it was very wrong for the traffic of the West to be going down the Hudson and the Connecticut to New York when it would be so much more profitable to have it pass through Boston.

A number of surveys were made, the desperateness of the project being attested by Colonel Loammi Baldwin's plan, which proposed a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain about where the present tunnel of the Boston and Maine runs. The fact was that western Massachusetts would not lend itself to canalization, and that in an industrial community, the canal as a device for transportation could not possibly compete with the railroad, once the latter had become a practical device.

Railroad versus Canal (1825–1841)

Nathan Hale, editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* in 1827 argued the substantial advantages of a railway over the proposed canal to the Connecticut. He mentioned the saving in time in the transportation of freight, and the great importance of something faster than a canal if passengers were to be attracted. He also suggested that, inasmuch as the great bulk of country produce requires to be transported in the winter, the railroad would be very much better than the canal, which was likely to be used principally for skating throughout five months of the year.

All of this was written on the assumption that horses would be the motive power on the railway. The writer suggested that steam engines gave promise but were not yet to be counted upon. His description of the type of road, since it is essentially typical of the first construction, is perhaps worth reproducing: "The railroad which we propose, is a substantial and durable road, furnished with a single pair of wrought iron rails, similar to those of the most approved construction used in England, placed on stone supporters, and at the same distances from each other, with the wheels of a common carriage,—the path between the rails to be gravelled,—and at intervals of about every quarter of a mile, turn-out places should be provided, consisting of a pair of rails diverging from the main path to a sufficient distance to permit one line of carriages to pass another, and returning again to it. The moving power to be a single horse, the whole line of the road to be made so near a level as to admit of being travelled rapidly in both directions,—and where a greater declivity is indispensable, an additional power to be provided, to raise, or ease down the load."

Hale, incidentally, must be given credit for being the first to propose a device which it has been left for the twentieth century to adopt in principle. Commenting upon the objection that the railway carriages could not be brought to the warehouse door, as a common wagon might be, he suggested that a kind of iron shoe might be fitted over the wheel so as to protect its flange, and that it might then be hauled by horses like an ordinary wagon to any part of the town. On such a line as he proposed he estimated that freight could be hauled at the rate of 36 miles a day, requiring something under three days from Boston to the Connecticut River, at a total cost, excluding tolls, of $1.50 a ton.

First Railroad Construction (1826–1828)

The first railway constructed in Massachusetts ran from the Bunker Hill quarry in Quincy to the ocean shore in Milton, and was intended to carry the granite blocks that were quarried there for the monument at Bunker Hill. It was not a railroad in the modern sense of the word but merely a tramway on which haulage was made easier. The loaded cars were lowered down a steep incline near the quarry by a rope attached to a stationary steam engine, and were then hauled by horses to the water's edge, where the stones were removed to barges for transport to Charlestown. The road was most substantially constructed by laying a kind of granite foundation, upon which wooden rails of pine, 6 inches by 12 inches, supporting an oak strip, 2 inches by 3 inches, were surmounted by iron plates ⅜ of an inch thick and 2½ inches wide. Cars with wheels six feet in diameter were used to carry blocks of granite weighing eight or nine tons. A simple snowplow attached to the front of the car served to keep the line open in winter.

Genesis of the Railway Systems (1828–1841)

The success of railways in New England and the urgent demand for transportation in Massachusetts caused the legislature, in January, 1827, to undertake an investigation of the best railroad route from Boston to the Hudson River. The route chosen for estimates was substantially that of the present Boston and Albany Railroad, and the proposal was to construct a line in very much the same substantial manner as the quarry road at Quincy.

A good deal of guesswork was involved in the estimates of operating cost, a sample of which is appended: "The cost of transportation is reckoned in the following manner: Two horses being able to haul 20 tons on a level, and also on grades not exceeding 26 feet per mile, with additional horses for steeper inclines, and going at 3 miles per hour, would make the trip from Boston to Albany in 4 days, the distance being divided into 10 stages of 20 miles each. We have then:

20	horses at 50¢ a day each	$10.00
8	horses extra for steep grades	4.00
1	man 4 days, at $1 a day	4.00
6	wagons at 75¢ each a day [*sic*]	3.00
		$21.00

"To the above there is added for profit to the carrier, and the hazard of going sometimes partly loaded, fifty per cent, making the total cost for 16 net tons $31.50 or $1.97 per net ton."

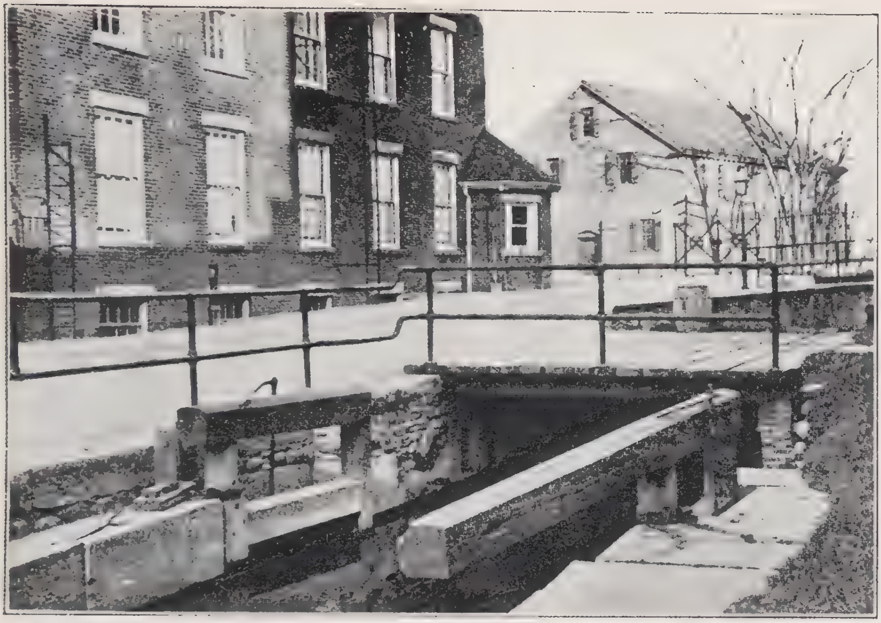
A line was also projected to Providence; and presently charters began to issue from the legislature. The Boston and Lowell was the first to be incorporated, and was followed in 1831 by the Boston and Providence and a line to Worcester. All three were open to traffic in 1835, comprising about 111 miles of trackage at a time when the railroads of the United States totalled 1,098 miles.

Probably the most substantial of these was the Boston and Lowell, which its directors declared had been built from solid granite as an assurance that it would never wear out. Unfortunately, the unyielding firmness of the road was a little too much for the rolling stock, which rapidly pounded itself to pieces, thus proving that there was some valuable truth for the railroads in the cockney coachman's aphorism that "hit ain't the 'eavy 'aulin' as 'urts the 'osses' 'oofs; hit's the 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer on the 'ard 'ighway."

THE NEW EXPERIENCE OF TRAVEL (1835–1841)

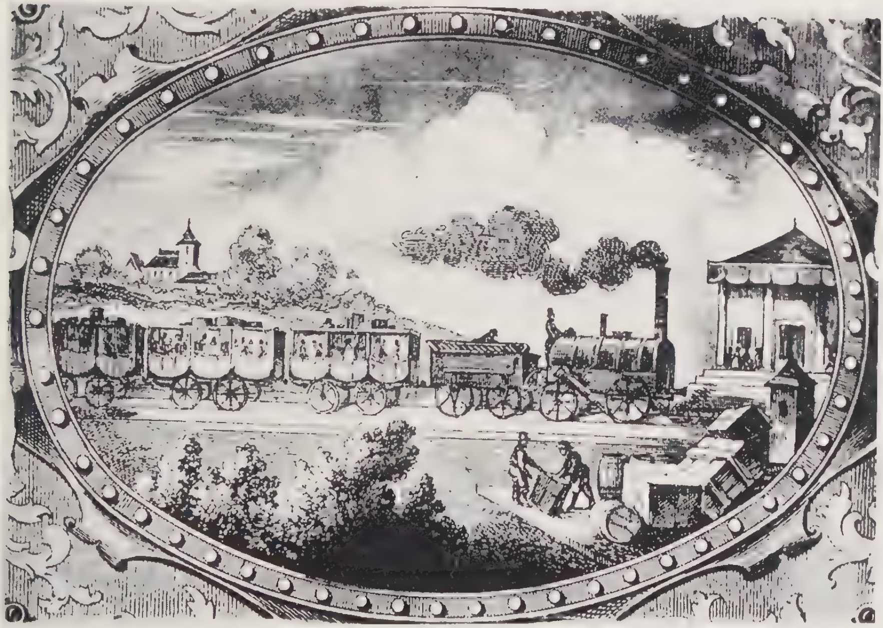
Newspapers of the day are full of the glorious records of the trial runs on which the invited passengers were regaled by the "sweetness of the atmosphere," and the "beauty and novelty of the scenery which was successively presented to view," so magnificent that it "appeared to produce in all . . . an agreeable exhilaration of spirits." Unfortunately, a party who went out from Boston on November 15, to celebrate completion of the road as far as Westboro, was delayed by head winds and the day's pleasure was somewhat curtailed. On the occasion of the opening of the line to Providence the new locomotive was not in very good order, so the initial trip was made with horse power, which gave an excellent opportunity to inspect the "grand structure."

With all of the flag waving and celebration that accompanied these very considerable exploits in a very important field, all was not wholly rosy. There is at least one record of a trip at about this time from Boston to New York which conveys another impression and seems entitled to recognition: "July 22, 1835.—This morning at nine o'clock I took passage in a railroad car [from Boston] for Providence. Five or six other cars were attached to the locomotive, and uglier boxes I do not wish to travel in. They were made to stow away some thirty human beings, who sit cheek by jowl as best they can. Two poor fellows, who were not much in the habit of making their toilet, squeezed me into a corner, while the hot sun drew from their garments a villainous compound of smells made up of salt fish, tar and molasses. By and by, just twelve,—only twelve,—bouncing factory girls were introduced, who were going on a party of pleasure to Newport.



From Bostonian Society *Publications*

LOCK GATES AT NORTH BILLERICA



Courtesy of Boston & Maine Railroad

FIRST TRAIN ON THE BOSTON AND LOWELL RAILROAD, 1835

'Make room for the ladies!' bawled out the superintendent. 'Come, gentlemen, jump up on the top; plenty of room there.' 'I'm afraid of the bridge knocking my brains out,' said a passenger. Some made one excuse and some another. For my part, I flatly told him that since I had belonged to the corps of Silver Grays I had lost my gallantry, and did not intend to move. The whole twelve were, however, introduced, and soon made themselves at home, sucking lemons and eating green apples. . . . The rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, all herd together in this modern improvement in travelling. The consequence is a complete amalgamation. Master and servant sleep heads and points on the cabin floor of the steamer, feed at the same table, sit in each other's laps, as it were, in the cars; and all this for the sake of doing very uncomfortably in two days what would be done delightfully in eight or ten. Shall we be much longer kept by this toilsome fashion of hurrying, hurrying, from starting (those who can afford it) on a journey with our own horses, and moving slowly, surely and profitably through the country, with the power of enjoying its beauty and be the means of creating good inns? Undoubtedly, a line of post-horses and post-chaises would long ago have been established along our great roads had not steam monopolized everything.

In 1841 the long persisting demand for a line to the Hudson was met by the completion of the Western Railroad from Worcester to Albany. It had required seven years to build, and but for the assistance of the State treasury would probably have been longer delayed. With the opening of this line, as Adams says, "the genesis of the system was complete."

Transportation System Elaborated (1840–1860)

On this fundamental basis the network of Massachusetts and New England railroads was extended. Two companies were merged in 1845 into the corporation which bought the Blackstone Canal and constructed a road from Worcester to Providence, and other lines were built running from Worcester to Norwich (1840) and from Worcester to Nashua (1848).

The Western Railroad eventuated as a through line from Boston to Albany by way of Worcester and Springfield, and was the first line to show a tendency toward modern construction by its avoidance of grade crossings, its adoption of heavier rails and the more careful building of its roadbed. All of these lines were in large part financed by capital from Boston and from the communities that were served by the better transportation.

A number of branch roads were constructed from the Western Railroad: one from Pittsfield to North Adams, and another from Pittsfield to Stockbridge. A line was completed from Troy to North Adams in 1855.

Springfield became the center of lines running into northern New England and into Connecticut. The first was that connecting Springfield and Northampton (1845), continued to South Vernon, Vermont (1848); and a branch was built to Chicopee Falls (1845).

The Eastern Railroad finished the construction of a line from Boston to Salem in 1838, and reached the New Hampshire border in 1840. Another of its lines made connection with Portsmouth, Portland, and Saco in 1846.

The Boston and Fitchburg line ran its first train in 1845 from West Cambridge to Fitchburg, and in 1848 was extended into Boston. It made connection with a number of subsidiary lines, largely in New Hampshire and Vermont, and eventually achieved connection with Brattleboro. Still another branch extended from Fitchburg to Greenfield in 1850.

From this time on it was a question of consolidation and expansion, with the attendant adandonment of some of the shorter lines which had been built in the throes of excess enthusiasm. It is amazing to note that just within the period covered by this volume one may observe the very inception of the railroad in New England and follow it down to the report of Augustus W. Locke and other engineers on the matter of the abolition of grade crossings, which was furnished under instructions of the Massachusetts legislature in 1889. The railroad network as shown on the end-papers of this volume is based on the map accompanying that report.

A supplementary service was performed by the introduction, in the late eighties, of electric trolley lines which replaced horse cars on local runs and added rapid interurban transportation for passengers and light freight.

Special Facilities for Business (1850–1889)

With all the railroads that were constructed, it was not possible to piece together a through service to Albany and the West, to northern New England, or to New York and beyond, simply because the vast number of independent carriers who controlled short distances tremendously complicated the business of getting freight transferred. A passenger might be willing to stand the inconvenience because he was still getting something vastly better than he had ever known before; but a business man who wished to forward freight was under the necessity of sending a chaperone with it to supervise its laborious transfer and arrange for its reshipment from point to point.

Before 1860, forwarding agencies had grown up which undertook to look after this matter, and it was not many years later that the railroads began to make agreements for the exchange of their freight-car equipment. An express service also grew up, originated by William Harnden of Boston in 1839, and this supplanted the previous custom of utilizing stage drivers, steamboat captains, and other travellers.

The question of transportation by water is discussed in the chapter on clipper ships in this volume.

Progress of Commerce (1820–1889)

The flow of commerce is the natural result of the union of manufactures and transportation facilities. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the peddler was the only contact between the manufacturers of New England and their customers in the interior. There were successive steps in peddling, marked first by a man with a pack on his back, later by a man on horseback with his goods packed in baskets, and still later by men whose increasingly elaborate wagons were almost stores on wheels. Then, as transportation facilities became better and it was possible to convey large shipments of goods to the interior, and as at the same time interior towns grew up and evidenced a desire for goods of a variety and quality which they could not produce for themselves, it became possible to stock stores and to operate them profitably. So far as the large-scale manufactures of New England were concerned—her textiles and shoes and iron specialties—they were largely sold through agents or commission merchants. In the first three or four decades of the century large quantities of cotton and woolen goods were sold at the semiannual market in Boston, which was organized under the auspices of the New England Society for Encouraging Manufactures. In the March sale of 1832, cotton and woolen goods worth $1,500,000 were sold, together with shoes valued at $125,000. At about the same time the woolen market became definitely settled in Boston, and manufacturers who desired to purchase raw materials in quantity attended from places as far west as Ohio.

The railroads developed a traffic in grain products from the West. In 1844 the Western Railroad brought 300,000 barrels of flour to New England, and carried westward New England manufactures which were destined to the cities of the Central States.

Profits and Crises (1815–1889)

The textile industry, long recognized as among the most staple in New England, averaged earnings of 10 per cent a year on a capital amounting to more than $20,000,000 during the period 1838–1849. The Merrimac Company earned the highest rate, 14 per cent. In 1853, 36 out of 40 New England corporations paid dividends of 4 to 10 per cent, but in 1856 only 30 out of 41 companies were paying. Even prosperous companies were working on a basis pretty close to 6 per cent during the years just preceding the Civil War.

We have mentioned the effect of that war in discouraging the cotton manufacturers, many of whom closed their plants, sold them, or sought to enter the woolen business. There was very naturally an overproduction of the more easily manufactured types of woolen goods; and when the war ended, losses were considerable. The shoe business, too, prospered as such things do under war-time conditions; but a number of the principal contractors were much handicapped by the cancellation of government orders, which left them with large stocks of goods which it was difficult to sell.

The attitude toward the tariff after the Civil War, as after the War of 1812, was essentially in favor of protective duties on goods which might enter into competition with the products of Massachusetts manufacturers, although there was a feeling that it was a little unfair to impose duties on raw materials which were needed here. In general, there was a gradual increase in duties to 1824, a period of high production until 1832, and a reduction of the tariff following the Compromise of 1833. Then, with the agitation attending the preliminaries of the Civil War, little attention was paid to this particular subject, and duties were imposed with the idea of revenue primarily in view.

More or less associated with the ideas of Massachusetts men on the tariff were the financial crises of 1815–1820, 1837-1840, and 1857-1860. The first of these marked the sufferings of war-time speculators when the sudden conclusion of the War of 1812 permitted an inflow of British goods, much more attractive to customers than the war-time product of ill-equipped American manufacturers. The depression of 1837 reflected excessive use of credits by American importers of English goods, who overreached themselves, and so flooded the market that sales of American goods fell off. Manufacturing companies found it difficult to meet their obligations, and many of them failed. The industrial depression of 1857 is described as a reaction from a period of undue prosperity and consequent unwise extension of manufacturing facilities.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CLIPPER SHIPS

By Samuel Eliot Morison

Author of The Maritime History of Massachusetts

The Glory of the Clippers

It will always remain a proud boast of Massachusetts that during a brief period of five years (1850–1855) her shipbuilders produced the noblest class of sailing vessel that has ever been or can ever be—the clipper ships. These ships, the pride of all who sailed in them and the wonder of all who beheld them, were an achievement of which any people might well be proud. An achievement with no victims or regrets, such as must always be associated with a successful battle, an industrial conquest, or even a political victory. For the clipper ships were not ships of war. Hard they were to those who sailed them, no toys indeed for weaklings, and testing the finest qualities of manhood. Yet their triumphant progress around the world, breaking every record on every trade route, was a clean well-earned victory for daring and skill. They performed no small part in welding the chains of peaceful commerce that preserved the American Union whole, at peace with the world, and respected by those capable of respect.

The clipper ships were built for use and profit, not for play and admiration; yet they were undoubtedly the highest creation of artistic genius in the Commonwealth during the three centuries of her history. Unconsciously they conformed to the aesthetic canon which places beauty of line, structure, and proportion above ornament and detail. The lines of their hulls were quick and virile as those of a living tree or of a column of the Parthenon. Their spars, sails, and rigging obeyed some secret law of proportion, as though the Cyprian goddess herself had whispered the formulæ of the ancients in the ears of our practical Yankee shipbuilders. Lest I seem to exaggerate, let me quote from an undoubted authority, the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted:

"Whatever else it may be in the last analysis, it cannot be separated from this fact, that a fine clipper ship, such as we had in America just come to build and rightly sail, when the age of such things passed away, was as ideally perfect for its essential purpose as a Phidian statute for the essential purpose of its sculptor. And it so happened that in much greater degree than it can happen in a steamship, or in the grandest architecture, the ideal means to this purpose were of exceeding grace, not of color, but of form and outline, light and shade, and of the play of light in shadow and of shadow in light. Because of this coincidence it was possible to express the purpose of the ship and the relation and contribution to that purpose of every part and article of her, from cleaving stem to fluttering pennant, with exquisite refinement. These qualities, with the natural stateliness of the ship's motion, set off by the tuneful accompaniment of the dancing waves, made the sailing ship in its last form the most admirably beautiful thing in the world, not a work of nature nor a work of fine art.

"If any reader doubts the fascination of this seafaring beauty, the grandeur of it, the refinement, the spur it gives to the imagination, let him read the stories of Clark Russell. But no writer, poet, or painter can ever have told in what degree it lay in a thousand matters of choice—choice made in view of ideal refinements of detail, in adaptation to particular services, studied as thoughtfully and as feelingly as ever a modification of tints on painter's palette. One needed but a little understanding of the motives of seamanship to feel how in the hull every shaving had been counted, and how in the complicated work aloft every spar and cloth, block and bull's-eye, line and seam, had been shaped and fined and fitted to do the duty required of it in the most sinewy way. Phidias could not have told the special duty of every curve and line more beautifully. I have seen a boy rope's-ended for leaving on a rope's end a fray of twine that could not have been seen two yards away. Such untidiness was shockingly incongruous with the lovely form and fine array of the *Ann McKim,* and the mind too indolent to see this needed a stimulant."

Each clipper ship differed from the other, so that any sharp-eyed lad of the period could tell them apart as easily as do his descendants the different makes of motor cars; yet each in itself was a thing of wonder, that engraved her image on the hearts of those who beheld her. Opinions have differed, and will always differ, about the relative beauty of the masterpieces of architecture, sculpture, and painting; but that of the clipper ships was so notorious that there were no dissenters. I have heard of a cultivated, high-bred lady and a poor laborer, animated at the same instant by the same impulse of admiration for one of these noble vessels gliding up the harbor, each exclaiming, "The beauty!" I have caught the flash in the eyes of an aged seaman as he straightened his bent back and said, "I sailed on the *Flying Cloud* under Captain Cressy." And once, after lecturing on the clipper ships, I was approached by a fine old lady who asked me some questions about the launching of the *Great Republic* and said, "I was there!" with the air of one who had heard Lincoln speak or had seen the surrender of Cornwallis. If that was the impression that the clipper ships made on contemporaries, we who live in the age of steel and gasoline may be indulged in a little sentiment, as we think on the glory that departed from our shores with the conquest of sail by steam.

The Maritime Commonwealth (1630–1830)

In the production of this supreme type of sailing vessel, maritime Massachusetts must share the credit with her sister seaports of the other New England states, with New York, and with Chesapeake Bay; but there is plenty of glory to go around. Two centuries of experience were behind the Massachusetts clipper ships, the swiftest of that peerless class. Many seamen, shipwrights, and a few master builders were among the first settlers at the Bay. They began building vessels almost at once, and before the seventeenth century was over Massachusetts-built brigs and ketches were well known in our southern ports, in the West Indies, in British ports, and in the Mediterranean—wherever, in fact, the Acts of Trade permitted colonial vessels to go, and in a good many places where they were not supposed to go. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 stimulated the building of privateers, designed chiefly for speed; and between those two wars Massachusetts vessels penetrated every part of the known world. None were particularly large—a vessel of 150 feet length was counted a great ship—or particularly speedy; but they were officered and manned by native Yankees, and operated with an economy and efficiency that frequently evoked the admiration of their British and French rivals. By 1812, there were certain definite shipbuilding centers in Massachusetts, and each seaport had some specialty in trading routes.

The gist of it all is that Massachusetts during the first two centuries of her history was essentially a maritime State. The sea was the chief outlet for enterprise, and the high road to wealth. Until the decade of the eighteen-thirties, when the factory system became acclimated and the westward movement gathered momentum, the chief interest in Massachusetts was the maritime one. Boys and youths from the farming regions who wanted change and adventure, or merely wished to lay by a little money to marry on and buy a farm, shipped before the mast or apprenticed themselves to a shipbuilder. The "big money" of the time was made by the merchants, who combined the owning and operating and financing and insurance of ships with buying cheap and selling dear in every market of the world. The produce of New England farms, mills, fisheries, and workshops, as well as the exotic products imported from both Indies, both coasts of Africa, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean, were distributed from the wharves of Newburyport, Salem, and Boston by coasting vessels, all up and down the Atlantic Coast. The Connecticut Valley and the Berkshires naturally found their outlets at the ports of Long Island Sound and New York rather than at Boston and Salem; but the whole State talked, thought, and "calculated" in terms of sea-borne commerce; whilst in the seaports themselves men talked familiarly of Hawaii and the Fijis, Smyrna and Archangel, Canton and Calcutta, Surinam and Santo Domingo, as their descendants now brag about motor trips.

to Montreal and Florida. The father of a large family expected one of his sons to be a seaman, just as he hoped one would be a scholar or a minister.

The profession of shipmaster required the highest manliness, besides judgment, in those days before the telegraph and wireless; it was so often lucrative, for ships' officers always had a percentage of profits beside their wages and often became shipowning merchants by the age of thirty, that a promising seacaptain generally had the pick of the pretty girls in his home town for his wife. "She's good enough to marry an East India cap'n!" was the highest commendation for a Cape Cod damsel. Seafaring, moreover, had social prestige in Massachusetts, for the first families sent their sons to sea, and following the sea was the way to found a first family yourself.

Such a one was Robert Bennett Forbes. At the age of eight he was passenger with his parents on a Baltimore clipper privateer that ran the British blockade in 1813. At thirteen he shipped before the mast on a China trader, with a capital consisting of a Bible, a Bowditch, a sea chest, and his mother's blessing. At twenty he was captain; at twenty-six, master of his own ship; and at fifty, the foremost merchant of Boston. By 1835 or thereabouts there were thousands of active, enterprising young men like him, working in the shipyards, serving before the mast or in merchants' counting-rooms; talking ship, thinking ship, and dreaming of ships greater and more beautiful than the world had ever seen—ships with hundred-foot yards and clouds of sail, ships with the American flag at their spanker gaffs and "Boston" on their counters, that would break all records for speed and endurance. In a few years there came a unique combination of events that made their dreams come true.

The Pre-Clipper Era

From 1815 to the clipper-ship era there was a gradual improvement in naval architecture; but before describing it we must have a few definitions. "Clipper" comes from a now obsolete meaning of the verb "to clip," meaning "to fly rapidly"; it has survived as a substantive in the phrase "going at a fast clip." The derivative "clipper" came into use early in the nineteenth century both for fast sailing ships and for race horses, the two loveliest objects in the world. Either during or just after the War of 1812, the term "Baltimore Clipper" was applied specifically to a type of "long, low, rakish" schooner beloved by novelists and favored by privateersmen and pirates, built on Chesapeake Bay, particularly at Baltimore. They were small, heavily masted and rigged, but with very fine ends and hulls, and had an almost V-shaped cross-section and shoal draught, so that their carrying capacity was slight. It had been a maxim of shipbuilders for centuries that you could have speed or burthen, not both; you had to choose between a small fast vessel, or a large, deep, and slow one.

After the War of 1812, Baltimore builders modified the type, making it a little more burthensome and rigging it as a brig or brigantine for the Rio coffee trade, as did Massachusetts builders for the Mediterranean fruit business and the Smyrna trade. In 1833 Isaac McKim, a wealthy merchant of Baltimore, first applied the clipper principle of construction to a ship; i.e., a three-masted vessel with square sails on every mast. The *Ann McKim,* as he named her, was the first clipper ship. She was still very small—only 143 feet long and measuring less than 500 tons—and proved very fast; but she had so little carrying capacity that she was regarded by other American shipbuilders as a freak, and no other clipper *ship* was built for over twelve years.

At the same time there was a gradual improvement in the model, rig, and handling of the deep-sea freighters, which carried the bulk of Massachusetts commerce to Europe and the Far East. The shipbuilders of the Medford and the Merrimac were chiefly responsible for this. A Medford-built East Indiaman of 450 tons, handled by 18 officers and men, could carry half as much freight as a British East Indiaman of 1500 tons measurement with a crew of 125, and could sail half again as fast. These vessels were bluff, full ships, but with sweet water lines, lofty rig, and sails of Lowell cotton duck, well cut and setting flat, so that they could sail much closer to the wind than the older type, and be handled briskly. The enterprise of Frederic Tudor in discovering a method of packing ice so that it could be exported to South America, China, and India, created a new winter industry for Massachusetts and employed a large fleet of East India traders.

The China trade also gave rise to a fleet of small fast brigs and schooners, which were used to smuggle Indian opium into China and therefore were called the opium clippers. Naturally they needed all the speed that could be had. Two of the most successful, the schooner *Zephyr* and the brig *Antelope,* were built by Samuel Hall of East Boston, later one of the most successful designers and builders of clipper ships; and another dainty little craft engaged in this dirty business was the Medford-built *Ariel,* of only 100 tons burthen. Some of the later clipper ship commanders, such as Philip Dumaresq, had their first experience of fast vessels on these little opium clippers, which must have made many builders ambitious to turn out a heavy cargo carrier which would produce the speed and weatherly qualities of those saucy smugglers.

The Western Ocean Sailing Packets

A third type of vessel, which fell just short of doing that, was the Western Ocean packet ship. These were the first "liners," or fleets of vessels which made regular sailings on scheduled time, instead of merely waiting for a full complement of passengers and freight. Down to 1850, New York had the most famous sailing packet lines between this country and Liverpool: the Black Ball, celebrated in sea chanties, the Swallow-Tail, the Red Star, and the Dramatic. Blow high, blow low, these vessels left Liverpool or New York on their scheduled dates of sailing. Down to 1840 none of them were really large—700 tons being considered the maximum size that would pay; but they were as comfortably fitted up for passengers, both cabin and steerage, as a sailing ship of that size could be, and they were driven by their masters and owners as no vessels had been before and none, save the clipper ships, since. The consequence was that by 1820 the American-built sailing packets had driven the English packets from the Atlantic.

"The reason will be evident to anyone who will walk through the docks at Liverpool," wrote an English traveller in 1827. "He will see the American ships, long, sharp built, beautifully painted and rigged, and remarkable for their fine appearance and white canvas. He will see the English vessels, short, round and dirty, resembling great black tubs." But there were other reasons beside design, build, and upkeep, why the American ships made better speed than the English. Johnny Bull has a curious reluctance to *drive* a sailing vessel. He will shorten sail out of caution, before it is really necessary; while your Yankee captain will carry sail night or day, until the very last moment, risking a blowout, since he can always bend on a new one. True, we are always hearing of broken spars and ripped sails on the Yankee clippers; but we also hear of them as tearing along with skysails set, passing British vessels under double-reefed topsails or even hove to. Further, Yankee seamen have a much keener sense for following the wind. The Britisher will jog comfortably along, rap-full; while the Yankee braces his yards up sharp, watches the weather clew of the mizzen royal like a cat watching a rat hole, and encourages the helmsman to take advantage of every puff and flaw to squeeze a yard or two to windward.

In 1840 the British issued a challenge to the Yankee sailing packets in the shape of the Cunard Line. Boston was selected as the American terminus because it was nearer than New York to Liverpool. The early Cunarders, side-wheelers all, were little, if any, more comfortable than the packets—especially for eastward voyages, when the prevailing westerly winds often enabled sail to beat steam. At first they took only the cream of the transatlantic trade, passengers and freight.

Soon, however, other lines were established, and the "teakettles," as the seamen called the steamships in their less profane moments, began to make serious inroads on the sailing-packet business. In consequence, the packet-ship owners began to build larger vessels, and were eager to experiment with faster models. At the same time (in 1843) a public-spirited merchant-shipowner of Boston, named Enoch Train, decided to make another try at establishing a Boston-Liverpool sailing packet line. Fortunately he hit upon, and brought to Boston to build his packets, a young shipbuilder of Newburyport, who was destined within ten years to build the greatest sailing ships of all time. This was Donald McKay.

DONALD McKAY

Donald McKay was born at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1810. At an early age he emigrated to New York to learn the trade of shipwright, and was fortunately apprenticed to Isaac H. Webb, the premier shipbuilder of New York, who recognized his superior ability and released him from his indenture before it had expired. After working as foreman in several New York shipyards, McKay removed to Newburyport, where he superintended the building of a small ship for John Currier, Jr., with such skill that William Currier, another member of that old shipbuilding family, took him into partnership in 1841. Among Donald McKay's first orders at Newburyport were two packet ships for New York lines, the *St. George* and the *John R. Skiddy,* the latter just short of 1000 tons. His first vessel, a small ship named the *Delia Walker,* was such a favorite with her owner, Dennis Condry, that when Enoch Train happened to mention his packet-line ambition to that gentleman, he recommended Donald McKay. Train called on McKay at Newburyport, hit it off with him at once, and in an hour the contract had been made to build the first ship for the Train Line. The *Joshua Bates,* as she was called, was so superior in construction and design, so faultless in every detail, that Train insisted on McKay setting up his own yard at East Boston and financed him in the undertaking.

East Boston was a new section of the city when Donald McKay established his home and shipyard there in 1844, and the shipbuilding industry there was only ten years old. It was made possible only by a company of enterprising Bostonians, who at once developed the land and purchased stands of timber on the Niagara River and elsewhere in the interior, which they arranged to have brought to Boston by the Erie Canal and coasting vessels. Hitherto, Massachusetts builders had cut their timber locally, but the time had come when the great hardwood forests of the West must be called upon to provide ribs, knees, and planking for a newer and finer type of vessel. Samuel Hall, of the old North River breed of shiprights, had placed his yard at East Boston in 1837, and had turned out some fine vessels. He was soon to find a worthy rival in Donald McKay.

Donald McKay built packet ships not only for the Train Line but also for some of the New York firms; and in accordance with the trend of the time, those were built larger and larger. Only ten years before, a 900-ton New York packet had to be taken off the Western Ocean trade, as she did not pay. McKay's third packet ship, the *Anglo-Saxon,* was of just that size; and only four days later (Sept. 9, 1846) he launched for a New York firm the *New World,* of 1400 tons. The Train Line immediately countered with a 1300-tonner, the *Ocean Monarch,* launched in 1847. Both she and the *Anglo-Saxon* were lost at sea under tragic circumstances; but the *New World* was still doing business under the German flag in 1884. McKay built for the Train Line in all seven packet ships, so well-constructed, fast, economical to operate, and comfortable for passengers that,in spite of disastrous accidents to two of them, the Train Line became one of the most popular packet lines running out of Liverpool. Unfortunately it succumbed in the financial panic of 1857, and by that time the competition of steam was so severe that no other sail line was established.

The First Clipper Ships (1845–1849)

The New York shipbuilders were not idle, during this decade of the 'forties; on the contrary, they took the lead of their more conservative Boston colleagues by producing the first ships, after the *Ann McKim,* that can properly be called clippers. John W. Griffeth, the head draughtsman of a New York shipbuilding firm, was the inventor of that type. The essence of his innovation was drawing out the ends of a vessel, making the bow long and fine—the well-known "clipper bow"—with concave water lines at the entrance, and the greatest breadth of beam almost amidships. This concave bow was the most conspicuous feature of the clipper ships, distinguishing them to the most inexpert observer from the full-bodied ships with their round, burly, bows; but modern scientific designers consider it to have been a mistake, and attribute the speed of the clippers to other factors. One of those was the attention paid to the "run," the flow of lines aft from the point of greatest beam:

"... sloping aft
With graceful curve and slow degrees,
That she might be docile to the helm,
And that the currents of parted seas,
Closing behind, with mighty force,
Might aid and not impede her course."

So Longfellow described, in his "Building of the Ship." Griffeths also had original ideas about the placing of masts; the relation of beam to length—which he reduced to the proportions of almost one to five; and the cut and design of sails: which probably had more to do with the phenomenal speed of the clippers than the beautiful tapering stem.

Griffeth's first ship—the first complete clipper after the *Ann McKim*—was the *Rainbow,* of 750 tons, launched at New York in 1845. She was built for the China trade and was so successful that a few others like her were built for the same purpose between 1846 and 1849—most of them in New York, and only the smallest ship, the *Ariel,* of 572 tons, in Massachusetts. Owners were skeptical of the new type, for it had slight cargo capacity in comparison with its registered tonnage, and it required a large crew to handle the many and large sails. There was such competition in almost every sea route that it was felt that clipper ships were suitable only where extra freight money could be earned for extra speed.

In 1848 occurred the event which created the demand: the discovery of gold in California. As soon as the news reached the Atlantic Coast, early in '49, the gold fever set in. Men of every calling and profession dropped what they were doing, raised what money they could, and clubbed together to purchase anything that would float (and some that would not float) to take them to California. There were 151 clearances from Boston alone for San Francisco in 1849, and at least as many more from the other New England seaports. As almost all the 90,000 passengers who embarked for California in 1849 went to the gold washings, and as a considerable minority were successful, the prices for food, clothing, and every necessity of life rose to fabulous heights at San Francisco in 1850. Between June 26 and July 28, 1850, there entered the Golden Gate seventeen sailing vessels from New York and sixteen from Boston. The average length of these thirty-three passages was 159 days. And then arrived from New York the clipper ship *Sea Witch,* just 97 days out. That settled it! Clipper ships were the thing for California.

Clipper Ships of 1850

In response to this need, the yards of New York City and Massachusetts produced the first California clipper ships, the first built especially for that trade, before the end of the year. Two of the most famous of these, the *Game-Cock* and *Surprise,* were built by Samuel Hall, the pioneer master builder of East Boston, and were designed by a twenty-three-year-old Bostonian, Samuel Hartt Pook. As one looks back over the records of the clipper ship era, Pook must take a very high place as a naval architect. He was the first designer of vessels in Massachusetts to be independent of a shipyard. Hitherto, the functions of designer and master builder had always been combined in the same firm; and well combined they generally were. Samuel Hall resented the reputation that Pook got from these vessels, and asserted in the Boston press that their merits were due to his changes in the young man's plans; but Pook's reputation is secure, what with these and the *Witchcraft, Herald of the Morning,* and *Red Jacket.*

The *Game-Cock,* 190 feet long and registering about 1400 tons, was owned by Daniel C. Bacon of Boston, grandfather of Senator Gaspar G. Bacon. Everything in her construction was sacrificed for speed: her ends were remarkably long and fine; her rig was as lofty as that of much larger ships, hoisting 8000 yards of sailcloth 18 inches wide; and her dead rise of 40 inches was the most excessive on any clipper over 1200 tons. While the *Game-Cock* was a bit of a disappointment as to speed, compared with her contemporaries, and never made a good California voyage, she was remarkably fast to windward and has one of the best records: 17 days from Sandy Hook to the Equator. It is said that, on that run, when 15 days out she spoke a British ship bound north, and on the blackboard which was used to compare calculations of latitude and longitude Captain Clement T. Jaynes of the *Game-Cock* wrote, "15 days from New York." The "Limey" then displayed on his board, "That's a lie!" This was typical of the attitude—half indignant and half incredulous—with which John Bull received the new records that the Yankee clippers hung up. Indeed there are to this day British writers who doubt these records on the naïve ground that it would have been impossible for a ship of any other nation to beat the records of the best British ships! However, when the first American clipper ship to reach British waters, the *Oriental,* of New York, arrived in London late in 1850 after a record run of 97 days from Hong Kong, the London *Times* came out with a fine generous editorial, admitting that the Americans had wrought a revolution in naval architecture and calling on British shipbuilders to take up the challenge. That they did right speedily; but American shipbuilders were progressing so fast that by the time the Britishers had caught up the Americans had gone one better.

The early clipper ships had most of their trouble with their spars. Much experimentation was necessary before the right proportions could be found, and there was a great deal of breakage at sea during the best of times. On her first California voyage the *Game-Cock* had to put in with a sprung mainmast at Rio, where she was shortly joined by another Massachusetts clipper of 1850 the *Witchcraft* (187 feet long, 1500 tons), designed by young Pook, built by Paul Curtis at Chelsea, and owned by S. Rogers and W. D. Pickman of Salem. With the son of one of her owners as captain, she did not do well; but under Captain Benjamin Freeman, in 1854 she made a passage of 98 days from New York to San Francisco.

This same year, 1850, James M. Hood, a shipbuilder at Somerset on the Taunton River, put in an entry for the California stakes with his clipper ship *Governor Morton,* of size and proportion almost a sister ship to the *Game-Cock*. The *Governor Morton* was built under the supervision of her first commander, John A. Burgess of Somerset, and for twenty-five years she was the pride of Narragansett Bay. She was one of the most useful, though not the fastest, of the clipper ships. Her best passage to San Francisco was 104 days.

Another, and slightly smaller, clipper ship of 1850 was the *John Bertram,* built at East Boston by Ewell & Jackson, who proved close rivals to Hall and McKay in the new class of vessel. She was the first ship of Glidden & Williams's Boston-San Francisco packet line; but as there was so little return freight from California in those days, she always returned to Boston *via* China, as the other California clippers did. In Dr. Howe's *American Clipper Ships* there is a fine description, by one of the mates, of the *Bertram* beating up Manila Bay against the wind, the crew at their stations from dawn to dark, forced to shave the narrow channel on either side.

Coming about in a square-rigger is a very different matter from putting a fore-and-aft-rigged vessel on the other tack—a most complicated manouver in a full-rigged ship carrying topgallants, royals, and even skysails. The fifteen yards have to be swung at exactly the right moment—a different moment for each mast—or the ship will be in stays. Anyone who has steamed into Manila will wonder that a square-rigger could beat in at all. Imagine then what a wonderful sight the nervous evolutions of the lofty *Bertram* must have been and what nerve Captain Fred Lendholm must have had to attempt it. But the glass was falling, and he knew his crew; and the single mishap which could have piled them up on the rocks did not occur.

Surprise and Stag Hound (1850)

The queen of the 1850 vintage, however, was the *Surprise,* designed by Pook, and built by Samuel Hall under the supervision of her first commander, Captain Philip Dumaresq. Measuring 1261 tons, and 183½ feet long, she was neither as large nor as sharp as the *Game-Cock,* but much more appropriately named. The first surprise she afforded was at her launching, for Sam Hall made the bold experiment of letting her slip down the ways fully sparred, three skysail yards crossed, and gear rove off. The great event took place on October 5, 1850. It was the first of a series of free spectacles to which the lucky Bostonians of the clipper ship era were treated almost every month. Longfellow has recorded in his "Building of the Ship" the emotion of those clipper launchings:

"And at the word,
Loud and sudden there was heard,
All around them and below,
The sound of hammers, blow on blow,
Knocking away the shores and spurs.
And see! she stirs!
She starts,—she moves,—she seems to feel
The thrill of life along her keel,
And, spurning with her foot the ground,
With one exulting, joyous bound,
She leaps into the ocean's arms."

Confounding the old shellbacks, who predicted that with all that top-hamper she would turn turtle, the *Surprise* started gently down the ways and, amid a roar of cheering and jangling of church bells, slid into the harbor, swayed like a fledgling on his first flight, and came to rest with an air of aristocratic contempt for the crape-hangers. Then came a banquet offered by her builder to the workingmen who built her, with their wives and sweethearts, and another dinner given by the owners to Samuel Hall, at which they presented him with a purse of $2,500 over and above the cost of the ship.

A. A. Low & Brother, of New York, could well afford the bonus, for the *Surprise* was one of the most successful of the clippers, clearing a profit of $50,000 over her prime cost on her first California voyage, and later, earning steady profits in the China tea trade under "Old Cap'n Charles" Ranlett and "Young Cap'n Charles," his son. What counted more in prestige, on her maiden voyage, under Captain Dumaresq, she clipped a day off the *Sea Witch's* record of 97 days, New York to San Francisco. It was a proud day for Boston when the news came through; but prouder days yet were in store for the "happy town beside the sea, whose roads lead everywhere to all."

Donald McKay was yet to be heard from. He was near thirty years old, and an experienced shipbuilder. An old friend of John W. Griffeth of New York, he thoroughly believed in the new principles of design; but on account of his preoccupation with the Train packet ships, he had had no opportunity to get into the game until well on in 1850, when two of the first merchant-shipowner firms of Boston, George B. Upton and Sampson & Tappan, commissioned him to build what was the largest American merchant ship yet constructed, and an extreme clipper at that. This was the *Stag Hound,* the first American merchantman over 200 feet long and over 1500 tons burthen. She had a sail area of 9500 yards, not counting light sails. Everything in or about her, from the patent blocks to the carved figurehead of a staghound panting at the chase, was locally made; and the whole was so symmetrical that the newspaper scribes exhausted their adjectives and similes in trying to describe her sharp bow, clean "as a sculptured Venus," her elliptical stern, and her sheer line, "perfect as the spring of a steel bow." Indeed, it was always a question whether a clipper ship was more beautiful doing her proper work with sails set, or riding at anchor, with rigging taut, yards square, sails taper-furled, and a general look of "rarin' to go," like a race-horse.

The *Stag Hound* holds the sailing-ship record from San Francisco to Honolulu—nine days; and the record from Boston Light to the Equator—thirteen days. On her first voyage to 'Frisco she ran into a heavy gale, resulting in much damage to her spars, and detention at Rio. Nevertheless she completed the run in 107 sailing days. Captain Josiah Richardson wrote home from San Francisco, "The ship has yet to be built to beat the *Stag Hound.*" Right; but she was building, and at the same yard!

The Flying Cloud

This was a 1700-ton clipper ship ordered by Enoch Train & Co., and intended as a packet in their Liverpool-Boston line.

While she was still on the stocks Moses H. Grinnell, of the New York firm of Grinnell, Minturn & Co., took a fancy to her, asked Mr. Train to name his price, and paid it on the nail —$90,000. She was to have been named after some English county; but as her new owners intended her for the California trade, this was no longer appropriate. They asked Donald McKay to name her himself; and he chose perhaps the most appropriate name ever given to a sailing ship, the *Flying Cloud.*

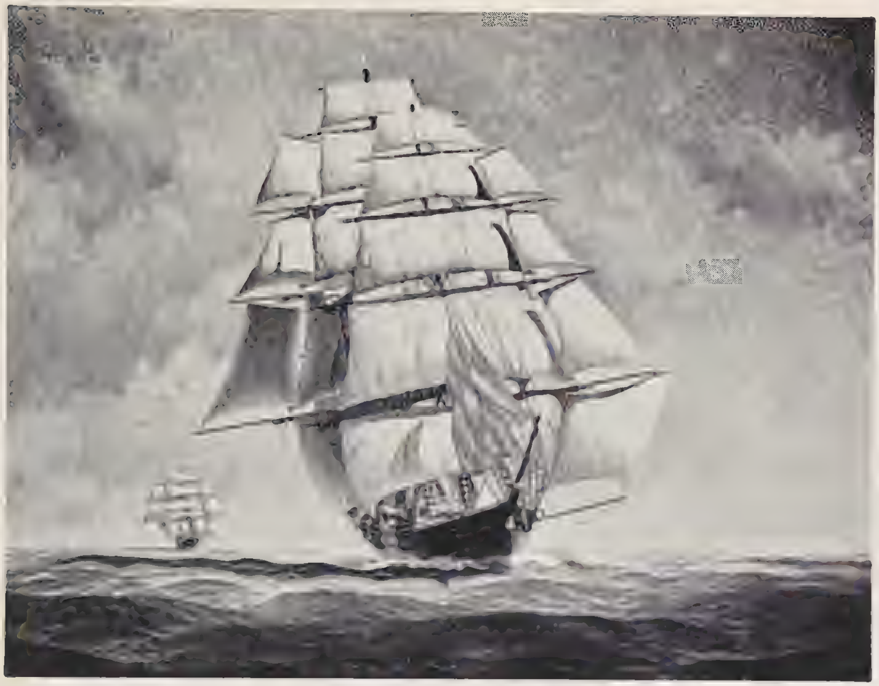
On June 3, 1851, began the first of the *Flying Cloud's* memorable voyages from New York to San Francisco. Her master, Captain Josiah Perkins Cressy, of Marblehead, only thirty-seven years old but for fourteen years a master mariner, was a "driver." Three days out, the *Flying Cloud* lost main and mizzen topgallant masts and main topsail yard in a heavy gale; but new spars were fitted within two days, during which she went driving on with all the sail that could be spread.

One extract from her log, which was afterwards printed by her owners in gold letters on white silk, will be better than pages of description for those who know something of the sea and the ways of ships:

"July 31. Fresh breezes, fine weather, all sail set. At 2 p.m. wind southeast. At 6 squally; in lower and topgallant studdingsails 7, in royal, at 2 a.m. in foretopmast studdingsail. Latter part, strong gales and high sea running. Ship very wet fore and aft. Distance run this day by observation 374 miles. During the squalls 18 knots of line was not sufficient to measure the rate of speed. Topgallantsails set."

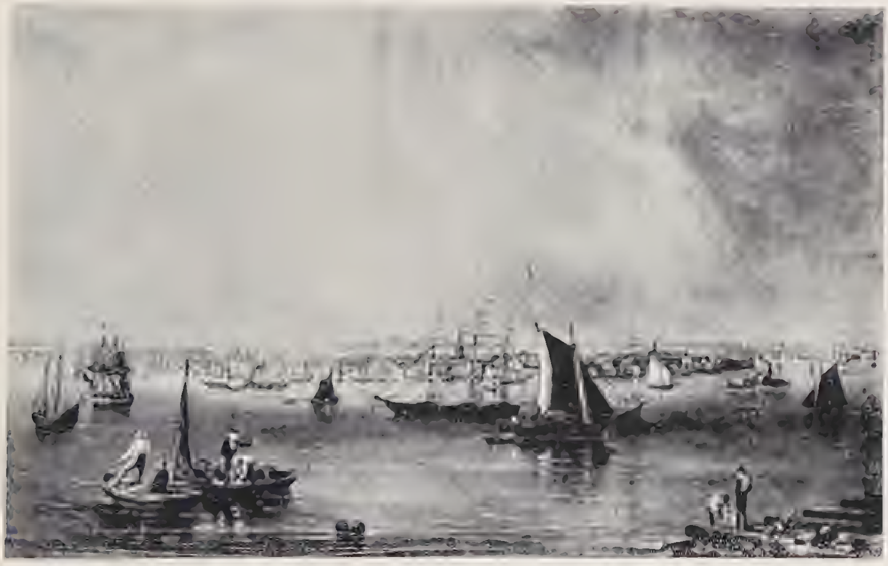
That was her fastest day's run—by far the greatest day's run yet made on the ocean by sail or steam. In 26 consecutive days she reeled off almost 6000 miles. During four consecutive days she logged an average of 13.5 knots. And in the end, the *Cloud* came flying through the Golden Gate, 89 days out! —89 days, 21 hours, anchor to anchor, to be exact; a record for a coast-to-coast westerly voyage only once surpassed, and that by the same ship. For on her fourth voyage, in 1854, he made the same run in 89 days 8 hours, anchor to anchor. That record stands today, and it will doubtless stand for all time.

There is one thing about the extreme clipper ships that I



From a painting by Burnell Poole, Englewood, N. J.

DONALD McKAY'S FAMOUS "FLYING CLOUD"



From an engraving in the Author's possession

BOSTON HARBOR IN 1856
SHOWING THE CLIPPER SHIP "NIGHTINGALE" AT ANCHOR, AND AN OLD-FASHIONED CLIPPER SHIP UNDER SAIL, AT THE LEFT

would not believe if I had not been told it by several unimpeachable authorities. While their sails were set, they were never completely still on the water. In the flattest of flat calms and the most doleful of doldrums, they refused to lie "as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean," but always moved enough to give steerage way. Some old seamen thought they did it by the sails slatting against the spars; and although that would seem to be a mechanical impossibility, the sea is a strange element that has never yielded all her secrets.

One question on which there can be endless debate is the relative part of ship and commander in making fast time. There can be no question, however, that master mariners like Philip Dumaresq, Asa Eldridge, Robert H. Waterman, Charles A. Ranlett, and Josiah P. Cressy had a great deal to do with the splendid records that various vessels made under their command; for the same vessels in other and less competent hands never did so well. Captain Cressy's successor on the quarter-deck of the *Flying Cloud* never had a good chance, however, as her rig was reduced in 1856, and again in 1858. After going under the British flag in 1862, she made only fair passages, and ended her career rather ingloriously in the St. Johns-London lumber trade, in 1874.

The *Flying Cloud's* first voyage was all the more remarkable in that it was made without the use of Maury's *Sailing Directions*. No account of the Massachusetts clippers can be written, without a word of tribute to that great Virginian, Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury, U.S.N., whose synthesis of the data on winds and currents, compiled from thousands of ships' logs, discovered system in the winds and currents of the great oceans. Maury dispelled the last of the sea myths, which for ages had been the delight of poets and the terror of sailors. It was he who discovered the steady westerlies of the "roaring forties" south latitude, and taught navigators how to use the elements to the best advantage. His tables did not get into general use before 1852; they then spread over the civilized world, and earned him all the honors that governments and learned societies can grant. What Boston thought of him, in the days when great sailing ships were still something more than a memory, may be judged from the fact that his name appears not only once, but twice, among the names of the famous men of all countries and ages, carved on the front of the Boston Public Library.

RACES OF THE FLYING CLOUD AND N. B. PALMER

"The California passage is the longest and most tedious within the domain of commerce," wrote Lieutenant Maury. "Many are the vicissitudes which attend it. . . . It tries the patience of the navigator and taxes his energies to the utmost. . . . It is a great race-course, upon which some of the most beautiful trials of speed the world ever saw have come off." One of these noted trials over the 15,000-mile race course was between the *Flying Cloud* and the *N.B. Palmer,* a slightly smaller New York clipper which that city counted upon to uphold her reputation for shipbuilding. The *N. B. Palmer* was a fine ship without a doubt, and she was commanded by Captain Charles P. Low; but in 1851 she left New York ten days before the *Flying Cloud,* and reached San Francisco a week behind. The two ships did not sight each other on that voyage; but the next year they had another 15,000-mile race.

The *Flying Cloud* sailed from New York, May 14, 1852, and had light winds to the equator. On July 1, off the coast of Brazil, as she was running before a light westerly wind with skysails and royal studdingsails set, a clipper ship was reported ahead, almost becalmed. It was the *N. B. Palmer,* which had left New York ten days after the *Flying Cloud!* Captain Cressy's feelings at finding a rival clipper ahead of him with such a handicap, and one commanded by a Salem man, may well be imagined. Soon the two beautiful ships were becalmed, almost abreast.

As the glass predicts an approaching southerly breeze, both ships take in their studdingsails and sway up their halyards, doubtless to the favorite sweating-up chantey of:—

"Boney was a warrior, *a-way, ay-yah!*
A warrior and a tarrier, *John Fran-zo!*

Boney fought the Roo-shi-ans, *a-way, ay-yah!*
Boney fought the Proo-shi-ans, *John Fran-zo!*"

And so on, with improvised insults to the other ship, her "old man," officers, and men, until all's ataunto. In a few hours the breeze strikes home. Simultaneously the crews brace their yards up sharp on the starboard tack, to

"Do my Johnny Boker, come rock and roll me over;
Do my Johnny Boker, *do!*
Do, my Johnny Boker; the mate is never sober!
Do my Johnny Boker, *do!*"

The sails fill, each gallant ship takes a bone in her teeth, and heels over as the wind freshens to a good whole-sail breeze. The *Flying Cloud* soon begins to draw away from her rival. By daylight, the next morning, the *N. B. Palmer* is hull-down to leeward; and by four p.m. is no longer in sight.

Captain Cressy had a fine crew on this voyage, who "worked like one man, and that man a hero." But Captain Low was not so fortunate; for by the time the clipper ships came out native Americans had begun to shun the forecastle, and these noble vessels, especially those sailing from New York, were manned perforce with the world's flotsam and jetsam, including some of the choicest toughs, bullies, and hoodlums in history. One member of the *N. B. Palmer's* crew shot at and wounded the first mate, and another knocked the second mate down with a handspike. Captain Low had these men tied up in the rigging and served four dozen lashes with the "cat"; but as this did not cure them, and as he got little assistance from his officers in preserving discipline, he decided to put in at Valparaiso to get rid of the mutineers. We have all been entertained by yarns of Yankee mates who struck men dead for a little cheekiness, and of captains who shot members of their crew off the yardarms for mere sport; but these are pure inventions. Considering what desperate characters—and desperate chances—the clipper officers had to deal with, they erred on the side of humanity rather than hardness. At Valpariso most of the *N. B. Palmer's* crew deserted, and securing another cost her a delay of eight days. So the *Flying Cloud* walked away with the race and entered the Golden Gate twenty-three days ahead of her rival—or five days ahead in actual sailing days.

Another notable race of the same year, 1851, was between the little 700-ton clipper ship *Raven,* built by Hood, of Somerset; the 1600-ton *Typhoon,* built at Portsmouth, N. H.; and the celebrated *Sea Witch,* of New York. The last named sailed on August 1 from New York; the *Typhoon,* on the next day; and the *Raven,* on August 5 from Boston. None of the three sighted the others on the voyage; but they arrived at San Francisco in reverse order on successive days. The *Raven* won, with a 106-day passage; the *Typhoon* was next, with 108 days, and the *Sea Witch,* which in her youth had done 97 days, took 111 this voyage.

FLYING FISH, JOHN GILPIN, AND NORTHERN LIGHT

Donald McKay turned out another flyer that year, the *Flying Fish* for Sampson & Tappan of Boston. Her maiden voyage, from Boston to San Francisco in the winter of 1851-52, was a race with the New York clipper *Sword Fish,* which left New York five days later. The Bostonian led to the equator. At 50° S. the *Sword Fish* caught up. They raced around the Horn together, often in sight and sometimes side by side, and the *Flying Fish* led to latitude 50° S. in the Pacific; but from that point the *Sword Fish* drew steadily ahead, and made her destination in the splendid time of 90 days. The *Flying Fish* arrived four days later, and her sailing time was 100 days.

On her second California voyage in 1852–53, the *Flying Fish* had for a rival Samuel Hall's new clipper ship *John Gilpin,* Captain Justin Doane, 195 feet long and measuring 1089 tons. We shall let Captain Clark describe the race:

"The *John Gilpin* sailed out past Sandy Hook, October 29, 1852, followed by the *Flying Fish* on November 1, and before the green highlands of Neversink had disappeared below the horizon both ships were under a cloud of canvas. The *Flying Fish* fanned along through the doldrums and crossed the equator 21 days from Sandy Hook, leading the *John Gilpin* by one day. From the line to 50° S., the *John Gilpin* made the run in

23 days, passing the *Flying Fish* and getting a clear lead of two days. The *Flying Fish* did some fine sailing here; dashing through the Straits of Le Maire, she came up alongside the *John Gilpin* just off the Horn, and Nickels, ever famous for his jovial good-cheer, invited Doane to come aboard and dine with him, "which invitation," the *John Gilpin's* logbook ruefully records, "I was reluctantly obliged to decline." This is perhaps the only instance of an invitation to dine out being received off Cape Horn. Few men have had the opportunity to extend such unique hospitality and certainly none could do so more heartily and gracefully than the famous commander of the *Flying Fish.* His vessel made the run from 50° S. in the Atlantic to 50° S. in the Pacific in 7 days, leading her rival by two days. From this point to the equator, the *Flying Fish* was 19 and the *John Gilpin* 20 days. From here the *John Gilpin* showed remarkable speed, making the run to San Francisco in 15 days, a total of 93 days, closely followed by the *Flying Fish,* 92 days from Sandy Hook. . . .

"When we reflect that this match was sailed over a course of some 15,000 miles, and that the difference of time was only twenty-four hours, one is impressed with the perfection to which the models of the vessels had been brought, as well as the exactness of the data relating to the winds and currents that had been gathered and reduced to a system by Maury, and with the skill of their captains, who were guided by his charts and sailing directions. The average difference of sailing between these two ships was less than six seconds per mile over the entire distance. Few races over thirty-mile courses have been sailed by yachts more evenly matched."

The return voyage from San Francisco to Boston or New York, although shorter than the outward passage by reason of the prevailing westerlies, was not so difficult or highly regarded as a test of speed. Nevertheless, there was one famous race home which established the record for that course. The Boston entry was the *Northern Light,* designed by Pook and built in 1851 at South Boston by Briggs Brothers, grandsons of the North River builder of the old *Columbia.* She was the best of the "Lights," a class of medium clippers built by this firm, all rather chunky in appearance compared with their rivals, but with carefully designed underwater lines which gave them some excellent records for speed. The *Northern Light* was commanded by Freeman Hatch, who induced many fellow Cape-Codders to ship under him, and maintained perfect discipline without the usual diet of "belaying-pin soup" and "handspike hash." Her New York competitors were the *Contest* and the *Trade Wind.* These two left San Francisco on March 12, 1853, and the *Northern Light* the day after. The Boston papers reported that off Cape Horn she passed the *Contest,* whose master shouted through his speaking trumpet. Captain Hatch replied, "I can't hold *my* horse!" The New York papers, however, insisted that the *Contest* was ahead until she ran out of the wind off Cape Hatteras; when the *Northern Light,* having given that cape a wider berth, carried the wind into Boston, 76 days and some hours out (May 27, 1853). The *Trade Wind* took 84 days. The next year another New Yorker, the *Comet,* almost duplicated the *Northern Light's* time, but to New York instead of Boston.

Seventy-six days from California to an Atlantic port was by no means so remarkable a feat as 89 days in the other direction; but Captain Hatch was justly proud of what the *Northern Light* had done, and caused the record of her voyage to be engraved on his tombstone at Eastham as "an achievement won by no mortal before or since." Peace to the ashes of kindly Captain Hatch! There is no danger of his record ever being broken.

Vintage of 1852

Now let us return to the year 1852, when 33 new clipper ships were launched for the California trade alone. Of these, Massachusetts built more than her share, and the greatest of all. The Medford builders—who considering the small number of clipper ships they constructed, have the largest proportion of successful ones—were responsible for the *Climax, Dauntless, Golden Eagle, Phantom,* and *Whirlwind.*

The *Dauntless,* built by Benjamin F. Delano, was a small clipper under 800 tons, but the most expensive ship of her size owned in Boston, with a length 5.6 times her beam, bold sheer, and for figurehead a nymph with outstretched wings, in flowing white garments with a golden girdle, crowned with a chaplet of flowers. All the principal New England yards of that period had expert woodcarvers, mostly men who had been employed on the highly decorated vessels of the earlier generation; and some of their figureheads were very artistic productions. They were demountable, so that they could be taken from the bows and stowed while at sea; otherwise the first storm would have ripped them off. The *Golden Eagle,* built by Hayden & Cudworth, was destroyed by the *Alabama* after a notable career, in 1863. The *Phantom,* built by Samuel Lapham, was owned by the Bacons of Boston. After some excellent voyages to California, the West Coast, and China, she was placed under the command of Henry Jackson Sargent, Jr., a member of the distinguished Gloucester family, who began his seaman's career as foremast hand on the *Flying Fish.* After several voyages under his command, she ran on the Pratas Shoal in the China Sea in thick weather, and had to be abandoned. Captain Sargent himself was lost at sea on his next voyage.

Samuel H. Pook's best clipper of 1852 was the *Winged Racer,* built by Jackson at East Boston and owned by Sampson & Tappan of Boston, who also owned the *Westward Ho!,* one of Donald McKay's beautiful creations of the same year. Both clippers, after three years in the California trade, were put to carrying coolies from China to the Guano Islands. The quasi slave trade occasioning some scandal, the Boston firm abandoned it. The *Westward Ho!* continued the same business for Peruvian owners; the *Winged Racer* returned to the California and China trade, in which she was captured and burned by the *Alabama* in 1863. Captain Semmes described her in his memoirs as a "perfect beauty; one of those ships of superb model, with taunt, graceful masts and square yards, known as clippers."

THE SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS

"With all my care," wrote Donald McKay in 1864, "I never yet built a vessel that came up to my own ideal; I saw something in each ship which I desired to improve." That sentence stamps McKay as an artist, if there were nothing else to give him that quality. The public were satisfied with the *Flying Cloud;* to them, she was perfection. To her creator, she fell short of it; and in 1852 he built the *Sovereign of the Seas* to beat the *Flying Cloud.* She was 258 feet long and 2451 tons measurement; again, the largest ship in the world, and the boldest and sharpest in design. The golden ball on her main skysail pole was 210 feet above the deck—just 11 feet less than the height of Bunker Hill Monument from its base! She swung a main yard 90 feet long; hoisted 12,000 yards of canvas, not counting studdingsails; and her main topsail had a spread of 70 feet and a hoist of 50. Her draught when loaded, 21 feet, will serve to remind us that these great clipper ships were not racing machines or skimming dishes but cargo carriers, depending for the stability that counteracted the tremendous pull of their immense sail area, not upon fin keels or outside ballast, but upon the design of their hulls and the weight of cargo that they carried: thus over three quarters of their bulk was under water, and was driven through it at steamship speed by sails alone.

No Boston merchant would risk capital in 1852 in a ship the size of the *Sovereign.* So Donald McKay built her on his own account, embarking his all in the venture; placed his brother Lauchlan McKay, an experienced master and builder, in command; and had her towed to New York to load for San Francisco.

The maiden voyage of the *Sovereign of the Seas* was one of the most memorable in the history of sailing ships. Leaving New York in the unfavorable month of August, she encountered heavy head winds from the Falklands to Cape Horn. It was a terrific strain on her spars and sails: the top masts, we are told, bent like whips in the fearful snow squalls; but she beat through the Straits of Le Maire without missing stays once. Around the Horn, she ran into more boisterous weather of the Antarctic winter, whereupon, owing to the settling of the trestletrees, the greater part of her masts and yards went over the side. A landsman would have said that she was a wreck; but Captain McKay gave strict orders that everything should be saved and nothing cut. He got the tangle of gear on board; had her under jury rig doing 12 knots the second day after; and in 12 days time, through constant work by her crew of 105, she was almost as well rigged as when she left Boston. In spite of this mishap, she reached San Francisco in 103 days. There, as usual, the crew deserted; and with only about thirty men, Captain McKay began his homeward passage, touching at Honululu to load whale oil. Possessing Maury's new sailing directions and wishing to test them out, Captain McKay passed through the loneliest part of the South Pacific, and was rewarded by finding what Maury loved to call the "brave west winds" of the forties and fifties south. In 22 days she made 5,391 miles; and on March 18, 1853, during a heavy gale that whipped the crests of enormous seas to a white froth, the *Sovereign* made 411 miles.

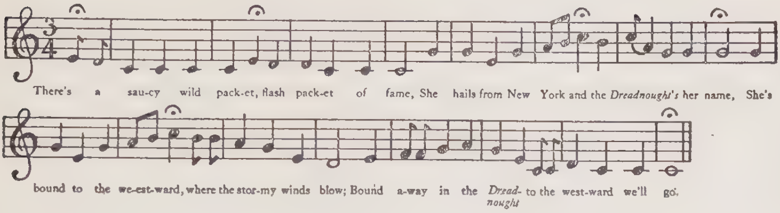
It is a pity that the *Sovereign of the Seas* never made another California voyage. At the time of her return to New York, California freight had dropped; and her owners decided to send her to Liverpool. Donald McKay went as passenger, to observe her behavior. He had the satisfaction to see her pin up a new transatlantic sailing record: just under 14 days from New York dock to Mersey anchorage, and exactly 6 days from Cape Race, Newfoundland, to Cape Clear, Ireland. When he returned home, Donald McKay was asked by Enoch Train what he thought of the ship, and replied: "She appears to be a pretty good ship, but I think I can build one to beat her." So he did—but no one else ever did.

THE CLIPPERS OF 1853

The years 1853–1854 mark the zenith of the clipper ship era. More of the class were built in 1853 than in any other year; and the largest of all were launched in 1853 and 1854. The following were built at Boston in 1853: the *Amphitrite,* the *Mystery,* and the second *Oriental* by Hall; the *Bonita,* the *Boston Light,* the *Cyclone,* and the *John Land* by Briggs Brothers; Paul Curtis built the *Reporter,* which was tried in the New Orleans cotton trade, but did not pay with such low-class freight; R. E. Jackson built the *Challenger;* Jackson &

Ewell, the *Queen of Clippers;* D. D. Kelly, the *Edwin Forrest,* with a figurehead representing the celebrated actor in the character of Spartacus; A. & G. T. Sampson, the *Fearless;* Donald McKay, the *Empress of the Seas,* the *Romance of the Seas,* and the *Great Republic,* of which more anon. At Medford were built the *Don Quixote* for the father of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the *Eagle Wing,* the *Kingfisher,* and the *Ringleader.* Hood of Somerset built the *Archer* and the *Skylark;* and the Newburyport builders got into the game this year with the *Whistler,* the *Guiding Star,* and the famous *Dreadnought.*

The *Dreadnought* was one of the few Liverpool packets that was a genuine clipper; for that type was too sharp, wet on decks, and loftily sparred to be comfortable for passengers in the boisterous winter weather of the western ocean. She was not an extreme clipper, but beautifully designed and built with great care and strength for hard usage in the Red Cross Line of New York-Liverpool packets. Captain Samuel Samuels of New York, still in his twenties but with a reputation as a driver of men and of ships, was given command of her. A packet-ship captain on the Liverpool run needed very special qualities. He had to be a tactful man to handle ignorant and frightened immigrants, a gentleman to deal with first-class passengers, a driver of his vessel in every sort of weather, and above all a leader of men, to master the Liverpool Irish sailors—stout fellows, who thought nothing of going aloft barefoot in wintry weather, but unruly and mutinous to a degree that often left it an open question whether they or the captain would command the ship. Captain Samuels, by his high personal qualities and those of the *Dreadnought,* made such a name for himself and her that both acquired a fame almost legendary. In her first ten years as a liner she was never once hove to, and in over 70 Atlantic voyages she made several eastward passages in 14 days or under. The *Dreadnought* even had a special ballad composed in her honor. There is more than one tune, and several versions of the words; here is the one that I have heard:


There's a sau-cy wild pack-et, flash pack-et of fame, She hails from New York and the *Dreadnought's* her name, She's
bound to the we-est-ward, where the stor-my winds blow; Bound a-way in the *Dread-nought* to the west-ward we'll go.

"Now the *Dreadnought* she lies in the river Mersey,
Awaiting the tugboat to take her to sea,
Out round the Rock Li-ight where the salt tides do flow,
Bound away to the westward in the *Dreadnought* we'll go.

"Now the *Dreadnought's* a-howlin' down the wild Irish Sea,
Her passengers me-erry with hearts full of glee;
Her sailors like li-i-ons walk the deck to and fro;
She's the Liverpool packet—O Lord let her go!

"Now the *Dreadnought's* a sailin' th' Atlantic so wide
Where the high roarin' seas roll along her black side,
With her sails tautly se-e-t for the Red Cross to show;
She's the Liverpool packet—my God see her go!

"Now the *Dreadnought's* a-crossin' the Banks o' Newfoundland
Where the water's so gree-een and the bottom's all sand.
Says the little fishes as they swim to and fro,
She's the Liverpool packet—my God she can go!

"Now the *Dreadnought's* a-roarin' down the Long Island shore,
Cap'n Samuels'll drive her as he's oft done before,
With ev'ry sail dror-or-in' aloft and alow;
She's the Liverpool packet—my God watch her go!

"Now the *Dreadnought's* arriv-ed in New York once more.
Let's go ashore shipmates on the land we adore.
With wives and with swee-eet-hearts—so happy we'll be,
And drink to the *Dreadnought* wherever we be.

"Here's a health to the *Dreadnought* and all her brave crew,
To bold Captain Samuels—and officers too;

Talk about your flash pa-ack-ets: Swallowtail and Black
Ball,
The *Dreadnought's* the flier than can beat them all!"

THE DREADNOUGHT'S RECORDS

It is impossible to write about the *Dreadnought* without getting embroiled in the controversy about her "nine-day voyage." As the usual form of the story goes, she sailed from New York on February 27, 1859, and stopped at Queenstown to send her mails ashore, 9 days 17 hours from Sandy Hook. This story probably originated in a nautical calendar which was brought out in New York some time in the seventies, and which contained a number of records, some authentic and others quite preposterous. The late Captain Arthur H. Clark (so he told me) was present when someone quoted this "record" to Captain Samuels, who remarked that he did not remember it but would look it up. No contemporary mention of it has ever been found. Captain Samuels did not allude to it in his own memoirs which appeared in 1887; and although the record was hotly debated off and on, it was not until 1905 that he openly admitted that he had made it; and not until 1908, fifty years after the alleged voyage, and when he was very old and decrepit, that Captain Samuels positively stated over his signature that the voyage had been made!

Captain Clark, in his *Clipper Ship Era* (1911) reproduced the log of the voyage in question as printed shortly after her arrival in several different Liverpool papers, which were doubtless furnished with the copy by the captain himself. The log makes no mention of stopping off Queenstown, and proves that 9 days, 21 hours, after discharging her New York pilot she was not within 400 miles of Queenstown. The voyage to Liverpool was, however, made in 13 days, 9 hours—one of the fastest on record.

After the death of Captain Samuels, his son gave the discussion a new turn by discovering a statement in the *Illustrated London News* for July 9, 1859, to the effect that the *Dreadnought* "arrived off Cape Clear on the 27th ult., in nine days from New York." This was triumphantly hailed as conclusive proof of the famous nine-day voyage—overlooking the slight discrepancy that the exploit was always supposed to have been performed in February and March, not in June; and to Queenstown, not Cape Clear. Further, on this July voyage, the *Dreadnought* passed Sandy Hook at 12:30 noon on the 16th; so that, if she reached Cape Clear on the 27th, she was between ten and a half and eleven and a half days, not nine days, out; and this second or rival "nine-day voyage" goes the same way as the first.

There is no doubt that the *Dreadnought*, as well as other packet ships, was capable of making the coast of Ireland in 9 days; but whether she did or not is a question of fact. As the transatlantic records of other sailing vessels are given from port to port, or Sandy Hook to Rock Light, a land-to-land record is not significant. What the *Sovereign of the Seas* did from Cape Race to Cape Clear has already been mentioned; and, for that matter, the Salem privateer ship *Mount Vernon* made the island of Corvo in the Azores in 8 days, 7 hours, from her home port, away back in 1799.

A famous transatlantic run of 13 days, 1 hour, 25 minutes, from New York to Liverpool, dock to dock, was made by the *Red Jacket,* in January, 1854. Although built by Thomas of Rockland, Maine, Massachusetts has a claim on the *Red Jacket* because she was designed by Samuel H. Pook, owned in Boston, and commanded by Captain Asa Eldrige. On this passage she broke the *Sovereign of the Seas's* record for a day's run, making 413 miles. At Liverpool she was chartered by the White Star Line for the Australian trade, made a 69-day passage from Liverpool to Melbourne, and returned in 73, after a dangerous passage through Antarctic ice, which is the subject of one of the most beautiful contemporary lithographs of clipper ships. Although one of the largest of our clippers, she was one of the sauciest, and was generally considered the most handsome vessel afloat.

The Great Republic

In writing of the *Great Republic* one wants something better than superlatives. Donald McKay outdid himself once more. Only three years had elapsed since he had built the *Stag Hound,* 1534 tons and 209 feet long—at that time the largest

American merchant ship. The *Great Republic* was 334½ feet long, and registered 4556 tons. Yet she was as sharp, shapely, and high-bred as the smallest of the clippers. Her beam, 53½ feet, was less than one sixth her length. Her mainmast, 44 inches in diameter, was 131 feet high; adding the main topmast, main topgallant mast, main royal mast and main skysail mast, we reach the amazing height of 276 feet above the deck. Her main yard was 120 feet long; her smallest skysail yard would have served for the topsail of any ship built twenty years before. In addition to the three square-rigged masts, she carried a fourth—a spanker mast with spanker, gaff topsail, and gaff topgallant sail. She was the first clipper to have a donkey engine to help hoist sail; and she surely did need it, hoisting 15,683 yards of canvas. Her main rigging was 12½-inch Russia hemp, four-stranded.

The launching of the *Great Republic* at East Boston on October 4, 1853, was the greatest show of that sort that Boston has ever seen; special trains brought people from all over eastern New England; bands blared out patriotic airs, cannon boomed, and 50,000 spectators cheered themselves hoarse. But, alas! this ship of ships never spread her wings. Towed to New York, and while loading there for San Francisco, she caught fire from a waterside blaze and had to be scuttled to extinguish the flames. Donald McKay, who had completed her at his own charge, surrendered the hulk to the underwriters; and they rebuilt her, without the upper deck, reduced to three thousand three hundred and fifty tons measurement, and with a much smaller rig. She was still for many years the largest ship in the world, and exercised a considerable influence on naval architecture. She may be considered the progenitor of the French and German four-masted and five-masted ships and barques, which were still doing a large share of the world's carrying trade before the war. Admiral Pâris, the great French authority on naval construction, writes that he lost no opportunity to inspect the *Great Republic* when she visited French ports. The French Government had a splendid model of her built for the marine museum in the Louvre; and François Roux, last of the famous marine artists of that name in Marseilles, painted her portrait for the same museum.

It is altogether fitting and appropriate that the model of the greatest of Yankee clippers should be under the same roof with the Winged Victory of Samothrace.

McKay's Australian Black-Ballers

In 1854 the building of clipper ships in the United States began to slacken perceptibly; and of the fifteen or so that were built in Boston, the only one that deserves to be mentioned in the same class with McKay's was the *Blue Jacket,* 235 feet long and 1790 tons, built by Robert E. Jackson at East Boston, and after her first transatlantic passage sold to a London owner. She and the *Red Jacket* and the *Sovereign of the Seas* made such a name for Boston clippers in the Australian trade that James Baines & Co., of Liverpool, contracted with Donald McKay for four great clipper ships of over 2,000 tons each for his Australian Black Ball Line, which McKay delivered in 1854 and 1855. These were: the *Lightning,* 243 ft. long, 42½ ft. beam, 2084 tons; the *Champion of the Seas,* 252 ft. long, 45½ ft. beam, 2448 tons; the *James Baines,* 266 ft. long, 44½ ft. beam, 2515 tons; and the *Donald McKay,* 260½ ft. long, 46 ft. beam, 2595 tons.

None of these vessels ever sailed under the American flag, but they were fortunate in being given drivers for captains and were the pride and glory of the British Australian packet service. The *Lightning,* the *Baines,* and the *McKay* together have the five fastest day's runs of sailing ships on record; and the first two have records in the Australian trade that have never been beaten. The *Baines* and the *Champion* combined the imposing majesty of a man-of-war with the airy grace of the clipper; the former was unique in carrying skysail-studdingsails, and a main moonsail. On one occasion she logged 21 knots, which Captain Clark considers "the highest rate of speed ever made by a sailing vessel of which a reliable record has been preserved"; she also has the transatlantic record.

The *Lightning* was lower in the water and carried no skysails. She has the world's record for a day's run. It was on her maiden voyage to England, on March 1, 1854, and ended about 30 miles off Achill Head, Ireland. Four hundred and thirty-six nautical miles was the amazing distance that she covered in that sailing day of 23½ hours—strong gale abaft the beam, foretopsail carried away, and lee rail under water the whole time. To realize what this means, we must remember that for almost thirty years after no steamer made such a day's run, and that only the fastest express steamers do it now. I have crossed the Atlantic ten times since the World War without seeing such a run made. No run of 400 miles has ever been made by a modern sailing yacht, the fastest of which have never been known to log over 16 knots. And the *Lightning,* when she made her wonderful record, was laden with 2000 tons of cargo, and was drawing 21 feet of water.

On her Australian voyages, the *Lightning* proved equally fast, and on one occasion overtook the *James Baines* and left her hull down. A weekly newspaper was published on board, and the rare numbers of it that have been preserved show that the passengers passed away the time with dancing, flirting, cards, deck games, and much eating and drinking, just as they do on Atlantic liners today. In spite of her great speed, the *Lightning* was unusually comfortable and dry for a clipper ship, and her passengers became so much attached to her that they formed a "Lightning Association" in Australia. There is no doubt that the *Lightning* was the fastest sailing ship ever built; or to be more precise, that under certain conditions—a stiff quartering gale—she made greater speed than any other sailing vessel has ever made under any conditions.

The *Donald McKay,* which James Baines insisted on naming after that great shipbuilder, was the least sharp of these four great Black-Ballers; yet she has a day's run of 421 miles to her credit, and made consistently good passages to Australia.

Records

With the end of 1854, we are nearing the end of the clipper ship era, as far as the United States was concerned. Only a baker's dozen of clipper ships were built after that date, and they were all "medium" and none "extreme" clippers. It is true that many fast and fine wooden full-rigged ships were built in New England even after the Civil War: vessels such as McKay's *Glory of the Seas* (1869, his last creation), Jackson's *Great Admiral* (1869), and the splendid three-skysail-yard ships like the *Shenandoah* and *Aryan,* built at Bath, Maine. These were commonly called clippers; but their lines were much fuller, their rig much lower, and none but the *Glory* made speed comparable to the clipper ships of before 1857.

People stopped building clipper ships in the United States simply because they no longer paid. California freights by 1855 had dropped off to a sum which was barely remunerative; and the clippers were too expensive to maintain in proportion to their carrying capacity. The panic of 1857 made matters worse. British builders evolved an excellent type of medium clipper for their purpose, so that no more orders came from that side to Boston shipyards. Indeed, most of the American clipper ships that survived 1857, whether under the American or foreign flags, had their spars and sail plan drastically reduced, so that they were mere shadows of the beautiful creatures that were launched in the early 'fifties. The Civil War and the depredations of Confederate raiders merely completed a process that had begun five years before.

Although the memory of these noble vessels is peculiarly precious to Massachusetts, we must remember that her clippers were not the only ones. The New York and Connecticut and Baltimore builders produced some splendid examples, such as the *Young America,* the *Andrew Jackson,* and *Neptune's Car;* although the claim that the *Andrew Jackson* equalled the *Flying Cloud's* record run to San Francisco, is unfounded. Nova Scotia built the "Blue-nose" clippers; notably the *Marco Polo,* whose record of 79 days to Australia was broken by the *Red Jacket.* The British builders, once they got the hang of the new construction, turned out their famous tea clippers and wool clippers, such as the *Cutty Sark* and the *Thermopylae,* more slender and dainty perhaps than ours, and faster in the light and baffling winds of far-eastern waters, but lacking the majesty, power, and speed in heavy weather of the McKay creations.

The supremacy of the Massachusetts clippers in the California trade is striking. Only 21 passages from an Atlantic port around the Horn to San Francisco in less than 100 days are on record. Of these 10 were made by Massachusetts-built vessels: six by McKay's clippers, the *Flying Cloud, Flying Fish, Great Republic, Romance of the Seas,* and *Glory of the Seas;* three by Pook's *Surprise, Witchcraft,* and *Herald of the Morning;* and one by Hall's *John Gilpin.* Taking all the passages recorded by Captain Clark in 110 days or better, we have 41 by Boston-built ships (including 19 by McKay's), 17 by Medford-built ships, 7 by other Massachusetts builders, and 38 by New York builders. Yet McKay built only ten clippers that made California voyages, and the New York Yards turned out two for our one.

Foreign vessels were not allowed to compete in the California trade, and did not seriously compete in the transatlantic trade; but, conversely, American clippers competed for only a few years in the China-England trade, and very few of them tried the England-Australian route. Yet note these records:

TRANSATLANTIC

Sovereign of the Seas, 13 d. 22 h. 50 m. New York dock to Liverpool anchorage, 1853.
James Baines, 12 d. 6 h. Boston Light to Rock Light, Liverpool, 1854.
Red Jacket (Rockland, Me.), 13 d. 1 h. Sandy Hook to Rock Light, 1854.
Andrew Jackson (Mystic, Conn.), 15 days. Rock Light to Sandy Hook, 1860.

CHINA—ENGLAND

Witch of the Wave (Portsmouth, N. H.), 90 d. Whampoa to London, 1852.
Comet (New York), 84 d. Liverpool to Hong Kong, 1854.
Ariel (British), 83 d. Gravesend to Hong Kong, 1866-67.
Sir Launcelot (British), 89 d. Foochow to London, 1869.
Hallowe'en (British), 89 d. Shanghai to Tongue Lightship, 1873-1874.

ENGLAND—AUSTRALIA

James Baines, 63 d. 18 h. Rock Light, Liverpool to Hobson's Bay, 65 d. 5½ h. to Melbourne, 1854–1855.
Lightning, 64 d. 3 h. Port Philip to Liverpool, 1854.
Thermopylae (British), 63 d. 14 h. Gravesend to Port Philip, 1868–69.

AROUND THE WORLD

James Baines, 134 d. Liverpool-Melbourne-Liverpool, 1854-1855.

Donald McKay's supremacy is even more evident when we look over the records of day's runs. Basil Lubbock, the chief English authority on sailing ship history, gives in his *Colonial Clippers* the following list of all runs by sailing ships of 400 miles and over which he has been able to verify:

RUN	SHIP	DATE	PLACE
413	*Red Jacket*	Jan. 19, 1854	North Atlantic.
400	" "	July 6, 1854	Running her easting down, Cape of Good Hope to Melbourne.
430	*Lightning*	March 19, 1857	
407	*James Baines*	Jan. 27, 1855	
423	" "	Feb. 6, 1855	
420	" "	June 18, 1856	
436	*Lightning*	March 1, 1854	North Atlantic
421	*Donald McKay*	Feb. 27, 1855	" "

To this list I can add the following, from other sources:

RUN	SHIP	DATE	PLACE
402	*Flying Cloud*	1856	Cape Horn voyage, westward.
411	*Sovereign of the Seas*	March 18, 1853	Running easting down, South Pacific.
412	*Lightning*	Sept. 1854	
404	*James Baines*	May 28, 1856	

In other words, the *twelve* greatest recorded day's runs by sailing ships of all time, were made by *five* ships of Donald McKay and *one* designed by Pook and built at Rockland, Maine!

The fastest recorded day's run by a British sailing ship is 374 miles. This was made by the clipper ship *Melbourne;* and it has been attained, I believe, by a few others. The *Cutty Sark's* best was 363 miles.

This extraordinary series of day's runs presents several interesting features. Eight were made running the easting down in the forties or fifties, south latitude. Three were made between New York or Boston and Ireland in midwinter. All but that of the *Flying Cloud* were made going east; consequently the actual sailing day was about 23½ instead of 24 hours. Further, these runs were not reckoned by a patent log, which is liable to error, but by measuring the distance on a chart between the points observed at two successive noons; consequently no account is taken of minor variations from a straight course. If we corrected them to allow for the loss of the half hour or so by easting, or translated the nautical miles or "knots" of 6,080 feet into statute miles of 5,280 feet, we could lengthen them out considerably; and it is safe to say that most "400-mile day's runs" attributed to other vessels were obtained by some such generous methods of computation.

Fate of the Clippers

Many, if not most, of the Massachusetts clippers met tragic ends. The *Romance of the Seas* sailed from San Francisco, December 31, 1862, and was never heard from again. The great South Sea still holds the mystery of her fate. The *Reporter,* dismasted and swept fore-and-aft by a terrible sea off Cape Horn in 1862, was lost with all but four of her crew. The *Stag Hound* was burned to the water's edge on a voyage to San Francisco in 1861. The *Witchcraft* was a total loss on Cape Hatteras. The *Sovereign of the Seas* was lost on a shoal in the Straits of Malacca. And so I might go on, page after page. After all, these were more fitting ends than that of being degraded to a lumber drogher like the *Flying Cloud,* or turned into a salmon cannery like the *Glory of the Seas,* or made a landing hulk at Liverpool like the *James Baines.* A few were still limping about as aged tramps at the opening of this century; but now all are gone. To realize what a Yankee clipper was like in her glory, you must study prints and models, such as the splendid full-rigged model of the *Flying Cloud* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; or view the grand old British clipper *Cutty Sark,* restored and preserved in Falmouth Harbor as the property of the British nation. It is just as well that we have not preserved one of ours. She would have had to stay immobile at some dock or harbor, for the men can no longer be found to accept the inevitable hardships of the sea on sailing ships; to go aloft and shorten sail on lofty spars, in blinding snow and screaming gale.

And so we may apply to our clippers what John Masefield wrote of those of his own nation:

> "They mark our passage as a race of men,
> Earth will not see such ships as those again."

NOTE.—All the tonnage statistics in this article are "old measurement," superseded in 1865, by which registered tonnage equals length minus three-fifths beam, multiplied by beam multiplied by depth, divided by 95. The ton was supposed to be forty cubic feet, and had no reference to weight.

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CHAPTER XVI

PRELIMINARIES OF CIVIL WAR
(1850–1860)

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Massachusetts and the Compromise of 1850

During the year 1850 the forces that were tending to divide the existing great national parties—Whigs and Democrats—along the lines of the sectional issue created by the existence of slavery in the South increased in power. Nowhere was their effect more strikingly manifest than in Massachusetts. Here men of faith, men of prejudice, men with political reputations to be preserved or to be built up were acted upon by events and influences from outside. They reacted in turn. The resultant was a pattern of history brilliant and significant by reason of the major issues and strong personalities with which it was enriched.

A contest over the speakership in the national House of Representatives in 1849, ending with the defeat of Winthrop, made another element in the strife between the Massachusetts Free-soilers and the Massachusetts Whigs, and formed the prelude to the severer struggle which was to mark the year 1850. The Democrats and the Free-soilers in Massachusetts were both minority parties; in the preceding fall they polled 29 per cent and 22 per cent respectively of the total vote. They were flirting with each other, a handful of hopeful and greedy men in each camp trusting that the existing approximation of the two parties in their antislavery views might result in a combination which would wrest control from the powerful Whigs. In each party, however, this plan of fusion —if it could then be called such—was frowned upon by men of character and influence.

For a proper understanding of the Free-soil leaders in these times and the course which they sought to steer for their party, they must be looked upon as having the merits and failings of any political group. Among them were men of courage and clear idealism; working with these were others whose political sense was, to say the least, as strong as their moral sense. Henry Wilson, for example, chairman of the State Free-soil Committee, believed that the party must grow in weight and in numbers as a political entity; to do this it must draw from the ranks of the Whigs; to this end it must discredit the Whig leaders—above all, Daniel Webster.

Webster on the Compromise

The story of Webster's part in the Compromise of 1850 and the effect in Massachusetts of his "Seventh of March Speech" has already been told in this volume. His course, besides provoking an outburst of moral indignation, divided the Whigs, and thus promised Wilson and his group the opportunity for which they had been longing.

Webster was taken out of their reach as a victim by his appointment as Secretary of State by Fillmore, following the sudden death of President Taylor; and his successor in the Senate, Robert C. Winthrop, was a man of quite another stamp. Although accepting the terms of the compromise in principle, Winthrop could not stomach the Fugitive Slave Bill as drawn. As he put it himself, "After trying in vain for Trial by Jury, and *Habeas Corpus,* and Protection for Free Colored Seamen, I voted against it." By this courageous and patriotic course, he did everything possible to repair for the Massachusetts Whigs the damage caused by Webster's "Seventh of March Speech." The address to the people, issued by the Whigs after the State convention in September, adopted Winthrop's stand on the Fugitive Slave Law, declaring that without specified amendments it would not be satisfactory to the people of Massachusetts.

Nevertheless, these were eleventh hour efforts; they could not offset the indignation at the "cotton" influence in the party which had given it the reputation of representing exclusively conservatism, aristocracy, and the property interest. This indignation Wilson and his associates now planned to turn to their own political advantage.

DEMOCRATIC—FREE-SOIL COALITION (1850)

One of the immediate consequences of Webster's memorable speech had been a plan hatched by three leaders of the legislature, Wilson, Free-soiler, and Boutwell and Banks, Democrats. It was to put actively into effect for the fall elections the scheme already proposed of a combination of Democrats and Free-soilers. With three parties in the field, the Whigs had been able to poll only 49 per cent of the voters. Nevertheless, they controlled the State government by virtue of the solid delegation from Boston which they sent to the legislature. Since that body was empowered to choose the State officers whenever none of the candidates received a majority at the election, if the Free-soilers and Democrats could unite on candidates for the legislature in all the towns and cities of the State, they could accomplish their aim. As the plan took shape in the fall, its main difficulty concerned the division of the spoils. The Free-soilers, it seemed, would be content with the long-term senatorship; the Democrats might have all the State offices and (for good measure) the short-term senatorship. The point of this arrangement was that it would show Massachusetts to the nation as repudiating Websterism, filling his place with a man (Charles Sumner, for example) who was outspoken against slavery. No scheme could be better devised to exasperate and humiliate the Whigs; it would be fitting revenge for all that Wilson and his associates had suffered at their hands.

Just as there were "conscience" Whigs, whose scruples kept them from the crude and practical methods of the Webster wing of the party, so there were "conscience" Free-soilers —men who in 1848 had fought for a principle with no hope of victory and plunder. Palfrey, Adams, Dana, Phillips, and Samuel Hoar all had good reasons for wishing to pull the Whigs down from their high place; but for this purpose they could not see their way to a combination with members of the Democratic party, to whose fundamental principles they had long been opposed. On the Democratic side, Caleb Cushing and Marcus Morton were against the fusion.

As a result of such objections, the conventions of the two parties in the fall of 1850 took no formal action towards coalition; it was understood, however, that on local tickets men were free to vote as they pleased. This course was all that was necessary, and the small politicians of both parties lost no time in making arrangements throughout the State whereby coalition men should be elected to the Legislature.

Effect of the Fugitive Slave Law (1850–1851)

In the campaign that followed, in which the three parties were competing for votes on the basis of a condemnation of Websterism, either mild or severe, the Fugitive Slave Law played an important part. Massachusetts had been aimed at by the Southerners when they framed it; and the events immediately following its passage showed that Winthrop was right in saying that the South had overreached itself. Slave catchers appeared in Boston seeking William and Ellen Craft, mulattoes who, after a romantic escape from slavery, had lived peaceably in the city, being respected members of Theodore Parker's congregation. In anticipation of this event, a vigilance committee had already been formed, which now did active service in protecting the couple and in frightening the slave catchers out of town. At once meetings in protest against the new law were held in various places in the State, as elsewhere in the North; the clergy and the press were aroused, and everywhere an animated debate was carried on over the law of the Constitution *versus* the law of God.

In truth, the Fugitive Slave Law had brought the slave question before the Northerner in a new light. He was forced to ask himself whether he would give aid in returning a runaway to his owner. Would he betray a hiding place? Would he assist at an arrest? Would he refuse help to a fugitive when the pursuers were close upon him? To put the case in general terms, was he bound to render obedience to what he regarded as an unjust law? The problem thus became the question of the hour—a personal question, which no one could ignore. The more it was discussed, the more was heat engendered.

The Free-soilers had their say at Faneuil Hall on October 14, when Charles Francis Adams presided and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in presenting resolutions, called for a repeal of the law as unconstitutional and repugnant to the moral sense.

Both men urged the colored people of Boston not to flee to Canada, and promised to defend them.

The Whigs rallied to the support of the government at the same place on November 26, when their chief constitutional authority, Benjamin R. Curtis, delivered a long and weighty argument in defense of the law. In his opinion, the abolitionists, who denounced the Constitution, stood on ground more tenable intellectually than those who, accepting it on the one hand, also professed allegiance to a "higher law." These men were not facing the issue manfully, and refused to see where their course was carrying them. The real difficulty, he said, arose from the fact that two communities, with conflicting institutions, must perforce live side by side on the same continent. "You may break up the Constitution and the Union tomorrow; you may do it by a civil war or by, what I could never understand, the method or the principles of —what is called a peaceable secession; you may do it in any conceivable or inconceivable way; you may draw the geographical line between slave-holding and non-slave-holding *anywhere;* but when we shall have settled down, they will have their institutions and we shall have ours. One is as much a fact as the other. One engages the interests and feelings and passions of men as much as the other. . . .

"If any one in this age expects to live in peace, side by side with the slaveholding States, without some effectual stipulation as to the restoration of fugitives, he must either be so wise as to foresee events in no wise connected with human experience, or so foolish as to reject experience and probabilities as guides of action."

Fusion Accomplished (1850–1851)

Under these circumstances of excitement, the results of the State election in November, 1850, were naturally a subject for study and speculation. The results were as follows:

Whigs	57,000
Democrats	36,000
Free Soilers	27,000
Total	120,000

It is true that, although ten thousand more votes were cast than in the preceding year, the Whigs lost only two per cent of their votes to the other two parties. But the significance of the result lay in the fact that the Free-soil and the Democratic parties had effected their informal coalition, and the Legislature was placed in their joint control by a majority of ten in the Senate and fifty-four in the House, if they could be brought to act together. Here was the rebuke to Whigism and Websterism; in this peculiar and, politically speaking, not altogether wholesome manner did Massachusetts pronounce its condemnation of the Fugitive Slave Law.

As for the political managers who had taken advantage of the public indignation to engineer this triumph, they were eager to reap where they had sown. Their course meant the temporary if not the permanent sacrifice of many of the best men in both parties; but they needed the political crop for profit—even, in some cases, for sustenance—and so their hands would not be stayed. When the legislature assembled in January, 1851, they drew up their program and called upon their followers to put it into effect.

The first part of the bargain was carried out with no delay. There being no choice by popular vote, the State offices were filled by the legislature and were given to Democrats, George S. Boutwell becoming governor, and Robert Rantoul, Jr., Senator for the short term. The hitch came over the election of the Senator for the full period of six years. The Free-soilers insisted upon their most aggressive man, Charles Sumner; a choice which aroused dissent in many quarters. To Caleb Cushing it fell to lead in the opposition. Believing that it was the first duty of all to preserve the Union, he could not possibly consent to support a man whose position as to slavery he regarded as only a little less extreme than that of Garrison. Although the Democratic caucus voted down Cushing's resolution condemning the coalition bargain, he was able, on the first ballot for Senator, to control twenty-eight votes, and there was no choice. "Caleb Cushing," remarks his biographer, "had stirred up several violent political storms in his lifetime, but it may be doubted whether there had been any as turbulent as that which followed his action in voting against Sumner." For over three months the tempest raged, a contest full of personalities and bitterness and one from which Sumner himself would gladly have escaped had his managers permitted. But their own political prestige was bound up in his success, and he found himself helpless.

SHADRACH FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE (1851)

While the muddy waters of politics were agitated by these blasts of Coalitionism and anti-Coalitionism, other events were supplying the influences which were to determine the outcome. Since the day when the Vigilance Committee, inspired by Theodore Parker, paraded the corridors of the United States Hotel and frightened off the men who sought William and Ellen Craft, the negroes of Boston had been living in quiet, and their apprehensions on the score of the Fugitive Slave Law had somewhat subsided. But the Southerners had by no means given over their purpose of recovering a fugitive in the city of Garrison and the abolitionists. Suddenly, on February 15, 1851, a slave catcher appeared, seized a negro known as Shadrach, and brought him before George T. Curtis, the United States commissioner. It was the moment for a lawyer, and one was at hand—Richard Henry Dana, Jr. Here was the occasion for which he had publicly pledged himself. Rushing from his office to the courthouse across the street, he found the commissioner on the bench, "actually in the judge's seat." A crowd gathered; the excitement grew intense. Hunting up Chief Justice Shaw, Dana presented the petition which he had hastily drawn up. The two men came to grips in an earnest argument; to Dana the judge's reasons seemed invalid, but his refusal was final.

Baffled, the lawyer returned to his office to consider the next move; he heard a hubbub in the street and beheld Shadrach in the arms of men of his own race who had snatched him from the law and were hurrying him away to freedom. For the moment the antislavery men were triumphant; but the real significance of the incident was noted by Dana in the following words: "The conduct of the Chief Justice, his evident disinclination to act, the frivolous nature of his objections, and his insulting manner to me, have troubled me more than any other manifestation. It shows me how deeply seated, so as to affect, unconsciously I doubt not, good men like him, is this selfish hunkerism of the property interest on the slave question."

No wonder this issue divided the community and would not down. It brought into play ultimate prejudices on each side. Moreover, one event after another kept it alive as the engrossing problem of politics and morals. From distant Washington, Webster, declaring that the rescue of Shadrach was, "strictly speaking, a case of treason," wielded the thunders of the administration; and a proclamation of the Secretary of War made plain his intention to enforce the Federal law. The prolonged contest over the election of Sumner kept the politicians alive to the question; the negro population was uneasy; the Garrisonians were aggressive.

Sims Fugitive Slave Case (1851)

As a climax, slave catchers again appeared in Boston and seized one Thomas Sims in the hotel in which he was a waiter. This time, to prevent the possibility of a rescue, the courthouse was strongly guarded and surrounded by an iron chain. Dana was again at hand, employing every device of the law, but he met with strong resistance from the Massachusetts judge and the Federal judge to whom he appealed, and from the United States commissioner. After eight days, during which the fate of Sims was the supreme question of the hour, the negro was marched to a vessel before daybreak on the morning of April 12, with an armed escort of one hundred or more city police. As the vessel left the wharf Sims cried: "And is this Massachusetts liberty?" These events produced their effect on the legislature, and on April 24 Charles Sumner was elected to the United States Senate.

The political power of the Whigs in Massachusetts was shaken, but the inner group, the true Websterians, had no intention of lowering the flag. On the day after the election of Sumner they appeared on the streets of Boston wearing bands of crape on their arms. Socially their solidarity was unbroken; they delivered their proscriptions with a ruthless hand. Of this period the biographer of Dana wrote in 1890: "The social, financial, and political conditions then existing are now almost forgotten, and in a few years more he who speaks the truth about them will be denounced as a maligner."

Sumner was already beyond the pale; Dana, who had offended by deserting those with whom were his natural affiliations and joining the Free-soilers, had outraged the "best people" afresh and endangered his professional career by undertaking the defence of Shadrach and of Sims.

Continuance of the Coalition (1852)

Social ostracism, however, was impotent against political leaders such as Wilson and Boutwell, who had brought to pass the Coalition; and only by its destruction could the Whigs regain power. To discredit it, a leader of the Bar, Benjamin R. Curtis, issued an address to the people which was signed by 167 Whigs, members of the legislature. It was a formidable document, written with learning and denouncing the Coalition as a "factious conspiracy to violate a public trust, and as such criminal, not only in morals, but in the law of the land." In the fall campaign the Whigs put forth their best efforts. Their joint opponents entered the field no less ardently; the issue of Coalitionism versus Whiggery was vigorously, not to say violently, contested; and on election day the total of votes cast was 137,000—that is, an increase over the preceding year of 16,000, and the largest thrown in the history of the State down to that time. The relative standing, however, of the parties was much the same: the Whigs, as in 1850, had a percentage of .47 of the total vote; the Democrats, .32; the Free-soilers, .21. Thus the people justified the "criminal conspiracy" by which Sumner had been elected.

Break-up of the Coalition (1852)

This election also continued the control of the legislature by the Coalition, and Boutwell was again chosen governor. The next move was to weaken the Whig power in a more lasting fashion than could be achieved by one or two temporary victories at the polls. The core of its strength, as has been said, was the solid delegation elected to the legislature on a general ticket by the city of Boston. The provision in the State Constitution which made this possible also limited the representation from the smaller towns, where the other parties were stronger. This grievance, together with many lesser ones indicative of the rising tide of democratic discontent, swept the people into voting a call for a constitutional convention.

Even as it accomplished this object, the Coalition showed signs of dissolution. It was a presidential year, and Pierce was the Democratic nominee on a platform which declared the Compromise of 1850 a final settlement of the slavery question; the members of the party in Massachusetts could not well take a different stand on a national issue. The Fugitive Slave Law was no longer a burning question.

A further sobering influence was the death of Webster late in October. A flood of proud memories surged over Massachusetts; even those who had assailed him most bitterly two years since paid tribute with a touch of repentance to the man, awe-inspiring in death as in life.

In the election the Whigs carried the State for their presidential candidate, Scott; they also gained control of the legislature by about ten votes, and so could elect the State officers and send Edward Everett to the United States Senate.

The Constitutional Convention (1853)

The Constitutional Convention of 1853 is elsewhere discussed in this volume. Its political significance remains to be estimated. The Coalitionists brought it about, and May 4, 1853, the body thus authorized assembled. It was remarkable for the quality of its membership and for the dignity and earnestness of its deliberations. The Coalitionists were in the majority; their purpose was to modernize the old instrument of 1780, which had been somewhat modified in 1820 by the infusion of a greater popular control. Thus they attempted to do away with the Whig grip on the city of Boston, to reform the judicial tenure so that judges should be more responsive to the wishes of the people; to free Harvard College from dominance by Whigs and Unitarians; and to establish a plurality instead of a majority rule in elections. But owing partly to the adroitness of the Whig leaders, and partly to the weakness of those opposed to them, the results were less radical than had been expected.

Political Significance of the Convention (1853)

It had been assumed that the Constitution, when submitted to the people, would be approved. Rejection was hardly conceivable. Rejection, however, occurred; and the impetus to it came unexpectedly from Free-soilers, Adams, Palfrey, and Hoar, who were outside the Coalition and who had not been members of the Convention. Following their lead, the Whigs plucked up courage to join in the attack, and at the polls the majority against adoption was unequivocal. Such of the changes proposed as had substantial merits were within a few years adopted.

Abortive though it was, the Convention made a name for itself. Massachusetts, then and later, took pride in this chosen body of men that for three months discussed the fundamental problems of representative government. Her citizens delighted in the interplay of the keen and forceful personalities, rich in variety, representing all aspects of the community. They knew of Rufus Choate's brilliant defense of the judiciary; they thrilled at the ardent retort of Dana, when warned by a Bostonian of social prominence against "biting at the hand that feeds us": "The hand that feeds us! The hand that feeds us! Sir, no hand feeds me that has any right to control my opinions!" Before eighteen months had passed the Convention was to grow still more in esteem by its contrast with the rampant democracy that then filled the hall where it had sat. Still later, when its radical leaders, Wilson, Boutwell, and Banks, held places of honor in the Republican party, this fact was added to its credit. In a way, it stood at the end of an era, the closing events of which had succeeded each other with overwhelming suddenness.

With the rejection of the Constitution went also the overthrow of the Coalition. Not only had its Free-soil opponents attacked it, but Caleb Cushing, now one of the most influential members of Pierce's cabinet, had issued a notice, commonly called from its autocratic tone a "ukase," warning his fellow Democrats in Massachusetts that, if they wished to prosper, they must dissever themselves from their antislavery allies and fall in line with the administration.

At the moment, however, the Whigs could enjoy a victory undimmed by any suspicion of what the future held in store, and no sense of the obligations of privilege restrained them. Respectability triumphed over democratic nonentity with as much gusto and vulgarity as if it had never breathed the refined air of Beacon Hill. The hand that fed became also the hand that struck.

Henry Wilson—organizer of the Coalition, advocate of the Constitutional Convention and its most active spirit, and candidate for governor on the Free-soil ticket—was the chief victim. The persistent foe of the Webster Whigs and all that they stood for, he was now at their mercy; and it was a bitter thought that Adams and Palfrey had contributed to his downfall. On one side was the social and commercial aristocracy of Boston, aided by Harvard College; on the other an uneducated Yankee who, having failed as a shoe manufacturer, had now failed in making a living off politics.

"The result appears to be this," wrote Warrington, the keen antislavery journalist, "that the coalition is completely dead; the secret ballot law and ten-hour law are prostrate, the Free-soil party disheartened, and the Democratic party good for nothing; constitutional reform will not be heard of again for many years; the fogies will frown down all attempts at agitation, whether by Democrats or liberal Whigs; the Whig party remains in the complete control of Boston, and the money-bags of Boston rule the State."

Kansas–Nebraska Bill (1854)

The shout of victory had hardly died on the air, and the "money bags" were just beginning their new rule with the year 1854, when from a most unexpected quarter came the blow that was to wreck the Whig party. Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, reporting a measure for the organization of the vast region known as the Nebaska territory, proposed that the settlers there should decide the question of slavery for themselves. By implication the proposal repudiated the Missouri Compromise, which had forever excluded slavery from this area; and in a revision of the bill the repudiation was made explicit—the Southern leaders saw to that. No scheme of theirs to force slavery upon the whole country had ever been so daring, so far-reaching.

The North was aghast! The indignation aroused came from the depths of men's natures; in many cases it was the wrath of people who had been tricked, and so came in double measure. The stand taken by the Springfield *Republican,* heretofore a staunch Whig journal, expressed the thoughts of earnest men and women always loyal to the Union. "No mere party or faction will array itself against this Nebraska scheme. The whole people are against it. The moral force of the North—the influence, the learning, the wealth, and the votes of the North—are against it and will make themselves effectively heard, ere the agitation, now reopened by the insanity of the slave-holding interest, and in behalf of the schemes of ambitious partisans, shall have ceased. *The South and its allies have sown the wind—will they not reap the whirlwind?"*

Attitude of Massachusetts on Kansas-Nebraska (1854)

So strong, so widespread was this wave of indignation, affecting profoundly thousands hitherto unmoved, that the great parties must inevitably be disrupted as national organizations. The word "national" was becoming synonymous with "proslavery." As Robert C. Winthrop wrote: "If I could have prescribed a recipe for reinflating Free-soilism and Abolitionism, which had collapsed all over the country, I should have singled out this precise potion from the whole *materia medica* of political quackery."

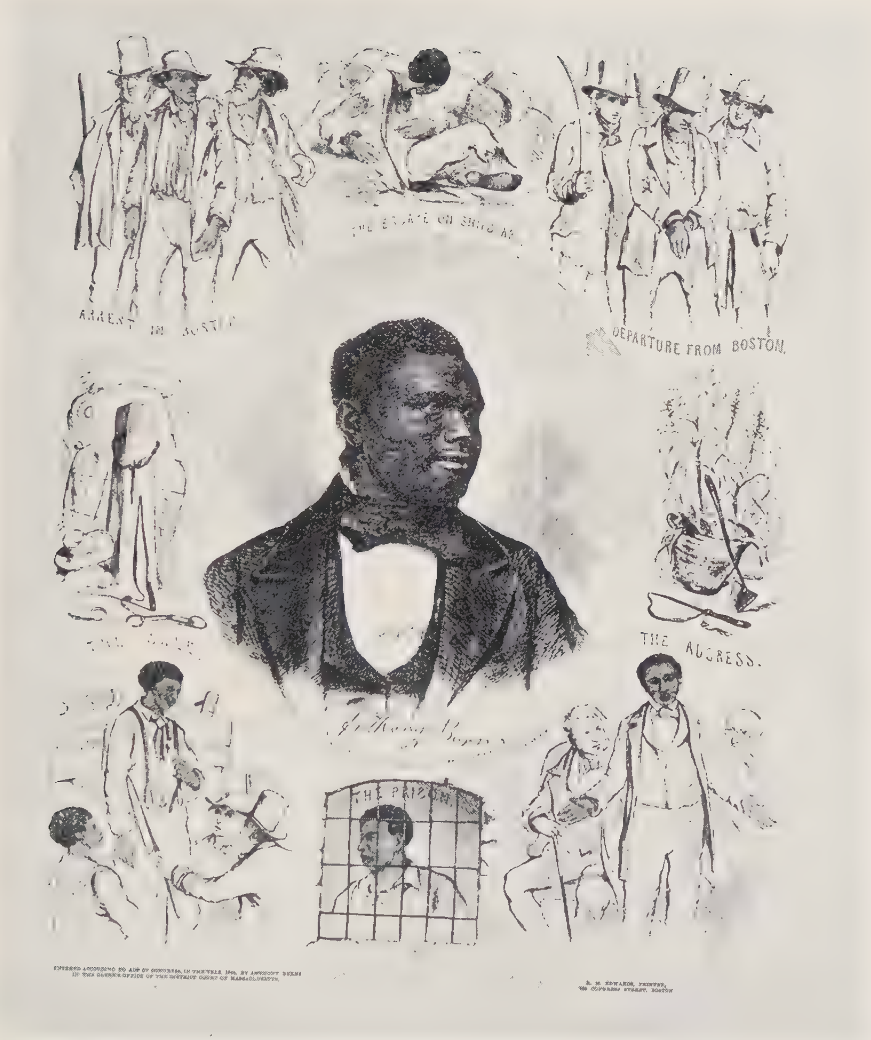
While this new stage of the struggle was in its first weeks, the interest of Massachusetts expressed itself in following the course of its Senators, Everett and Sumner. Everett, the golden-tongued orator, the pride of Boston, had been elected the year before, when the Whigs were in power. The embodiment of conservatism and timidity, he was wholly out of his element in the contest in which he found himself involved. He opposed the Douglas measure in committee, and his arguments doubtless had weight with conservative Whigs like himself; but when, early on March 4, after seventeen hours of angry debate, the bill was passed, the fact that he was not present to vote against it (having gone home on account of sudden illness) was counted against him, and his excuse was scornfully brushed aside. The intemperateness of the criticism broke his health and his weak spirit, and within three months he resigned his seat,—not, however, before he had given further offense by his manner in presenting a petition against the Nebraska bill, signed "in the name of God and in his presence" by over three thousand clergymen of New England. As for Sumner, it was he who now expressed the temper of Massachusetts. For once he was not far in the lead; his constituents were fairly abreast of him.

Rendition of Anthony Burns (1854)

The feeling of deep indignation which was finding utterance in the private conversation of men and women, day after day, as well as in public meetings, was now intensified by another case under the Fugitive Slave Law. May 24, 1854, Anthony Burns, a young Negro, was arrested in Boston on a false charge and carried, literally, by a gang of men to the United States courtroom on the top floor of the courthouse, where he was identified by his master. The news electrified the city; and two evenings later, after an excited crowd in Faneuil Hall had listened to impassioned speeches by Parker and Phillips, a rescue was attempted, in which Thomas Wentworth Higginson was a participant. The effort failed, but in the course of it one of the guards on duty was killed. Forthwith the building was protected by United States marines and artillery, as well as by State militia.

As in the case of Sims, Dana managed the defence. He was a man in whom his friends recognized a touch—more than a touch—of genius, and in these tremendous days he was living through the crisis of his life: the heart of a generous lover of freedom, the mind of an able lawyer, and the voice of a master of forensic oratory were working with the utmost intensity to one end. The diary in which he records the story is a document of the first rank, a revelation unforgettable in its vividness of the irresistible conflict between freedom and slavery.

The legal struggle was fought through to its foregone conclusion; and the end was a procession, surrounding a slave worth perhaps $1,200, down State Street to the wharf. It was accompanied by the "marshal's guard" of one hundred and twenty-four men taken from the dregs of society, and eleven hundred and forty United States soldiers with muskets loaded, while the entire police force of the city and twenty-two companies of Massachusetts militia stood guard


ARREST IN BOSTON
DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON.
THE ADDRESS.
THE PRISON.

From an original broadside

Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

THE STORY OF A FUGITIVE

alongside. Thus (at a cost of $40,000 or more) the Constitution of the United States of America was upheld in Boston, and the nation—that is, the North and the South—looked on, wondering and fearing what might befall next.

New England Emigrant Aid Company (1854–1857)

At the time that these events were occurring, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill received the President's signature. It was plain that the political battle had been fought and won on sectional, rather than party lines. Politically the North had been shown to be impotent to prevent the transfer of Kansas to slavery; but its fighting spirit, far from being crushed, expressed itself in new ways. Kansas was now open to the white man; it could be made free, if enough settlers went from the North. Here was a call to action in which business enterprise must take the lead—and it was Amos A. Lawrence who met the challenge. The selling agent of a cotton-manufacturing concern and a man of importance on State Street, a sound Whig but not a Webster man, he had been so affected by the recent events that he now came forward to join Eli Thayer of Worcester in the arduous task of organizing the emigration to Kansas of able-bodied men to till and also to hold the soil.

Thayer had already obtained from the Massachusetts legislature a charter for this purpose, and out of this beginning grew the New England Emigrant Aid Company. As its treasurer, Lawrence personally took the responsibility for a large part of its financing. Thayer was an active propagandist, and within three months ninety-nine settlers had been started for the new territory. The money was spent not for travelling expenses but for the erection of schoolhouses, saw and grist mills, and similar community undertakings, among them a new town called Lawrence. New Englanders never were the majority even of the northern settlers. From New York State, from Ohio and Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa, antislavery settlers passed into Kansas.

Later, when the struggle between northern and southern settlers became violent, and Kansas was "bleeding," one of the directors of the company collected from a "small but mixed company of hunkers, republicans, and abolitionists" the sum of $1,600 for the purchase of arms, to which Lawrence added $1,000; and soon "boxes of primers" were received in Kansas "for the education of their Missouri neighbors." Apart from its national consequences, which were by no means insignificant, the movement to save Kansas was important in Massachusetts because it provided a common ground for action by men who had hitherto stood apart.

DECADENCE OF THE OLD PARTIES (1854)

Simultaneous with the beginning of this frontier enterprise were many attempts to give political expression to the new state of feeling in Massachusetts. The Whigs were no longer a national party, for the southern wing had deserted them in support of the Nebraska bill; but they felt confident of their strength as a State organization and opposed fusion with the Free-soilers. The proposed union of recent enemies was too much to expect of human nature. Besides, the next legislature would elect a United States Senator, and they feared the loss of the prize if they joined with the antislavery men. The Free-soilers were themselves disunited; and the Democrats who resented the "ukase" of Cushing and could not follow Douglas had nowhere to go. As Dana wrote in his diary: "The Whig party has lost its tone, the Democratic party never had any, and the Free-soil party has been lowered by the coalitions and managements of Wilson and others, until it has lost or essentially impaired its power of doing good." A new vessel must be found for the new wine, and this was provided for the time by the American or Know-Nothing party.

RISE OF THE KNOW-NOTHINGS (1848–1853)

The rapid increase of the Irish in Boston during recent years had become a matter of general concern to the old stock. A concomitant increase in crime, pauperism, and insanity had been noted; and though it was connected with the general change of economic conditions and occupations, a considerable part of the voters felt that this "foreign" element (which in 1855 amounted to forty-two per cent of the population) was a cause for alarm. Especially was this the case since in religious faith it owed allegiance to a spiritual head who was also a European potentate, a temporal ruler, and fundamentally opposed to the free institutions of this country. Moreover, it was commonly believed that these new voters were hostile to moral issues which were fast becoming the great concern of the Commonwealth. Had not their influence contributed to the defeat of the new constitution? Were they not against the recent legislation restricting the sale of liquor—the "Maine law?" Had not the signatures of their clergy been lacking to the petition against the Nebraska bill? At the time of the arrest of Anthony Burns, had not the comments of their newspaper, *The Pilot,* been unsympathetic? All these counts, exaggerated and intensified by religious and racial animosity, combined into an indictment which at this time immensely affected public opinion.

To people persuaded of the subtlety and pervasiveness of this danger, countermining seemed the proper remedy. Already had sprung into existence a secret order of national extent, with lodges, ritual, and all the panoply of organization suitable for a dark and desperate enterprise against a well-organized and resourceful enemy. Thanks to adroit manipulation by the northern leaders of the movement, the Slave Power was now bracketed with the Pope as a common foe. Thus restless multitudes were expertly shepherded into the new fold. Since leaders were needed, too, the managers of the new power sought out well-known men from all the old parties. Henry Wilson was captured in March, 1854; others of less note followed him. Robert C. Winthrop was assured that, if he would consent to a private initiation into one of the lodges, he would be made their candidate for governor, be elected, and might, if he desired, be sent to the Senate. His urbanity enabled him to conceal his astonishment and to give a courteous refusal.

The extent, leadership, and principles of the combination were, until within a few weeks of the election, successfully kept under cover. The old political managers and the newspapers were in the dark; or rather, they were vaguely aware of influences in action whose extent and direction they could only guess. Henry Wilson accepted the Free-soil or Republican nomination for governor, so that outwardly the contest was running its course in the old channels.

KNOW-NOTHING TRIUMPH (1854)

Alarm was not precipitated even when at last the names on the Know-Nothing slate were made public. The Whig leaders felt some concern as they recognized the Free-soil lion under the American sheepskin; but even then they could not suspect the doom that awaited them on election day. A comparison of the returns for 1853 and 1854 shows how overwhelming was the overthrow.

	1853	1854
Whig	60,600	27,200
Democratic	36,000	13,700
National (proslavery) Democratic	5,400	6,400
Free-soil	29,000	6,400
American	None	81,500

Thus the American party had elected its entire State ticket, most of the legislature, and all the members of Congress.

This result can hardly be regarded as a triumph of anti-slavery or anti-Nebraska sentiment, for on that issue there was practically no difference of opinion throughout Massachusetts. It was a protest by those who prided themselves on American descent and who cherished American institutions against what they considered to be alien in race and foreign in religion. Also it was a censure of the three parties for their lack of leadership. In essence, it was an uprising against the prestige and power of a bourgeois aristocracy based on excessive respect for property and comparatively indifferent to human rights. Most of the members of the American party were propertyless, in the State Street sense, and nonentities to the eye of Beacon Hill, but a spirit of independence and likewise a lively resentment made them long to deliver a knock-out blow at the "money bags" of the one and the snobs of the other.

If the rank and file of the party which was about to take over the State government were unsophisticated politically, there were Free-soilers among them whose eye teeth were already cut. Chief of these was Henry Wilson, a man whose course up to this time seemed to be the resultant of a strain of moral earnestness and a desire to keep himself in politics as a

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

HENRY WILSON

means of earning a living. For years a foe to slavery, he had never lost an opportunity to announce his determination to drive from power in Massachusetts the individuals and the parties who upheld it. Yet to accomplish this purpose he had made such opportunist use of political ways and means as to alienate the very men who were most needed to give strength and standing in Massachusetts to the cause that he avowedly had at heart. With the backing of the Know-Nothings, he was now able to snatch the prize of the Senatorship away from the helpless Whigs. Thereafter he played a small part in State affairs. He became a national figure, one of the founders of the Republican party, steadfast to its principles through the Civil War; finally, after a long and honorable career as Senator, he was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1872.

Anti-Catholic Action (1855)

After electing Wilson to the Senate, the members of the legislature turned their attention to carrying out the presumed purposes of the voters who had sent them thither. Flotsam and jetsam they were, washed into power by a popular and radical wave, the like of which had never before been known in Massachusetts. Out of a total of over four hundred in the two branches of the legislature, all but three men were members of the Know-Nothing party. Uncorrupted and incorruptible Americanism held full control! But it was the control of ignorance, for only thirty-four of them had had previous legislative experience. To their minds they were faced by two foes, the Pope and the Slave Power; and the leaderless mob that was for the time being the Great and General Court of Massachusetts proceeded to have at those foes in true mob fashion.

Convents and nunneries, as the chief bugbear of your true-blue American, were an early object of attack; but the investigating committee appointed for this purpose soon turned itself to junkets with such lavish zeal that scandals arose, the details of which the Whig newspapers were only too glad to impart to their readers. Matters came to a head when it was found that one of the committeemen, Hiss by name, "Grand Worshipful Instructor" by title, had charged to the State the hotel expenses of "a Lady of easy virtue," in the language of the day. Hiss made a brazen defense, but was expelled from the legislature by the converging effect of three investigating committees.

ANTISLAVERY ACTION (1855)

"Nunnery committees" and similar activities of the legislature, while they offended intelligent and sedate citizens, did no serious damage to the power of Rome: Pio Nono remained undisturbed in the Vatican. Against the Slave Power, however, the demonstrations of the Know-Nothings were more significant. After the election of Wilson to the Senate, the legislature passed a Personal Liberty Bill, designed to make the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law difficult. It prescribed penalties for State officers taking part in the rendition of a fugitive, and provided that no one who was United States Commissioner under the Fugitive Slave Law should also hold an office within the gift of the State. This last section was directed at Edward Greely Loring, the commissioner before whom Burns had been brought, who was also judge of the State probate court. The attack on Loring was a questionable piece of business, and brought to his defense Richard Henry Dana, who hoped thus "to save the anti-slavery cause from doing something it might regret." Governor Gardner, who before becoming a Know-Nothing had been a conservative Boston Whig, vetoed the Personal Liberty Bill and refused to act in the case of Loring. The legislature overrode his veto, but it was helpless to bring about Loring's removal.

In passing and sustaining the Personal Liberty Law, the legislators of Massachusetts were acting in response to the extreme antislavery sentiment of the State. Immediately after the rendition of Burns, the abolitionists had begun an agitation for the enactment of such legislation and for the removal of Loring. Garrison, with his genius for using every situation in a way to attract attention to his own cause and to forward it, publicly burned copies of the Fugitive Slave Law, Loring's decision in the Burns case, and the United States Constitution. Also, when the address for Loring's removal was being voted in the State senate, he occupied a seat beside the presiding officer. This act of the legislature was a retaliatory blow at the South; the consequences were bound to be portentous.

KANSAS AND SUMNER (1856)

Again, in the fall elections of 1855, the American party triumphed, the Whig organization being not yet fully dead, and the Republican not yet fully born. In the succeeding year, 1856, great events befell which, though outside the State, were a deciding influence in determining what was to happen within its boundaries. When Congress assembled in December, 1855, the new House of Representatives had ostensibly an anti-Nebraskan majority, but it was two months before it could choose a speaker. The election of Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts to this office was the first real victory of the antislavery forces in the field of national politics, and the word Republican thereupon took on a new meaning and a new promise. The contest over the admission of Kansas as a State was the great issue of the session; and while Charles Sumner was assembling the material and polishing the periods of his oration on the "Crime against Kansas," the Free-State settlers in the new territory, with their modern breech-loading Sharps rifles, and the "border ruffians" from Missouri, with their old-fashioned Springfield muskets, were preparing for a trial of strength by arms.

The clash on the two fields of battle was almost simultaneous. In the Senate, Sumner delivered his ponderous but powerful philippic, with its violent attacks upon Senator Butler, selected partly because he was a South Carolinian, partly because physically he might fit the Don Quixote of Sumner's fancy. Preston Brooks, a member of the House from South Carolina, defended his kinsman by striking Sumner down in the Senate Chamber from behind by the blows of his cane.

Close upon this event came the news that Lawrence, the Free-State town, named for the treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company, had been invaded by a proslavery sheriff's posse, which destroyed printing presses, the hotel, and other property. In swift retaliation came the Pottawatomie massacres in Kansas by John Brown and his sons, and the rule of violence prevailed throughout the territory.

Here again were issues on which it was impossible for Massachusetts men and women not to take sides—moral issues of the first rank, which separated people sharply. They could not be discussed in cold blood, with nice discrimination. Every man must be "for" or "against." Sumner was ably defended in the Senate by Henry Wilson; in the House by Anson Burlingame, a fiery young representative from Massachusetts, whose intentionally provocative language resulted in a challenge to a duel from Brooks. Burlingame's acceptance delighted many Northerners, who, though in theory opposed to duelling, longed for some act by which their sense of outrage could be expressed. The meeting never took place, however, for Brooks proved prudent. As to Kansas, the officers of the Emigrant Aid Company redoubled their efforts. "Remember," wrote Lawrence to a Quaker in Lynn, "that there are thirty thousand Free State men, women, and children there. Take off your coat, my dear friend, and put on your best one; and take your overcoat and pantaloons; save only one suit for Sunday and week-days; and pack up the rest."

Under such stress of emotion, the new Republican party in this presidential year gained a cohesion and vitality such as the earlier antislavery organizations had never been able to attain. Nevertheless, so obstinately did the local political groups stand by their old colors that it was found inadvisable to nominate a Republican candidate for governor. Gardner, the Know-Nothing, was easily elected for a third term; but Frémont, the Republican candidate for President, rolled up in Massachusetts a vote of 102,000 out of a total of 170,000. If this confused state of things was inevitable in a time of political realignment, at least two things were now clear: that Human Rights and the Higher Law were winning to their side the majority in Massachusetts; and that the minority included many intelligent, vigorous, and patriotic men, devoted to the preservation of the Union, who were by no means cowed by three years of Know-Nothing domination.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING (1858)

The session of the legislature in 1858 afforded a significant test of the strength of these two groups. The new Republican party was in control of the State government for the first time, with Banks as governor, and its radical members in the legislature were clamorous for action on the long-delayed proposal for the removal of Judge Loring.

Here, as in so many other situations in this period of Massachusetts history, it was an affair in which the personal quality of the leading men engaged played the most important part. The chief defender of Loring was Caleb Cushing, recently Attorney-General in Pierce's Cabinet and now representing Newburyport in the lower house. Long a national figure, he was especially prominent as being at the moment one of the few northern Democrats with outspoken southern sympathies. He was a man of clear intellect and a dominating speaker, feared rather than trusted.

Opposed to this Goliath was an unknown David—John A. Andrew, a Boston lawyer of forty, holding office for the first time. An ardent humanitarian and a consistent antislavery men, with a gift of oratory, he took upon himself the task of preparing to meet Cushing when the right moment came. It proved to require delicate maneuvering to put the plan of removing Loring through the necessary stages. The governor, although he did not relish the issue, was a well grounded politician, and finally took his place at the head of the procession with all the spirit of a true leader. As a sop to the conservative element, however, he sent a message to the legislature recommending the modification of some of the objectionable and even absurd provisions of the Personal Liberty Law.

Here was Cushing's opportunity to attack the statute, and to inveigh against the mischief-making antislavery men. When he had finished, his opponents sat exasperated and apparently helpless. Then Andrew, well prepared, rose, and in a speech full of the warmth and energy which were the characteristics of his nature, proved himself a match for his opponent. The personal triumph which Andrew achieved put him at once among the chief men of his party, and gave to the radical wing a new leader in State affairs.

THE STAND OF ANDREW (1858–1860)

Meanwhile, the pressure of such events as the Dred Scott decision of 1857 and the proslavery policy of the Buchanan administration was having its natural effect throughout the North. The vigorous dissenting opinion of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis in the Dred Scott case had a profound influence in Massachusetts and in all the free states. Its assertion of the right of a Negro to citizenship was a "vindication of the Constitution from the reproach of imbecility and inhumanity." When, a few months later, he resigned from the Supreme Court and returned to private practice in Boston, his act was interpreted as a protest against the subserviency of the Court to political considerations as a result of which it could no longer maintain the high standard of its past.

In politics the consequences were seen in the death of the Whig and the American parties, making the way easy for their adherents to enter the Republican fold. Hence the new party made great gains throughout the North in the Congressional elections of 1858, winning very nearly a majority of the seats in the House of Representatives.

Before the new Congress assembled, however, John Brown had made his raid upon Harper's Ferry in October, 1859, and had been tried and hanged; with the division between North and South more sharply marked than ever before, men realized that they faced each other upon the brink of disaster. The division was not merely between the North and the South; throughout the North the difference of opinion as to Brown's act was as striking and as significant. In Massachusetts John A. Andrew from the first took a leading part in his defense, with important consequences to himself. As a humanitarian lawyer, it was a matter of course with him to do what he could to obtain for Brown suitable counsel; and at a meeting called to raise funds for the old man's family, at which Andrew was the presiding officer, he startled the audience by his ringing declaration: "I pause not now to consider . . . whether the enterprise of John Brown and his associates in Virginia was wise or foolish, right or wrong; I only know that, whether the enterprise itself was the one or the other, John Brown himself is right."

These last five words became the shibboleth for the testing of radicals and conservatives at the North, the aggressive advocates of human rights and the higher law on the one hand,

and the defenders of the Constitution and all the obligations that made for Union on the other. It was not the utterance of a politician,—Andrew was a hard-working lawyer, devoted to his professional career; but the phrase rendered him perhaps the most talked-of man in Massachusetts and led directly to his nomination as the Republican candidate for governor in the fall of 1860.

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CHAPTER XVII

MASSACHUSETTS TO THE FRONT
(1860–1861)

By Henry Greenleaf Pearson
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The Presidential Issue of 1860

1860 was a presidential year, and the part played by Massachusetts men in the nominating conventions of the different parties was illustrative of the transformations which the all-absorbing political issue had brought to pass in those organizations. The Democrats, though nominally in power at Washington, were already divided into northern and southern wings, and it was doubtful whether in the coming convention at Charleston, South Carolina, they could be held together.

Although the presiding officer, Caleb Cushing, was a Massachusetts man, he was known to have strong Southern sympathies; so also had another member of the Massachusetts delegation, Benjamin F. Butler, who voted steadily for Jefferson Davis as the candidate for President. When, after adjourning and reassembling at Baltimore, the convention confessed failure, the Democratic party as a national organization came to an end, and Cushing and Butler went with the Southerners. When the Breckinridge Democrats, as they were called from the name of their presidential nominee, formed their State organization in Massachusetts, they made Butler their candidate for governor. Thus they had an advantage in having names well-known in Massachusetts out of proportion to their actual numbers.

The same was true of the Constitutional Union party, a remnant of the old Whigs, whose platform was "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." Its vice-presidential candidate was Edward Everett; its candidate for governor, Amos A. Lawrence. Neither of these men could be accused of caring only for property interests and of being dead to moral issues. Lawrence, in particular, in what he had done for Kansas and John Brown, had gone as far as any abolitionist. They represented a section of the community that had always possessed a strong influence; though temporarily eclipsed, the Constitutional Union party stood for a principle to which, in the course of a few months, every one in the North, including Cushing and Butler, was glad to rally. The group of northern, or Douglas, Democrats, though the largest of the three, was not nearly so fortunate in the matter of leadership as the other two.

The fourth group, the Republicans, though distinctly a sectional party, were, in Massachusetts as elsewhere in the North, full of the enthusiasm and vitality that comes with lusty growth and the belief that power is almost in the hand. "The stars in their courses" seemed to be "fighting for Sisera." It was not so much a question of whether they could win in Massachusetts in the coming election; with a divided Democracy, victory for the Republicans was almost certain. The essential question was whether they could use their success wisely.

Thus the problem of the Republican convention which met in Chicago in June, 1860, was to find a candidate whose leadership would further unite and strengthen the party. The Massachusetts delegation, of which John A. Andrew was chairman, fully sensing this need, favored Seward merely as a first choice. Indeed, even on the first ballot, some members voted for Lincoln. When, after the third ballot, his nomination was assured, it was Andrew who seconded the motion to make the vote unanimous.

The Campaign in Massachusetts (1860)

In the campaign that followed, the major interest in Massachusetts was perhaps in the candidacy of Andrew for the governorship. The radical element among the Massachusetts Republicans was strong; in the cause of harmony throughout the party, it had accepted Lincoln; but when it saw an opportunity to make its own favorite and leader the State standard-bearer, it would not be denied. After a tumultuous convention at Worcester, distinguished by the presence of Sumner for the first time since his illness and also by his stirring plea for Andrew, a man after his own heart, Andrew's nomination was made by a triumphant majority. The dazed conservatives were left to find out as best they might how it was that their plans had gone awry.

A friend of the Negro, a man who had said in ringing tones that "John Brown himself is right," such a man as candidate for governor was alike the object of abuse and the rallying point of enthusiasm. Not only did men like Winthrop, Everett, and Lawrence warn the community against his dangerous radicalism; members of his own party—such a sound judge of politics as John G. Whittier, for example—deplored his John Brownism. On the other hand, all those who, believing slavery to be morally wrong, desired to place in the governor's chair a man who would express their convictions in action, felt that in Andrew they had found a champion. When they cheered him, the cause of union became for the moment secondary to the cause of human rights; the threats of the Southerners, the menace of secession, seemed distant and unreal.

Thanks to this excitement over Andrew's radicalism, it may well have seemed to that unyielding conservative minority, which always had—and still has—to be reckoned with in Massachusetts, that his election as Governor would be a greater peril than the election of Lincoln as President. Since these men took in all seriousness the disunion threats of the South, they must perforce believe that if Massachusetts elected as Governor a man deemed to hold such extreme antislavery views the South was sure to make the act one of its excuses for secession. Strive as vigorously against him as they might, however, the best that they could do was to cut down his vote so that it was two thousand less than Lincoln's. Both won by a large majority, as the following table shows.

Republican		*Northern Democratic*	
Lincoln	106,000	Douglas	34,000
Andrew	104,000	Beach	35,000

Constitutional Union		*Southern Democratic*	
Bell	22,000	Breckinridge	6,000
Lawrence	24,000	Butler	6,000
Total Vote			
All parties, for state and national offices	337,000		

The voters of the Commonwealth were willing to commit it to Andrew's guidance because they liked him for his courage, his manifest sincerity, and his warmth of heart. Above all, they trusted him. With the same sense of trust in the man, they voted for Lincoln. In so doing they were affirming their allegiance to the principle that slavery was abnormal and must not be allowed to spread—that it was destined to ultimate extinction. But were the Constitution and the Union likewise destined to ultimate extinction? That question was yet to be answered.

GOVERNOR ANDREW IN OFFICE (1861)

The question was raised immediately after the election of Lincoln in November by the preliminaries of secession in South Carolina; similar action was almost certain in the States of the far South. Faced with the actuality of a dissolution of the Union, public sentiment in Massachusetts made a sudden shift in favor of conciliatory efforts. To wipe out the bad record which the State had in the Southern mind as a hotbed of abolitionism, a group of "broadcloth rowdies" took control of a meeting held to commemorate the anniversary of John Brown's death; others of like mind made violent demonstrations on the streets of Boston against Wendell Phillips, the abolition orator. The most important deliberate effort of this sort was a movement for the repeal of the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Law, formulated in an address written by Benjamin R. Curtis and backed up by a weighty list of signatures.

Andrew himself, a man of clear vision and well informed, was under no delusion concerning the South. Soon after Congress assembled in December he went to Washington to consult with Republican leaders, and in the course of his stay had a conversation with Senator Mason of Virginia. What Mason told him was not different from what scores of other

Southern leaders had said to their Northern acquaintances, both in Congress and out of it; but the conversation was important for the reason that Andrew was the kind of man that he was and because, as Governor and Commander in Chief of the State militia, he could actually prepare for war and send troops to Washington when the government called. Andrew cared for union as well as for freedom; he cared for union and freedom in such a way that he could not accept a revolutionary proposal which would leave the Negro a slave in a newly constituted foreign country and which divided a people whom the logic of geography, race, ecomonics, and history designed to live under one flag. At this early stage, when many other leaders were wringing their hands and floundering in uncertainty, he recognized war as inevitable and accepted his own duty to prepare for it with unflinching energy.

When, however, Andrew took office in January, 1861, in the midst of confusion of opinion and division of counsel, the advice that he gave in his inaugural address, born of his newly formed resolution, was not particularly acceptable either to the "Union savers" or to the "disunionists," those extreme antislavery men who, hating the South, had no wish to hold it to the Union at the cost of war. The Personal Liberty Law he defended in a closely reasoned argument, showing that it was not in conflict with national legislation, that it had proved necessary in several instances for the protection of citizens of Massachusetts, and that there was no reason of "interstate politeness" why it should be repealed. Having thus justified the course of the Commonwealth in his characteristic fashion, which combined ardor with vigorous intelligence, he protested her devotion to the Union and her readiness to come to its defense. War was implied in his words: the implication was neither deprecatory nor aggressive, but rather, resolute. So strange, however, were these words on the lips of a Northern leader that their import was not generally realized. But for Andrew they were a pledge: he had received that morning from Washington news of danger to the capital; and that evening messengers went out into a raging storm to carry the warning to the governors of the five other New England States.

The Smell of Gunpowder

It was Charles Francis Adams, one of the Massachusetts representatives in Congress, who had sent word of the conspiracy to seize the government, he having promised Andrew, when the latter was in Washington, to keep him informed. To meet the danger, he wrote, the State legislatures should appropriate money and organize men. All this, however, must be done discreetly: it must appear to originate spontaneously in the legislatures, and the object must seem to be legitimate defense of Government property and officials, not aggression. Carrying out another suggestion of Adams's, Andrew ordered that on January 8, the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, a salute of one hundred guns be fired on Boston Common and in other places in commemoration of General Jackson and the men who fought under him—also "in honor of the gallant conduct and wise foresight of Major Anderson, now in command of Fort Sumter." In explanation of this rather unusual method of inaugurating his administration, Andrew remarked that the people needed "to get accustomed to the smell of gunpowder." To carry out Adams's main suggestion, Andrew issued General Order Number 4, requiring the militia to weed out all of its members unable to render active service and to fill their places with men ready to respond to an emergency call.

Uncertainty in Massachusetts (January, 1861)

In the first weeks of the year the opposition in Massachusetts between the "disunionists" and the "Union savers" reached a high pitch of intensity. The Anti-Slavery Society, assembling in Boston, was refused police protection by the mayor, and its meetings were broken up. A petition on behalf of the compromise measure of Senator Crittenden, which was sponsored by such men as Edward Everett and Amos A. Lawrence and by them taken to Washington, aroused the ridicule of antislavery men. Finally, a proposal that Massachusetts should send delegates to a peace conference to be held at once in Washington brought representatives of both factions to Andrew's office with impassioned importunities for and against such action.

Here again Andrew was guided chiefly by the advice which he was receiving from Adams in Washington, who at the moment was exercising his great talents for statesmanship and diplomacy in an endeavor to tide over successfully the weeks till the inauguration of Lincoln on the fourth of March, so that the Republicans, when they came into power, might find the government still functioning. Adams desired also that the compromise discussions should be conducted, on the part of the North, in such a considerate fashion that, if a break came the blame for it could clearly be put upon the shoulders of the southern leaders. "I hold the dissolution of the Union," he wrote to Andrew, *"if in any way promoted by us* . . . a great political blunder, if not a crime."

He now counseled the appointment of delegates to the Peace Conference, since the sessions of this body would partly fill up the month of February and delay, if not prevent, the secession of Virginia.

Andrew adopted his suggestion, in spite of the protest of the antislavery die-hards, particularly Sumner. At the same time that he thus got himself into hot water with his friends, he aroused another portion of the community by a speech before the legislature. Two Revolutionary muskets, one of them captured at Lexington, were to be presented to the State, having been bequeathed to it by Theodore Parker. Andrew's emotional nature was stirred to the depths, and the climax of his burst of fervid oratory was to kiss one of the muskets as he held it in his hands.

Andrew Prepares for War (January–February, 1861)

At the end of January Andrew again received warning that Washington was in danger. So serious did he believe the peril to be that he took vigorous action at once, although he well knew that his course would raise a storm of protest. He obtained from the legislature an emergency appropriation of $100,000; and a war council of military experts, summoned by him forthwith, approved plans for the purchase of overcoats, blankets, and knapsacks to the number of two thousand. Inasmuch as Andrew could not make public disclosure of what came to him as confidential information, the reason for his warlike acts was popularly assigned to impulsiveness and lack of balance. On State Street his stock was law. "You had only to mention the word *overcoat*," wrote Henry Lee, "or speak of 'kissing the musket' . . . to excite the risibles or call down the objurgations of any of the scoffers, to whom these timely acts seemed the height of folly or wickedness."

On the other hand, his antislavery friends were put out with him, not only because he appointed delegates to the Peace Conference, an act which savored of "Union-saving," but also because, receding from his stand on the Personal Liberty Law in response to intimations from Washington, he consented to its modification. Thus he was at odds with both sides; he "wobbles like an old cart," wrote Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*.

The Call to Arms (April 15, 1861)

In the midst of this commotion, the Governor went ahead steadily with his military preparations, and by the first of April, 1861, the militia was ready. Meanwhile the thoughts of all men, North and South, were straining toward Fort Sumter; the first shot was fired by the South, which lightheartedly committed the "political blunder" which Adams had so dreaded for the North. The little garrison, after its gallant defense, surrendered; and Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 militia to serve for three months. The war had begun! Andrew was justified in his foresight; but would a divided Commonwealth support him?

Whether supported by the people or not, Andrew's first duty was to get off the troops without delay. The four regiments to be sent numbered about 3100 men. In the serious problem of arranging for their transportation, Andrew fortunately had the assistance of John M. Forbes, a man of the highest ability and thoroughly at home in all matters connected with boats and railroads. Forbes had been a member of the Peace Conference, and while in Washington busied himself with a semi-official plan for the relief of Fort Sumter. He had also talked with the mayor of Baltimore and had reached the conclusion that the railroad route across that city would probably be interrupted. Consequently, he advocated sending the troops by water, with the understanding that some of them were to reinforce Fortress Monroe, which was held by a handful of regulars. Knowing what vessels were available for charter and where reliable captains were to be obtained, he acted as an unofficial Secretary of the Navy for Massachusetts. By the time the troops were assembled and the plan confirmed from Washington, he had the steamers provided, some to take the soldiers from Fall River to New York and others to sail direct for Chesapeake Bay.

Massachusetts Sends Troops (April 16–19, 1861)

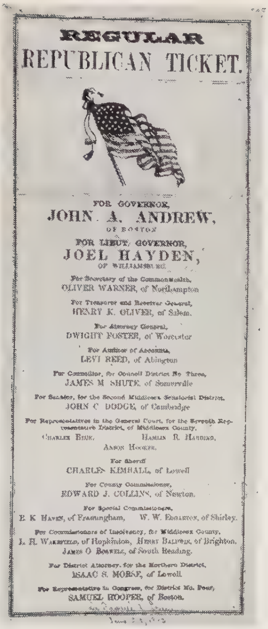
Early in the morning of April 16, the first soldiers appeared at the Governor's summons. Three companies of the Eighth Regiment, from Marblehead, detrained in Boston amidst a clamorous throng and marched through driving sleet to Faneuil Hall. For the five days thereafter the community gave thought to nothing but the troops: crowds filled the stations, followed the marching men, and stood before the State House while the Governor bade them farewell, again and again interrupting his ardent words and often drowning them in a universal tumult of feeling. The eye was never out of sight of flags, the ear never out of hearing of cheers and shouts. At the State House, much of the clothing, arms, and ammunition was deposited for distribution; and thither all varieties of individuals were thronging with every variety of suggestion and offer of help. Of course confusion was at its height, but the energy and tireless good will of the workers and a liberal disposition to cut red tape made it possible for the first regiment to start within fifty hours of the time when Andrew issued his order.

"By noon, April 17, the Sixth Regiment, which was to go off first, having received its equipment and having exchanged its old smooth-bore muskets for new rifles, drew up before the long and broad flight of the State House steps, and the Governor came down to give the regiment its colors and to bid it Godspeed. For a moment the throng of workers in the State House stopped; they crowded down the steps, the throngs of people from the street below surged up to meet them. Standing thus, the Governor for five minutes poured forth the feeling pent up within him for the last few days, surrendering himself, as was his wont, to the fullness of eloquence which served him so well at these times and which his ringing voice could send far out over an open-air crowd. At the end, he gave the colors into the keeping of Colonel Jones, who replied with a soldier's brevity. The regiment marched off, little dreaming what the future had in store for it. The Governor and his fellow workers returned to their tasks within; the crowd dispersed, still sobbing and cheering.

"This public act of parting between the Governor and his troops was the formal sign of the close reality of war, and the shock it gave was profound. Many, many times repeated during the next four years, the scene became famous; one may see it quaintly recorded on the soldiers' monument on Boston Common—the Governor, holding the colors, surrounded by his staff; before him the regimental officers and the troops, all eager to be off."

The departure of the Sixth—followed later in the day by two other regiments destined for Fortress Monroe, in all about 1500 men—was the first movement of armed troops anywhere in the North. On the day following, a fourth regiment left, the start of its march from the State House being the occasion for the war spirit of the people to mount higher than ever. With it, as brigadier-general, went Benjamin F. Butler, Andrew's opponent for governor on the ticket of the Breckinridge Democrats. Andrew had made the appointment in recognition of the rallying of men of all parties to the Union cause; but, owing to Butler's truculence and other undesirable qualities, the act was one which he later came to rue. It was found that a fifth regiment was necessary to complete the State's quota, and that departed three days later.

The first regiment to leave Massachusetts, the Sixth, having reached New York, took train for Washington. When marching through the streets of Baltimore, on its way from one station to the other, it was attacked by a mob; it fired in return upon them, and at the end of the affair there were dead as well as wounded on both sides. The regiment reached Washington that day; but so great was the frenzy in Baltimore that it was deemed necessary to burn the bridges on railroads leading from the north, and the Nation's capital was isolated. A week later the next Massachusetts troops arrived, having been eight days *en route*. It was during that anxious period of isolation



REGULAR

REPUBLICAN TICKET.

FOR GOVERNOR,
JOHN A. ANDREW,
OF BOSTON

FOR LIEUT. GOVERNOR,
JOEL HAYDEN,
OF WILLIAMSBURG

For Secretary of the Commonwealth,
OLIVER WARNER, of Northampton

For Treasurer and Receiver General,
HENRY K. OLIVER, of Salem.

For Attorney General,
DWIGHT FOSTER, of Worcester

For Auditor of Accounts,
LEVI REED, of Abington

For Councillor, for Council District No. Three,
JAMES M. SHUTE, of Somerville

For Senator, for the Second Middlesex Senatorial District,
JOHN C. DODGE, of Cambridge

For Representatives in the General Court, for the Seventh Representative District, of Middlesex County,
Charles Bird, Hamlin R. Harding,
Anson Hooker.

For Sheriff
CHARLES KIMBALL, of Lowell

For County Commissioner,
EDWARD J. COLLINS, of Newton.

For Special Commissioners,
E. K. Hayes, of Framingham, W. W. Edgarton, of Shirley.

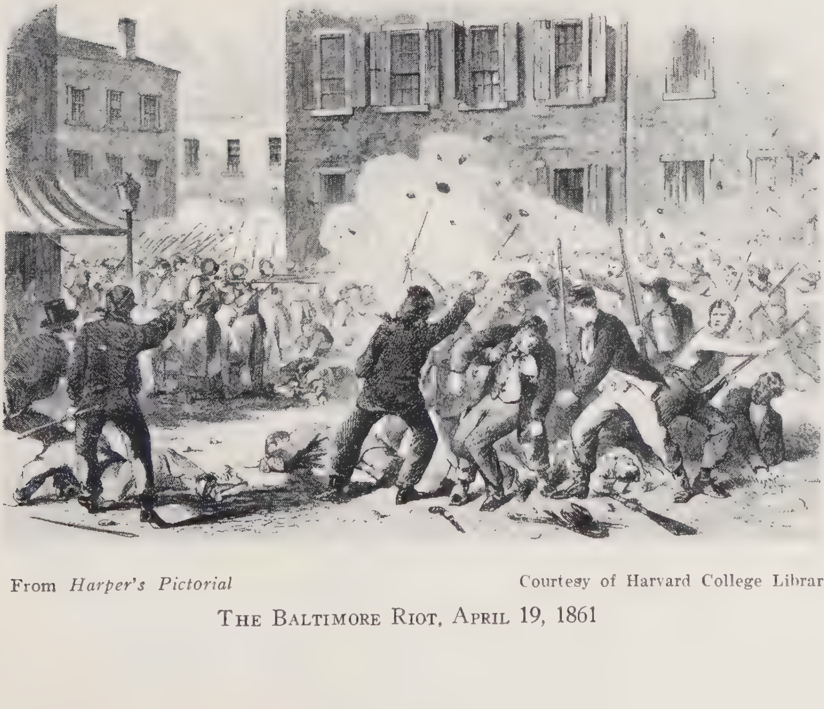
For Commissioners of Insolvency, for Middlesex County,
L. H. Wakefield, of Hopkinton, Henry Baldwin, of Brighton,
James O. Boswell, of South Reading.

For District Attorney, for the Northern District,
ISAAC S. MORSE, of Lowell

For Representative in Congress, for District No. Four,
SAMUEL HOOPER, of Boston.

Courtesy of Boston Public Library

HANDBILL OF THE ELECTION OF 1860



From *Harper's Pictorial* Courtesy of Harvard College Library

THE BALTIMORE RIOT, APRIL 19, 1861

that Lincoln told the men of the Sixth: "I begin to believe there is no North. The Seventh Regiment [New York] is a myth. Rhode Island is another. You are the only real thing."

Rising of the People (April, 1861)

The shedding of the blood of Massachusetts soldiers by a rebel mob marked the climax of a week of thrilling events and intense emotional strain. The response of the Commonwealth to Lincoln's appeal began with the moment of its publication; it rose in a steady crescendo, contributed to by all conditions of men. With the news from Baltimore, the mood of exaltation became one also of consecration: for a second time the stand of Massachusetts men on the nineteenth of April had become a milestone in the Nation's history. The Nation! its government must be defended; it must be preserved—on these points the men of Massachusetts, whatever their opinions may have been in the past, were not divided. The Breckinridge Democrats, Cushing and Butler; the abolitionists, Garrison and Wendell Phillips; the old-line Whigs, Everett, Winthrop, and Lawrence—all forgot their distrust of Lincoln and of Andrew and the party to which they belonged; the Union only was uppermost in their thoughts. Cushing's help, however, Andrew could not bring himself to accept, for he felt that the seasoned politician, who had changed sides before to his own advantage, was now merely "riding in on the storm," as Forbes put it. "It was a sore disappointment to see Caleb come out on our side." If in the light of later events it may be thought that the Governor would have done better to take Cushing and reject Butler, at the moment the act would have required more than human wisdom as well as more than human charity.

In this outpouring of patriotism nothing was lacking: flags were raised, mass meetings held; men and women offered themselves freely, insistently, for every kind of service; money and supplies were pressed upon the Governor; a flood of clothing rose, tide-like, to the point of embarrassment; and articles of food—which, it soon became plain, Massachusetts must send her men at the front if they were to eat at all—poured in by the ton. Many of these gifts partook decidedly of the nature of "frills." "Their principal value (and that is priceless) is as a testimony of the patriotism, zeal, and generosity of the men and women who felt that they must do something for the cause." The determination of Andrew and his fellow workers to "put Massachusetts at the head of the column" and his success in doing so were recognized and acclaimed throughout the North. The efficient organization rapidly created to take care of the new activities was a model for other States. All these heightened the ardor of all citizens of the Commonwealth; a spirit of noble rivalry intensified patriotism.

The Spirit of Massachusetts (1861)

This feeling was carried still further because Massachusetts, in common with the rest of the North, was for some days cut off from communication with Washington; and because, when connection was restored, the Federal Government was too disorganized to give coherent direction to affairs. So Massachusetts must perforce go her own way. The activities which Andrew undertook in consequence, with the backing of advisers having experience in conducting affairs on a large scale and used to business methods, covered a wide range. He cooperated with other northern States in opening a route to Washington and in making it secure; he put militia garrisons into the forts in Boston harbor; he lent military equipment to Maine; he sent an agent with a credit of £50,000 to Europe to obtain arms. He was even obliged to purchase two steamers to take to the Massachusetts regiments at Washington and Fortress Monroe the provisions which the Federal Government was unable to supply.

Thus, at the very beginning of the war, the people of Massachusetts, under capable leadership, were fused together and uplifted. The spiritual force by which this was brought to pass was well described by Andrew himself:

"I may testify to the impressions stamped forever on our memories and our hearts by that great week in April, when Massachusetts rose up at the sound of the cannonade of Sumter, and her Militia Brigade, springing to their arms, appeared on Boston Common. It redeemed the meanness and the weariness of many a prosaic life. It was the revelation of a profound sentiment, of manly faith, of glorious fidelity, and of a love stronger than death. Those were days of which none other in the history of the war became the parallel. And when, on the evening of the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, there came the news along the wires that the Sixth Regiment had been cutting its way through the streets of Baltimore, whose pavements were reddened with the blood of Middlesex, it seemed as if there descended into our hearts a mysterious strength, and into our minds a supernal illumination. . . . Never after did any news so lift us above ourselves, so transform earthly weakness into heavenly might. . . . The great and necessary struggle had begun, without which we were a disgraced, a doomed, a ruined people. We had reached the parting of the ways, and we had not hesitated to choose the right one."

Changing a Town Meeting to a Regiment (April, 1861)

This immense force of popular feeling was behind that enlistment of troops and preliminary drill and organization of a military force, which will be described in the following chapter. The authorities of Massachusetts were an unmilitary group, trying to create a military spirit and a military force out of a community which had hardly seen a soldier since the War of 1812, except for the limited participation of the Mexican War of 1846. This is the place for a brief account of the process by which Massachusetts became a recruiting ground for the 146,000 officers and soldiers who were enlisted from the State during the four years of Civil War. The beginnings of this process were slow and difficult.

From the day of Lincoln's first call for troops to the end of the war, Andrew's most important duty was to provide the man power which the government needed to crush the armies of the Confederacy. The desire for service on the part of men of military age showed itself in the formation of militia companies in every town and city; the existing militia regiments which had not been summoned went into camp. Daniel Webster's son Fletcher raised a new regiment in three days.

These militia organizations, however, by tradition and the nature of things were local. Each company chose the color and style of its uniform, having more regard for show than for use (whence Andrew's order for overcoats and blankets). It elected its officers, owned its armory, was known by a special name, and in general was sufficient unto itself and jealous of rival organizations. The display it made at spring training or fall review further ministered to its local pride. That Andrew was able to bring these units together and send them out of the State was no small tribute to his energy as well as to the national feeling of the men.

Serviceable as the militia was for an emergency, it could not be used alone to fight a war; and on May 3 President Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers to serve for three years. These men were to be organized as State regiments, and the quota for Massachusetts, after considerable delay and uncertainly, was set at six. Although this number was much less than what Andrew knew Massachusetts could supply, the problem of organizing these regiments under the existing conditions was for the moment a sufficient tax on his judgment and strength.

Question of Officers

The chief difficulty was the status of the officers, who were chosen by the men but whose commissions must be signed by the Governor. Already he was embarrassed by complaints as to the inefficiency of commanders in the regiments that had gone forward. If he fell in with the prevailing practice and merely accepted the officers chosen in this democratic manner, he would imperil the efficiency of the Commonwealth's contribution of men. On the other hand, if he applied a military standard of fitness, he would stir up a storm that might seriously impede recruiting. Besides, the number of those who could thus qualify was small. Therefore many men whom he knew to be unsuitable, if not unfit, were commissioned in the first regiments. As he learned the necessity of doing his own thinking and gained in firmness, the task of "changing a town meeting to a regiment" became easier.

One exception was notable. On the first day of the war, the governor had approved the plan of George H. Gordon, a graduate of West Point, with experience in the Regular Army, for raising a regiment, every officer of which should be chosen by himself. Gordon knew where to find the right sort of material, especially among young Harvard men. The result was his creation, the Second Regiment, whose fame fully justified his method. Later the Twenty-fourth Regiment was raised on similar terms with equal success.

First Volunteer Regiments (June and July, 1861)

Meanwhile the war fever was mounting from day to day, and Andrew, by dint of much importuning, was able to persuade the War Department to increase the Massachusetts quota of volunteer regiments from six to seventeen. Recruiting, drilling, and equipping of men was the order of the day. Every able-bodied citizen in Massachusetts had a choice to make—a choice that affected his business, his family, even his life. Every community, and the State itself, stood ready to help him if his choice was for service. The recruits came from all ranks of society and all political groups; they were young—it is always so—and were filled with the spirit of patriotism. When, their training completed, they left for the front, the men and women who watched them go both gave and received a new inspiration.

The first of these volunteer regiments left on June 15; within the next seven weeks nine others followed. Fletcher Webster's regiment, as it marched down State Street, sang "John Brown's Body"—a message of freedom which it was to spread through the Army of the Potomac. On all these occasions Andrew, if possible, was on hand to present the flags; the vitality and humanity of his presence and his words were a pledge of support and an incitement to honorable conduct.

Thus Massachusetts to the front! In a crisis of danger to the Union she subordinated her antislavery predilections; true to the Webster tradition, she rallied to the Union with heart and hand. It was not merely a popular response: leaders, high-minded and able, gave it direction and carried it to a signal accomplishment. Once more Massachusetts had justified herself in the Nation's history.

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CHAPTER XVIII

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE CIVIL WAR (1861–1865)

By Thomas G. Frothingham
Captain, U. S. R.

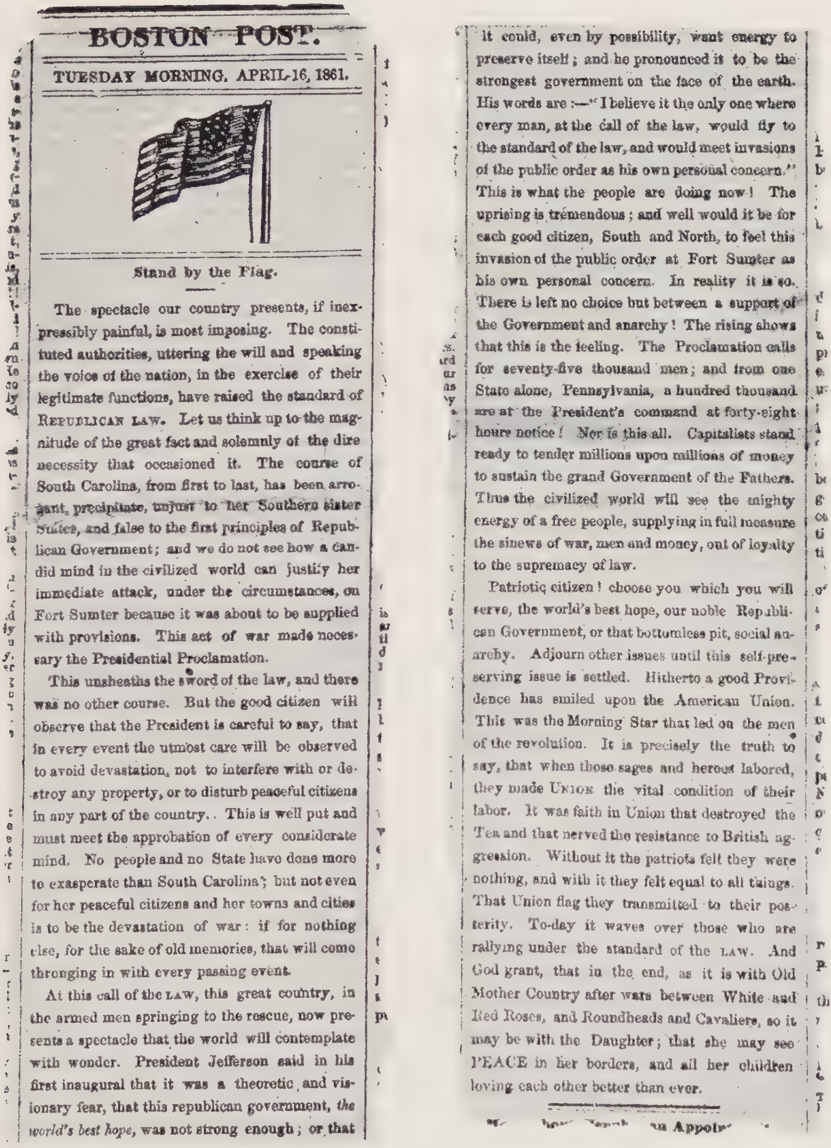
The Outbreak of War (April, 1861)

The bombardment of Fort Sumter was the electric shock that brought into action the forces which had been gathering in the period of suspense. The United States flag had been fired on by the Confederates, an act of war that ended all other issues in Massachusetts. All distinctions of party were wiped away in the Commonwealth, and its people rose as one man to preserve the Union. It was significant of this fusion of parties that the most ardent and eloquent appeal for the flag of the Union appeared in the *Boston Post,* which was the leading Democratic paper of New England and had supported the nomination of Breckenridge for President. At this crisis, it put the United States flag at the head of its editorial, with the stirring caption, "Stand by the Flag." To read the text of this call to defend the Union cause is to know the spirit of the people of Massachusetts. It is reproduced here in full.

The first call for troops from Washington had been in a telegram, sent through Senator Wilson on April 15, calling for twenty companies to be sent separately. But on the same day a formal requisition was received from the Secretary of War and The Adjutant General of the United States Army, asking for three full regiments from Massachusetts.

Accordingly, by command of Governor Andrew, Special Order No. 14 was promptly issued by Adjutant General Schouler, calling out four regiments of the militia.

These four regiments were ordered assembled, to insure the quota of Massachusetts at once by using the strongest



BOSTON POST.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 16, 1861.

Stand by the Flag.

The spectacle our country presents, if inexpressibly painful, is most imposing. The constituted authorities, uttering the will and speaking the voice of the nation, in the exercise of their legitimate functions, have raised the standard of REPUBLICAN LAW. Let us think up to the magnitude of the great fact and solemnly of the dire necessity that occasioned it. The course of South Carolina, from first to last, has been arrogant, precipitate, unjust to her Southern sister States, and false to the first principles of Republican Government; and we do not see how a candid mind in the civilized world can justify her immediate attack, under the circumstances, on Fort Sumter because it was about to be supplied with provisions. This act of war made necessary the Presidential Proclamation.

This unsheaths the sword of the law, and there was no other course. But the good citizen will observe that the President is careful to say, that in every event the utmost care will be observed to avoid devastation, not to interfere with or destroy any property, or to disturb peaceful citizens in any part of the country. This is well put and must meet the approbation of every considerate mind. No people and no State have done more to exasperate than South Carolina; but not even for her peaceful citizens and her towns and cities is to be the devastation of war: if for nothing else, for the sake of old memories, that will come thronging in with every passing event.

At this call of the LAW, this great country, in the armed men springing to the rescue, now presents a spectacle that the world will contemplate with wonder. President Jefferson said in his first inaugural that it was a theoretic and visionary fear, that this republican government, *the world's best hope*, was not strong enough; or that it could, even by possibility, want energy to preserve itself; and he pronounced it to be the strongest government on the face of the earth. His words are :—"I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." This is what the people are doing now! The uprising is tremendous; and well would it be for each good citizen, South and North, to feel this invasion of the public order at Fort Sumter as his own personal concern. In reality it is so. There is left no choice but between a support of the Government and anarchy! The rising shows that this is the feeling. The Proclamation calls for seventy-five thousand men; and from one State alone, Pennsylvania, a hundred thousand are at the President's command at forty-eight hours notice! Nor is this all. Capitalists stand ready to tender millions upon millions of money to sustain the grand Government of the Fathers. Thus the civilized world will see the mighty energy of a free people, supplying in full measure the sinews of war, men and money, out of loyalty to the supremacy of law.

Patriotic citizen! choose you which you will serve, the world's best hope, our noble Republican Government, or that bottomless pit, social anarchy. Adjourn other issues until this self-preserving issue is settled. Hitherto a good Providence has smiled upon the American Union. This was the Morning Star that led on the men of the revolution. It is precisely the truth to say, that when those sages and heroes labored, they made UNION the vital condition of their labor. It was faith in Union that destroyed the Tea and that nerved the resistance to British aggression. Without it the patriots felt they were nothing, and with it they felt equal to all things. That Union flag they transmitted to their posterity. To-day it waves over those who are rallying under the standard of the LAW. And God grant, that in the end, as it is with Old Mother Country after wars between White and Red Roses, and Roundheads and Cavaliers, so it may be with the Daughter; that she may see PEACE in her borders, and all her children loving each other better than ever.

Courtesy of the Author

EDITORIAL BY RICHARD FROTHINGHAM IN THE BOSTON POST, THE MORNING AFTER PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS

companies to form the required regiments. The order was given to Colonel Wardrop of the Third Regiment, at New Bedford; Colonel Packard of the Fourth, at Quincy; Colonel Jones of the Sixth, at Pepperell; and Colonel Monroe of the Eighth at Lynn. All were to muster their men at Boston, "in compliance with a requisition made by the President of the United States; the troops are to go to Washington."

The response was most efficient, thanks to the military preparations of the last three months. All of the companies that had received their orders in time were in Boston the next day, and the others quickly followed. It was fortunate that four regiments had been called out, as on April 16 another telegram came from Senator Wilson, stating that Massachusetts was to furnish at once four regiments, to be commanded by a brigadier general. On that day the precaution was taken of also ordering out the Fifth Regiment. On April 17 Governor Andrew detailed Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler to command the Massachusetts quota.

Response of Massachusetts

In that first week after the firing on Fort Sumter, a peaceful state changed into a community called to war for a just cause, and eager to render service for that cause. It was a measure of the zeal of the people that in April and May one hundred and fifty-nine applications were granted to responsible parties for leave to raise new companies. In most cases the applications were signed by the requisite number of men to form a company. "The authorities of the several cities and towns acted with patriotic liberality toward these companies, furnishing good accommodations for drilling, and providing for the families of the men." The totals of these companies actually amounted to ten thousand men, and they furnished the nucleus for the greater numbers to come.

In cooperation, the citizens of the Commonwealth showed themselves eager to forward the military effort of Massachusetts in every way. They helped by contributions of every kind, of their goods, of their money, of their services. Early in the field were the physicians of Massachusetts. Dr. George H. Lyman had been preparing himself by studying the problem of a medical department in case of an emergency. At the first call he offered his services, and on April 16 the Governor appointed him in conjunction with Dr. William J. Dale to take charge of furnishing medical supplies for the troops.

From this prompt beginning grew a military medical department for Massachusetts, which Adjutant General Schouler declared, "was of great value and importance during the whole of the war." Not only did the physicians of Massachusetts freely offer themselves in the field, but many of them volunteered to give their professional services to the families of soldiers free of charge. Inseparable from the noble work of the doctors in the Civil War, will always be the memory of the services of women rendered to the sick and wounded. The women of Massachusetts have left a wonderful record, and in this first week of the war their offers of services were received from all sides. The banks of Boston offered to loan the State $600,000, without any security. And every form of donation might be found in the list of the offerings of the people of Massachusetts.

First Services of the Militia (April, 1861)

Three of the Massachusetts regiments were ready to move at six o'clock April 16. This was an extraordinary record. Arrangements had been completed to send the Massachusetts troops by sea, and at the first requisition, Governor Andrew had so informed the Government. But in answer he received a telegram from the Secretary of War, "to send the troops by railroad; they will arrive quicker, the route through Baltimore is now open."

In consequence the route of the Sixth Regiment was changed, and it was sent through Baltimore by rail, as ordered, although through the activity and foresight of John M. Forbes steamers were in readiness to take these regiments by sea. The Sixth left in the evening of April 17 for Washington. The Fourth had left on an earlier train, to take the Fall River Line to New York, and then to go to Fortress Monroe, where it arrived on April 20. The Third Regiment was also sent to Fortress Monroe, but all the way by sea, and arrived on the same day.

The Sixth Regiment came into Baltimore on the morning of April 19. At that time the railroad cars were drawn by horses across the city to the Washington Depot. Seven companies of the regiment passed through Baltimore in that way without trouble. But the cars containing the other three companies and the band were blocked by a mob of Southern sympathizers, and these troops were forced to fight their way to join their companions. Four were killed and thirty-six wounded. They had been obliged to fire on the mob, of whom many were killed or wounded.

The regiment reached Washington at five o'clock that afternoon. There these Massachusetts troops were received with great enthusiasm. They were marched to the Capitol, where they were given quarters. It was the first regiment that had arrived in answer to the call for troops. Lincoln paid them the tribute of saying, "You are the only reality."

The Eighth Regiment had left Boston in the afternoon of April 18. With this regiment went General Butler. They were to go to Washington by the route through Baltimore, but at Philadelphia they learned of the attack upon the Sixth. By the advice and cooperation of Samuel M. Felton, President of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad, the route of General Butler's command was changed, and the Eighth and all other troops were ordered "to go via Annapolis to Washington."

VALUE OF THE THREE-MONTHS MEN (APRIL-JUNE, 1861)

The attack upon the Sixth Regiment made a deep impression in Massachusetts. It was the first bloodshed of the war, and it brought home forcibly to our people that it was war in earnest. The departures of the regiments, with the presentations of colors by Governor Andrew, had been touching ceremonies of farewell that had greatly moved the onlookers. To this was added the realization that April 19, the day of Lexington and Concord, had become again a day of the first sacrifice of life.

The Fifth Regiment (Colonel Lawrence), with five companies of the Seventh and Major Cook's company of light artillery, and the Third Battalion of Rifles (of Worcester), with Captain Dodd's company from Boston, completed the total of the three-months men sent out in the first emergency. After that no more such enlistments were accepted, and on

May 3, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war.

The number of three-months men, sent from Massachusetts at the first call, was 3,736. In regard to their services, the report of the Adjutant General for 1861 should be quoted: "They were the first to respond to the call of the President; the first to march through Baltimore to the defense of the capital; the first to shed their blood for the maintenance of our Government; the first to open the new route to Washington by way of Annapolis; the first to land on the soil of Virginia; the first to make the voyage of the Potomac and to approach the Federal city by water, as they had been the first to reach it by land. They upheld the good name of the State during their entire term of service, as well by their good conduct and gentlemanly bearing, as by their courage and devotion to duty in the hour of peril. They proved the sterling worth of our volunteer militia. Their record is one which will ever redound to the honor of Massachusetts, and will be prized among her richest historic treasures. These men have added new splendor to our Revolutionary annals; and the brave sons who were shot down in the streets of Baltimore on the 19th of April, have rendered doubly sacred the day when the greensward of Lexington Common was drenched with the blood of their fathers."

These brave words of 1861 are not only a just tribute to the soldiers of Massachusetts, but they also reflect the fervid zeal of the times. In addition to the service rendered by these first Massachusetts soldiers, their three-months term of duty was an experience of education that fitted many of them to serve as officers in the companies and regiments which were being raised. They were found with all grades of commissions in the ensuing war, and a number of them returned with generals' stars. Among these was General Devens, whose statue stands near the State House.

Move for Sanitary Conditions (1861)

Massachusetts was also taking an early and leading part in another sphere of most important effort—and here again Governor Andrew was proving himself to be farseeing. On May 2 the Governor wrote to Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston:

"The Massachusetts Volunteer Militia now in the field demand and deserve our anxious care, as well in respect to their sanitary condition (including their medical and surgical supplies and attendance, their nursing and comfort in sickness) as also in respect to the departments of the commissary and the quartermaster."

With this in mind, the Governor directed Dr. Howe to make a report of the condition of the troops, and especially if what was being sent to them was being duly received and properly used. "Learn and report, if possible, what aid, if any is needed in the commissary and quartermaster's departments and on the medical staff."

In this prompt recognition of the importance of the "sanitary condition" of the troops, and in taking this official action, Governor Andrew was in advance of his times. And these two words "sanitary condition" described, in themselves, a reform that was to make the Sanitary Commission of the Civil War the first in its field of mercy—the precursor of the Red Cross. In order to realize how revolutionary was this reform, it is only necessary to make a comparison with the most recent European war, the Crimean War.

This was only seven years before the Civil War, and yet it was not until near the end of the Crimean War that a civil commission attempted too late to repair the fearful harm caused by unsanitary conditions. In contrast, at the very beginning of the Civil War, an efficient organization was formed to prevent these evils. The credit for the beginning of this movement and the origin of the Sanitary Commission must be given to the women of America.

The first step in this direction had been the formation of committees of women, in the different cities and towns, to aid the soldiers. Charlestown and Lowell, in Massachusetts, shared with Bridgeport, in Connecticut, the honor of forming the first of these committees on April 15, 1861. The idea spread through the North, and these committees were organized into the Soldiers' Relief Societies. James Schouler says that "The Bunker Hill Soldiers Relief Society (Charlestown, Mass.), organized April 19, 1861, ... was undoubtedly the first which was organized in the loyal states." It at once became evident that these societies would be of the greatest benefit, if only their efforts were properly directed. And this could only be insured by an organized body that would assume control of collecting and distributing, and building up healthful conditions.

The Sanitary Commission

A voluntary commission was formed of able physicians and experts like Dr. Howe, who was a member of this commission. They offered their services to the Government on May 22, 1861, and their offer was accepted on June 9. This was the Sanitary Commission, and it ably administered its work throughout the Civil War.

It guided and directed the societies by issuing requisitions for what was needed, and thus turning their zealous efforts into useful channels. The central agency of the Sanitary Commission for Massachusetts and northern New England was the New England Women's Auxiliary Association in Boston, and its labors were carried on in all the towns and cities of New England. This good and well directed work was soon going on all over the North.

The Sanitary Commission assumed charge of shipping and forwarding all supplies, collected from these numerous sources, to the destinations where they would do the most good. There is no need to emphasize the value of this means of coordinating and systematizing the zealous efforts of those who were so eager to help the soldiers. In no other way could these efforts have accomplished so great results.

In the field, the administration of the Sanitary Commission was of value that cannot be stated too strongly. For the first time in war there was a powerful and authorized body of which the sole object was the health and comfort of the soldier. Not only did its agents minister to the soldier, but they taught him to take hygienic care of himself—and then helped him to do this.

For the hard worked Medical Department the Sanitary Commission was a Godsend. It made conditions healthier for the work of the surgeons. Its assistance was always a support and a source of needed supplies. It was also a help and a stimulant to better standards of hygiene. In this last respect, it was of real benefit that it was an independent body, acting with the Medical Department but not of it. The combination of the two working together obtained results that might not have been possible otherwise. The same was true of the Sanitary Commission working with the commissaries. There was the same good effect of raising the standard of healthful care of the troops.

To appreciate the value of the work of the Sanitary Commission, we must not think in terms of today, when its offspring the Red Cross is so familiar to us all as an established institution. But in the sixties all this was untrodden ground, and it is a wonderful thing to realize that the people's zealous desire to be of help found, at the very beginning of the war, so intelligent a guidance and control that it accomplished this miracle of mercy. But Harte's poem, "How are you, Sanitary," has recorded its place in the heart of the army. It was also a matter of record that the local Auxiliary Association received contributions from supporting societies in 301 cities and towns of Massachusetts. This fact was an index to show how the Sanitary Commission drew its being direct from the people of the North.

New Call for Troops (April, 1861)

Upon the new call for troops, Massachusetts was able to report that the required new regiments could be made up from the volunteer companies, which had already been organized as described. This work of forming new volunteer units had been going on throughout the Commonwealth. Among the first to undertake to raise a regiment had been Fletcher Webster, the only surviving child of Daniel Webster. This he proposed at a large meeting on State Street, Sunday morning, April 21, 1861.

The meeting was called to assemble in front of the Merchants Exchange, but the crowd was taken to the head of State Street, and Mr. Webster addressed it from the balcony of the Old State House. The gathering was deeply impressed by the stand of the son of the great champion of the Union. Mr. Webster cited his father's defense of the Union in the forum, and he declared himself ready to defend it on the field of battle. He announced that he proposed to raise a regiment for active service, and he called for volunteers.

His proposal was greeted with great enthusiasm, and in response more companies were offered than he could accept. This regiment was organized for the three-months service, but, upon the new call, it immediately volunteered to enlist for three years. It was accepted, and served in the war as the Twelfth Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry. Colonel Webster, its gallant organizer, was killed in command at the Second Manassas, August 30, 1863. He thus gave his life for the cause of the Union, so ably advocated by his eloquent father.

The Three-Year Volunteers (May, 1861)

The President's proclamation of May 3, 1861, had been followed on the next day, by General Order No. 15, from Secretary of War Cameron, which set forth the number of regiments to be raised, and the scheme for organization. It stated that there were to be thirty-nine regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry. But there was nothing in the order that designated the proportion of men or regiments to be furnished by each State. This left Governor Andrew in a quandary as to what number he could accept of the many organizations in Massachusetts which were offering their services as volunteers for three years.

They were ready, and were parading to show their readiness. The Governor wrote and telegraphed to Washington, but answer was delayed. The following will show his patriotic vision, that the war was to take on great dimensions. This was from a letter to Montgomery Blair of Lincoln's cabinet: "The whole matter has now assumed the broadest proportions, and we in Massachusetts are only anxious to be up to our whole duty; and it is my strong desire to receive from you every friendly and prompting hint, and to endeavor to follow it. At the same time, I wish you to aid in affording Massachusetts those full opportunities which become her services and her character."

It was not until May 22 that Governor Andrew received the following from the Secretary of War (dated May 15, 1861): "I have the honor to forward to you enclosed herewith the plan of organization of the volunteers for three years, or during the war. *Six* regiments are assigned to your State, making, in addition to the *two regiments* of three months' militia already called for, eight regiments.

"It is important to reduce rather than to enlarge this number, and in no event to exceed it. Let me earnestly recommend you, therefore, to call for no more than eight regiments, of which six only are to serve for three years, or during the war, and, if more are already called for, to reduce the number by discharge. In making up the quota of three years' men you will please act in concert with the mustering officers sent to your State, who will represent this Department."

This hestitating policy of restricting enlistments showed that Governor Andrew's estimate of the situation was better than that of the War Department. Upon receipt of this letter, General Order No. 12 was issued by direction of the Governor, which stated that the quota of Massachusetts was "fixed at six regiments of infantry, to be organized as prescribed in General Order No. 15 from the War Department."

The First Three-Year Regiments

The organization of these new regiments was to be the same as that of the Regular Army. Each regiment was to be composed of ten companies, each with two lieutenants and ninety eight enlisted men. The regimental officers were colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, adjutant, quartermaster, surgeon. These were also the non-commissioned staff and a band of twenty-four musicians. This regimental organization remained unchanged throughout the war, with the exceptions that an additional surgeon was assigned to each regiment, and the regimental bands were dropped.

These six Massachusetts regiments were organized and sent forward, completely equipped, within four weeks after the Governor had been notified that they would be accepted. This result was due to the early organizations of volunteer companies which have been described. It is interesting to study the assembling of these first three-year regiments, as showing the activity throughout the state.

The First Regiment was organized at "Camp Cameron" in North Cambridge. It left for Washington June 15, and marched through Baltimore on June 17, the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By that time public opinion had asserted itself in Baltimore, and Maryland was to remain loyal to the Union. This Massachusetts regiment was the first three-year regiment that came to Washington, another honor for the State due to the energy of Governor Andrew's administration.

The Second Regiment was gathered at "Camp Andrew" in West Roxbury, and left the State on July 8. The Seventh was recruited at "Camp Old Colony" in Taunton, and left for Washington on July 11. The Ninth Regiment was organized on Long Island, in Boston Harbor, and left for Washington June 24 on the steamer *Ben De Ford.* This regiment was notable for being raised at the request of Colonel Thomas Cass, who asked permission of Governor Andrew to form an Irish regiment. In accordance, this first Irish regiment was made up from enlistments all over the State, and it started for the front carrying an Irish flag with the National and State colors.

The Tenth Regiment was recruited in the western part of Massachusetts, and was organized in camp near Springfield. Before leaving the State, the Tenth was at Medford for a time, and left for Washington on July 25. The Eleventh Regiment was drilled at Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, until it left for Washington on June 24. This regiment was known as the "Boston Volunteers," as it was recruited chiefly in Boston.

All of these Massachusetts regiments rendered notable service throughout the war, as was shown by the lists of their battles. From the colonels of these regiments came the following who received generals' commissions: Cowdin, Gordon, Andrews, Quincy, Cogswell, Couch, Davis, Russell, Briggs, Eustis—an impressive list.

Massachusetts' Efforts for a Larger Army

However, Governor Andrew saw clearly that the National Government was making a great mistake in limiting its call for troops. In Massachusetts the formation of the volunteer companies had already provided a personnel large enough to make up many more regiments. Governor Andrew was convinced that it would be wise to secure these for the Army as soon as possible. But for a time the Governor was not able to induce the Secretary of War to authorize an increased number of regiments.

At last, through General Walbridge of New York, the Governor had the question drawn to the personal attention of President Lincoln. In consequence, on June 17, the Governor received a letter which stated: "I am gratified to enclose you herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by the Secretary of War, with the sanction of the President, in response to my application in favor of taking additional forces, authorizing me to notify you that ten additional regiments will be called from the loyal and patriotic State of Massachusetts in accordance with the terms stated in your letter to me of 12th inst."

Immediate orders were given to organize these additional regiments, and, from that time on, the wise course of Governor Andrew was justified by the constant demand made upon Massachusetts for all the troops that could be raised. With the exception of one lapse in 1862, the Administration was no longer to give any instructions "to reduce rather than enlarge," as the Civil War rapidly grew to a scale that had not been dreamt by anyone.

The first of these newly authorized ten regiments was the Twelfth, the regiment raised by Fletcher Webster, as described. The Twelfth was organized at Fort Warren, and left for Washington on July 23. It was always known as the "Webster Regiment." All of these regiments were raised with astonishing promptness and sent forward. Other regiments were also recruited, with the result that twenty-nine infantry regiments were sent to the front from Massachusetts in 1861.

The First Regiment, Massachusetts Cavalry, was organized and sent forward in 1861. This was composed almost entirely of existing cavalry companies, including the Boston Lancers. Five batteries of artillery were also sent from Massachusetts in 1861.

Other independent companies were organized in 1861, which were given service. Mention should be made of the First and Second Companies of Sharpshooters. These were recruited in Lynnfield, and equipped with rifles having telescopic sights. They included many of the best marksmen in Massachusetts. The First was sent forward as an unattached company. The Second was attached to the Twenty-Second Regiment, and left the State with it.

The totals of the troops sent from Massachusetts in 1861 were 33,636.

Efficient Service of the Massachusetts Physicians

In its Medical Department, Massachusetts was fortunate in obtaining the most skilful personnel from the very beginning. Governor Andrew's call upon Dr. Lyman and Dr. Dale had put matters on the right basis at once. Dr. Dale was made Surgeon General, and Dr. Lyman was invaluable in consulting with the Governor, and giving him the benefit of his studies for the medical service with troops.

The medical profession of the State made it a matter of pride that their service for Massachusetts should be of the best. At the recommendation of some of the leading doctors, Governor Andrew immediately appointed a medical commission, which was charged with the responsible task of examining all candidates for commissions and appointments in the medical service. This set a high standard, and insured well qualified and able surgeons for the Massachusetts regiments.

This medical commission also acted as a consulting board in all sanitary matters, and their services were of great value to the Surgeon General. They served voluntarily to the end of the war. With this organization, the Surgeon General soon was able to equip hospitals for the sick and wounded, which were especially needed before the Government established general hospitals. In order that the Surgeon General might act with official authority in conjunction with the United States Army, Dr. Dale was given an acting commission in the United States Army. Under the joint commissions, the Surgeon General furnished supplies, organized hospitals, received and cared for the sick and wounded. And the Massachusetts regiments were always provided at the front with an exceptional medical personnel.

Always associated with this efficient work of the physicians of Massachusetts, was the cooperation of the women, who volunteered in such great numbers as nurses for the sick and wounded. The hospitals, both in the field and in the cities, never lacked their generous response to every demand for their services. The Civil War stands out as having revolutionized the care of soldiers in war, as has been explained. The origin of this was due to the women of America—and the accomplishment must also be attributed to them.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE NAVY

As Massachusetts was closely associated with the sea, it was natural that a large proportion of the necessary increase of the United States Navy came from the Bay State. At the outbreak of the war, the authorized strength of the United States Navy was only 7,600. At the end of the war, its strength was 51,500. In the course of the war 101,207 sailors and marines were furnished by all the States for the United States Navy. Of these, Massachusetts provided 19,983—nearly one fifth. Of the 7,500 volunteer officers in the Navy, 1,757 were from Massachusetts. These figures will show the important part taken by the Commonwealth in manning the Navy.

There were no separate State organizations for the Navy, as for the Army. All commissions and enlistments were in the National service, although the distinction remained between Regular and Volunteer. Consequently the Navy was less prominent in the public eye. But there was a very real need for the rapid increase of the Navy, because the blockade of the long Atlantic coast line, and the control of the Mississippi and Ohio, were two of the most urgent problems of the siege of the Confederacy, which eventually won the victory. Massachusetts had been prompt in an early response to the call of the Navy, as the records of the receiving ship at the Charlestown Navy Yard showed that 7,658 men from the Bay State entered the Navy in 1861.

THE SITUATION IN 1862

The beginning of 1862 found the North in a state of feverish impatience. No one yet realized the tremendous task that was implied in the effort to subdue the Confederacy. It was the time of the popular clamor for something to be done that would end the war at once. The fact was, this military inactivity, while forces were being gathered, was all in favor of the North. The Confederates were strongest at the start, and their only hope of success lay in active use of this early strength. Inactivity meant that the North was assembling its superior forces about the borders of the Confederacy, and these superior forces would soon begin to cut away its territory and constrict the Southern armies.

For this reason, it was the South that should have worried over the inactivity of armies—not the North. But this was not apparent at the time, as at first the South seemed to be maintaining its independence, although, in reality, it was being shut in by constantly increasing Union forces. The process of constricting the South was to be long—but its effects were inexorable. It is not surprising that, in the early months of 1862, the Southern public did not realize the deadly meaning of these Union forces which were already hemming in the Confederacy. Still less did the Northern public appreciate the true situation, and the cry was, "On to Richmond."

That increasing clamor was an expression of the prevailing erroneous opinion that one decisive campaign would end the revolt. Of course this now seems insane. But it is a fact that, when the Army of the Potomac was first sent against Richmond, the War Department assumed there were troops enough in the United States Army, and on April 3, 1862, all recruiting was ordered stopped—this, with a strenuous campaign in prospect! But the ensuing campaign soon showed how great a mistake it was to allow any lull in recruiting troops.

In the first six months of 1862 Massachusetts sent out, in its new three-year organizations, 4,587 men. In the same six months' period, there were also sent from the Commonwealth more than 3000 recruits to fill the ranks of the regiments already in the field, where Massachusetts troops were arrayed from the Shenandoah to Louisiana.

Call for Three Hundred Thousand (July, 1862)

However, the experience of the first Richmond campaign, in which the two opposing armies comprised 200,000, had provided the Government with a much needed object lesson as to the great numbers of troops demanded by the war, and on July 4, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men, to serve for three years or to the end of the war. In response, Governor Andrew issued General Order No. 26, stating that "a call has been made upon the Governor of this Commonwealth, by the President of the United States, for fifteen thousand volunteers, to form new regiments, and to fill the ranks of those of the Commonwealth now at the seat of war."

For this call, Adjutant General Schouler suggested the idea of giving to each city or town a statement of the number of recruits it should furnish in order to contribute its share of the troops required. This suggestion was approved by Governor Andrew, and accordingly, with General Order No. 26, there was sent to each city or town the figures of its designated quota of troops. The object of this was to bring home to each community the realization of what it must do to play its part in the effort of Massachusetts.

Renewed Activity in Recruiting (1862)

This had a widespread good effect, as local pride was aroused, to spur on each city or town to show itself ready to perform its share of the task. The local authorities made every effort to encourage patriotic zeal. Special town meetings were held, and special committees were formed to assist in recruiting. All over Massachusetts these aroused a renewed enthusiasm to carry on the struggle.

By that time great battles had been fought, and their heavy losses had taught all Americans the tragic realities of war. These losses, which had been felt throughout the State, proved to be another stimulant for recruiting. It was true that homes had been made desolate, but mourning in the communities only increased the determination of the people. The result was never in doubt. Within three months from the receipt of the call from the President, Massachusetts had provided all the troops asked from her.

In this short time the Commonwealth furnished its contingent of 15,000 men, by sending to the front nine new regiments and two batteries, all fully armed and equipped, and more than 4,000 men to fill out the old regiments already in the field. But, in the midst of recruiting for this call of July 4, the President issued another call for 300,000 troops.

This new call added greatly to the cares of the Governor and the State authorities. The enlistments were to be for nine months, and it was specified that the men were to be raised by "draft, in accordance with orders from the War Department, and the laws of the several States." The quota assigned to Massachusetts was 19,090.

Preparations for apportioning the men subject to draft were so complicated, and involved so much labor, that Governor Andrew appointed a second Assistant Adjutant General for this special task (Major William Rogers). The apportionments made by this new office, for quotas from the different towns and cities, remained a basis for the proportions to be furnished throughout the Civil War. But on this occasion a draft was avoided, as Massachusetts soon furnished the allotted contingent by voluntary enlistment. Governor Andrew, and the State and loyal authorities in Massachusetts, were opposed to a draft, and did all they could to avoid it as long as possible.

The Governor wrote to President Lincoln, in this regard (August 8, 1862) ". . . we can answer the call, in great part, without a draft, by sending our militia regiments already organized, and being filled up, and by recruiting new ones. The iron is hot; strike quick. Drafting is mechanical; the impulse of patriotism is vital and dynamic." In this the Governor rightly interpreted the fervor of Massachusetts at the time, as was shown by the success of enlistments. But the draft was to be necessary later on.

Crisis of the Civil War (1862)

1862 was the decisive year of the war, and its vicissitudes had caused waves of excitement in Massachusetts. The raid of Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley had been exaggerated into an emergency, partly because General Banks of Massachusetts was one of the leaders of the discomfited Union troops. For the actual effect of this campaign, in May, 1862, was not a menace to Washington, as was feared at the time. It had the result of diverting Union forces and allowing Jackson to join Lee, which gave Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, for the only time in the Civil War, a strong superiority in numbers over the Army of the Potomac.

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

JOHN A. ANDREW

This was a very real danger, which was only averted by McClellan's skilful change of base to the James River, culminating in the defeat of Lee at Malvern Hill. This successful battle had placed the Union army in the one right position for operations against Richmond, as was conclusively proved by the subsequent campaigns of the war. But the Administration made the grave mistake of withdrawing the Union troops from the James River to form an army for a campaign in the country north of Richmond, under the command of General Pope. Pope was helplessly incompetent, and he allowed his army to drift into a position where it was badly cut up in the defeat at the Second Manassas.

After Pope's disaster there was again a panic for Washington. In this emergency, Lincoln, for the only time in the Civil War, assumed personal command of the Army. On his own responsibility he went to McClellan at his breakfast table (September 2, 1862), and gave McClellan the command of the defeated Union forces.

This act of Lincoln saved a most dangerous situation. The real danger was not the loss of Washington, as the Confederates did not intend to attack the capital. Lee's actual plan meant something worse. In fact, it was the greatest menace to the North of the whole war. Lee, according to Longstreet, was convinced that he had paralyzed the Union forces, and that here was his opportunity to invade the North—for "President Davis to join him and be prepared to make a proposal for peace and independence from the head of a conquering army." Lee felt sure that this would bring about recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain. Lee was right in this, for a meeting of the British Cabinet had been called for that purpose.

Consequently, it is merely a statement of fact to say that the whole fate of the Confederacy rested on this campaign. But the personal intervention of Lincoln was a right instinct that was justified by the results. McClellan was the one Northern leader who divined that Lee planned an invasion of the North. Instead of worrying over Washington, McClellan at once devoted all his energies to opposing an invasion. He gathered the defeated Union army, without stopping to reorganize it, and in spite of telegrams from the War Department to hold him back, he marched the Union army north across the path of Lee, in time to defeat the Confederate invaders at Antietam. In the words of a biography of Lee by his nephew, "All hopes of seeing this magnificent project realized vanished before the rapid march and prompt attack of McClellan."

The Emancipation Proclamation

Antietam (September 17, 1862) marked the passing of the crisis of the Civil War, but it was not until long after the war that the all-important stake at issue could be estimated. Much less at this time was its decisive result appreciated—that the one chance for Confederate success had been destroyed. The long drag of wearing down the Confederacy was to follow, and it was no wonder that the North could not realize that the tide of battle had turned.

There was one exception. The inspired soul of Lincoln alone scaled the heights, and saw the way was cleared for the consummation of American freedom. He said, "When Lee was driven out of Maryland I promised my God I would abolish slavery." In this heartfelt spirit of thankfulness, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. This at once put the war on the right basis. At home and abroad it gave the United States a moral strength that exerted a strong military effect upon the course of the war. Moral forces have always proved of military value, and for the United States it was at last the "Battle Cry of Freedom."

In Massachusetts the President's Emancipation Proclamation was welcomed as the triumph of Massachusetts ideals. It became effective on January 1, 1863, and, in recognition of this, Governor Andrew issued his General Order No. 1 of that year: "With the new year America commences a new era of national life, in which we invoke the blessing of Heaven upon our country and its armies with renewed faith in the favor of Almighty God." In this order the Governor gave a summary of the proclamation and the good that would come of it, and he ended with these words: "In honor of the proclamation, and as an official recognition of its justice and necessity by Massachusetts, which was the first of the United States to secure equal rights to all its citizens, it is ordered that a salute of one hundred guns be fired on Boston Common at noon the next day, January 3."

Massachusetts Colored Troops (1863)

The Emancipation Proclamation made possible one great desire of Governor Andrew. He had been among the first to urge the admission of the negro into the Army. But, even after the freedom of the negro had been proclaimed, it was only by his personal efforts that he obtained the authority to recruit a colored regiment in Massachusetts, by an order from the Secretary of War dated January 26, 1863. In the words of the report of the Adjutant General for 1863; "It required the calm foresight, thorough knowledge of our condition, earnest conviction, faith in men, faith in the cause, and undaunted courage to stem the various currents which set in and flooded the land against employing the black man as a soldier. In the Executive of Massachusetts was found a man who possessed the qualifications necessary to stem these currents, and peacefully carry out to a successful termination, the experiment of recruiting regiments of colored men."

The first colored regiment raised in Massachusetts was the 54th Regiment, but, contrary to popular opinion, this was not the pioneer organization of colored troops. Before this there had been colored troops, but they had not been accorded official recognition. Governor Andrew made the "experiment" of raising the 54th his own personal task. As Schouler wrote in *Massachusetts in the Rebellion,* "No one knew better than the Governor the importance of having the experiment succeed. As one of the means to this end, he determined to select for officers the very best material that could be found in the Massachusetts volunteer service." The Governor's choice for colonel was Captain Robert G. Shaw, for lieutenant colonel Captain Edward N. Hallowell.

Colonel Shaw accepted his commission and assumed command of the regiment, which was organized at Readville. The bulk of the recruits were secured by Massachusetts agents outside the State. After its ranks were filled, there were so many colored men ready to come to Massachusetts for enlistment that it was decided to raise a second colored regiment. Colonel Norwood P. Hallowell was given the command of this new regiment. The 54th left Boston by transport in May 28. Its departure was marked by one of the notable demonstrations of the war.

Governor Andrew looked upon this regiment as the personification of his faith in the negro. On the occasion of presenting its colors at Readville, the Governor had declared, "I stand or fall, as a man and a magistrate, with the rise or fall in history of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts." It was not long before this regiment sealed its devotion in its blood, as on July 18, 1863, it led the assault at Fort Wagner, where Colonel Shaw and so many of his men were killed. The other colored regiment was also organized in Readville, and left Boston by transport for North Carolina on July 21, 1863.

Raising Troops and the Draft in 1863

Early in 1863 there was a picturesque incident of the war. When it had been proposed, in November, 1862, to raise the Second Regiment of Cavalry, men of Massachusetts birth living in California had offered to raise a company to serve with it. This cavalry company from California arrived at the Readville camp (Camp Meigs) January 4, 1863. These cavalrymen from the Pacific coast were a fine body of men, and they were given a royal welcome to Massachusetts. So well satisfied were these Californians, that three more companies, making a battalion, followed and joined this regiment. The Commonwealth paid expenses of transportation and allowed the same bounties authorized for volunteers in Massachusetts. This was perhaps a unique event in comity between two States.

Congress had enacted a law to raise troops by draft, and it was put into force in Massachusetts in June and July, 1863. The people's distaste for the draft and the friction between Federal and State control had given an excuse for the disorderly elements to make trouble. The draft riots in New York were very serious, with both damage and loss of life. But in Massachusetts, upon information that outbreaks were probable, Governor Andrew had shown his characteristic energy by making preparations in advance to have troops ready to put down riots. This wise precaution prevented any situation like that in New York. In Boston a crowd gathered, and attempted to rush one of the armories and capture the guns kept there. The troops were obliged to fire upon the mob—and this ended the rioting. It was the only outbreak in Boston. In the other cities and towns there was no trouble, and after a few days it was no longer necessary to maintain a military guard over the operations of the draft.

An officer of the United States Army (Major Clarke) was Provost Marshal General, and other officers acted as assistant provost marshals in the several congressional districts. The whole number of drafted men and substitutes sent to the camp on Long Island was 3,068. These were the soldiers actually obtained by the draft in the State up to January 1, 1864. Adjutant General Schouler stated: "There was in reality no adequate cause why a draft should ever have been made in Massachusetts, because the State had more than filled her quotas upon previous calls by volunteer enlistment, and, as will be seen, filled all subsequent calls without resort to a draft, and came out of the war with a surplus of 13,083 men."

Military Situation in 1863

The first half of 1863 had seen the defeat of the Army of the Potomac under General Hooker, who was lacking in the qualities necessary to command an army. The North had great confidence at the opening of this campiagn, but Hooker was disastrously beaten at Chancellorsville (May 2-3, 1863). The victory encouraged Lee to attempt a new invasion of the North. This time, however, there was not the menace of the Antietam campaign. Lee's conduct showed that his only hope was for a blunder on the part of the Union command. But General Meade was sound in his generalship, and Lee met inevitable defeat at Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863). In the same week Vicksburg was surrendered to General Grant—and this meant the complete breakdown of the Confederate defense of the Mississippi.

In fact, as has been stated, the crisis of the war had been in 1862, and the period of danger for the North had passed.

In 1863 the Confederacy was suffering damage beyond repair. In the last half of the year Grant changed the doubtful situation at Chattanooga to a Confederate defeat. The result was, the end of 1863 showed that the Southern armies had all lost the offensive and were being forced back into narrowing bounds. The siege of the Confederacy had become stringent. The blockade was starving the South, and its armies were ebbing away in losses that could not be replaced (Confederate forces; January 1, 1863, 690,000; January 1, 1864, 400,000).

However, in the wide range of the Civil War, it was not surprising that neither the North nor the South could perceive the shape into which the war was being moulded. This was the time when there was so much worry over the increasing difficulty of securing recruits for the Union armies. But, the difference was, what was a difficulty for the North was becoming an impossibility for the South. The Confederacy was actually getting to the end of its man power, and its armies were being remorselessly ground down by the superior numbers of the Union armies.

In the year 1863, Massachusetts had mustered in 11,538 three-year volunteers, 16,837 nine-months men, and 3,786 three-months men. These made the total of Union soldiers from Massachusetts, from April 16, 1861, to December 31, 1863, 83,932. In the same period, Massachusetts had provided for the United States Navy 17,304 (3,686 in 1863).

The Situation in 1864.

This was the beginning of the end. General Grant was made Commander in Chief, and assumed personal direction of the operations of the Army of the Potomac. General Sherman was given command of the operations in Georgia, which were destined to eat into the heart of the South. But again the first months brought disappointment. Grant's first campaign was the mistaken effort to "fight it out on this line" north of Richmond. This Wilderness campaign was beaten to a standstill, with losses fearfully near the total of Lee's army. As a result, Grant was obliged to change to the line of the James River, from which the Union army had been withdrawn two years before. There he was in the right position to bring Lee's army into the deadlock at Petersburg.

And the assured victory was only a matter of time, with Sherman's army pressing on from the south.

But the year was a long drag, with discouraging losses—a fearful strain for the public of the North. The anxiety over the quota of Massachusetts increased. There was no other outbreak against the draft, but there was a great deal of friction between the State and Federal authorities as to the numbers that should be credited to Massachusetts. One matter of much discussion was the question of credits to be given to each city or town for men who had enlisted in the Navy. It was a long time before this was settled, and Massachusetts was given credit for these enlistments by Act of Congress, July 4, 1864.

In the anxiety to augment the supply of recruits, both the State and Federal Government gave greatly increased bounties. On the part of Massachusetts, there were zealous attempts to procure recruits from abroad, and also to obtain soldiers by enlistments in the South. But neither of these schemes had any important result.

As 1864 was a presidential year, all the fault findings and discouragements of the war were given free vent. There was so much of this, that it gave the impression of serious opposition to Lincoln and his Administration. But the election showed that the Northern public had not been turned from the President by the noise of discussion. The vote for Lincoln was overwhelming—a triumphant vote of confidence, and a pledge to carry the war to a victorious conclusion.

The Final Months (1865)

In 1865 the collapse of the Confederacy came quickly, from the crumbling of the whole structure under blows from all sides. Lee's army had been held in close grip by Grant. Sherman's army had cut a devastating swath through the South, from Atlanta to the sea and then through the Carolinas. Thomas had fought his decisive battle, and Sheridan had closed in from the Shenandoah. With all other Confederate forces thus swept away, Lee's diminished army could not hope to resist the surrounding Union troops. The small number surrendered at Appamattox was a true measure of how the Southern troops had wasted away.

The thankfulness for victory, so soon turned to mourning by the assassination of Lincoln, was exemplified in the following coincidence. Governor Andrew's last official message to President Lincoln was to suggest that April 19, "the anniversary of Lexington and Baltimore," should be made a day of National Thanksgiving for the final victory just achieved. Instead, on that April 19, 1865, Governor Andrew was a mourner at the funeral of Abraham Lincoln in Washington.

Massachusetts at the End of the War (1865)

The effort of Massachusetts was recorded in the Adjutant General's office at Washington. The State sent to the war 122,781 white troops, 3,966 colored troops, and 19,983 sailors, making a total of 146,730 men, of whom 13,942 died in the war. The report of the State Adjutant General showed that every city and town in Massachusetts provided its quota in response to every call of the President. Not only this, but the State furnished 15,178 in excess of the proportion assigned to it. This excess, over the numbers required from Massachusetts, was greatly increased by the addition of sailors finally credited to the State (over 30,000).

The final scene in Massachusetts was most impressive. This was the "return of the flags" on December 22, 1865. On this occasion all of the flags of Massachusetts units were borne in procession through Boston to the State House. There each colorbearer left the ranks and went up the steps to where the Governor stood in front of the State House. Governor Andrew accepted the flags with much emotion, and, after a prayer, they were carried into the State House, to be deposited in the Doric Hall, now known as the Hall of Flags.

Services of the Men of the Civil War

But the services of the men of the Civil War did not end with the war. They had been touched with a divine fire, which made them a power for good in the Nation. Throughout all its communities, North and South, the men of the Civil War have been leaders. And, in the great inrush of foreign immigration, they have made it their task to see to it that the newcomers must become Americans with us. The World War has been the test of the value of their influence in the United States.

The German Imperial Government had confidently assumed that the great proportion of citizens of foreign origin would mean rifts in the United States. But, at the touch of war, there was not even a percentage of anything of the kind. Our nation proved itself the most united on earth. The "melting pot" had in fact fused all into loyal Americans. This must be attributed, more than to any other cause, to the influence of the men of the Civil War, who have never relaxed their vigilance in their communities, and by precept and example have kept them American in every sense of the word.

In the fifty years that intervened before the World War, they have thus passed on the spirit of the Civil War. Of all that has been written, during and after the war, probably the one best expression of this spirit was the poem of a Massachusetts woman inspired by her service in the Civil War. Julia Ward Howe shared the devoted ministrations of Dr. Howe, and it was in the midst of the "circling camps" that she wrote the immortal "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It is printed here as a most fitting symbol of Massachusetts in the Civil War.

Battle Hymn of the Republic

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,
His truth is marching on.

Chorus:

Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Glory! glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps,
His day is marching on.

Chorus:
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Glory! glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel;
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;
Let the hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

Chorus:
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Glory! glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Since God is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never sound retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat;
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

Chorus:
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Glory! glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! glory! Hallelujah; Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Chorus:
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! Glory! glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! glory! Hallelujah! While God is marching on.

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Gordon, George Henry.—*Brook Farm to Cedar Mountain; in the War of the Great Rebellion 1861–62* (Boston, Osgood, 1883)—Enlarged from three papers on the history of the 2d Regt., Massachusetts Infantry.

Gordon, George Henry.—*History of the Campaign of the Army of Virginia, under John Pope, from Cedar Mountain to Alexandria, 1862* (Boston, Houghton, Osgood, 1880).

Gordon, George Henry.—*A War Diary of Events in the War of the Great Rebellion, 1863–1865* (Boston, Osgood, 1882).

Grant, Ulysses Simpson.—*Personal Memoirs* (2 vols., N. Y., Century, 1909).

Griffis, William Eliot.—*Charles Carleton Coffin, War Correspondent, Traveller, Author, and Statesman* (Boston, Estes and Lauriat, 1898).

Hall, Mrs. Florence Marion Howe.—*The Story of the Battle Hymn of the Republic* (N. Y., Harper, 1916).

Hallowell, Norwood Penrose.—*The Negro as a Soldier in the War of the Rebellion* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1897)—The author was colonel of the colored 55th Regiment M. V. M.

Headley, Phineas Camp.—*Massachusetts in the Rebellion* (Boston, Walker, Fuller, 1866)—A record of the services of the leading statesmen, the military, the colleges, and the people, in the Civil War of 1861–65.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth.—*Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1900)—Recounts service in command of 1st South Carolina Infantry, composed of freed slaves.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth.—*Harvard Memorial Biographies* (2 vols., Cambridge, Sever and Francis, 1867).

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth.—*Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the War of 1861–65* (2 vols., Boston, 1895–1896)—The official State history. Vol. II has lists of officers and a bibliography; there is also an index to periodical literature on the subject by Mrs. F. W. Jaques, on pp. 609–734.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell.—*Writings* (13 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1892–1896)—See Vol. VIII, pp. 16–77, for "My Hunt after the Captain," the account of the search for his son, wounded in the battle of Antietam.

Hosmer, James Kendall.—*The Appeal to Arms, 1861–1863* (N. Y., Harper, 1907).

Hosmer, James Kendall.—*The Color-guard: Being a Corporal's Notes of Military Service in the Nineteenth Army Corps* (Boston, Walker, Wise, 1864).

Hosmer, James Kendall.—*Outcome of the Civil War, 1863–1865* (N. Y., Harper, 1907).

Hosmer, James Kendall.—*The Thinking Bayonet* (Boston, Walker, Fuller, 1865).

Howe, Samuel Gridley.—*Letters and Journals* (2 vols., Boston, Estes, 1906–1909)—Edited by Mrs. L. E. Richards. See Vol. II, chap. xv, for his work in war time.

Hudson, Henry Norman.—*General Butler's Campaign on the Hudson* (Boston, Cushing, 1883).

Irwin, Richard Bache.—*History of the Nineteenth Army Corps* (N. Y., Putnam's, 1892).

Johnson, Robert Underwood, and Buel, Clarence Clough, editors.—*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., Century, 1888–1889)—For the most part contributions by Union and Confederate officers.

Keyes, Erasmus Darwin.—*Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events, Civil and Military* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1885)—Maj. Gen. Keyes commanded a corps in the Army of the Potomac.

Lincoln, Abraham.—*Complete Works* (12 vols., N. Y., Tandy-Thomas, 1905).

Livermore, Mrs. Mary Ashton Rice.—"Massachusetts Women in the Civil War" (Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, *Massachusetts during the War of 1861–65,* 2 vols., Boston, 1895–1896)—See Vol. II, pp. 586–603.

Livermore, Mrs. Mary Ashton Rice.—*My Story of the War* (Hartford, Conn., Worthington, 1889)—Her narrative of four years' personal experience as an army nurse and in relief work.

Livermore, Mrs. Mary Ashton Rice.—*The Story of My Life* (Hartford, Conn., Worthington, 1897)—Contains hitherto unrecorded recollections of her experience as an army nurse.

Lyman, George Hinckley.—*Historical Sketch of the Obstetrical Society of Boston in the War of the Rebellion* (Boston, 1887)—Recounts services of individuals.

Lyman, Theodore.—*Meade's Headquarters, 1863–1865* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922)—Edited by G. R. Agassiz. A selection from letters written by Col. Lyman to his wife from the front.

McClellan, George Brinton.—*McClellan's own Story* (N. Y., Webster, 1887)—The narrative ceases, Nov. 5, 1862.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer.—*The Gulf and Inland Waters* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1883).

Massachusetts—Adjutant-General's Office.—*Annual Report* (Boston, 1845 and later)—Reports of 1861–1866 contain reports of the Quartermaster-General, the Surgeon-General, and the Master of Ordnance.

Massachusetts—Adjutant-General's Office.—*Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861–1865* (3 vols., Boston, 1868–1870)—The records of desertions are in many cases erroneous, and have been corrected by the Office, with the intention of publishing a corrected edition.

Massachusetts: Office of the Adjutant-General.—Files in this office contain muster-in and muster-out rolls of State troops, enlistment rolls, monthly reports of companies, casualty lists, abundant hospital records, practically complete records of bounties paid by Massachusetts.

Merriam, George Spring.—*The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (2 vols., N. Y., Century, 1885)—Gives the comments of the editor of the *Springfield Republican.*

Miles, Nelson Appleton.—*Personal Recollections and Observations, Embracing a Brief View of the Civil War, and the Story of his Indian Campaigns, with Comments on the Exploration, Development and Progress of our great Western Empire* (Chicago, Werner, 1896)—Illustrated by Remington and other artists.

Miles, Nelson Appleton.—*Serving the Republic; Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles* (N. Y., Harper, 1911)—Contains his story of service in the wars of 1861–1865, 1898, and Indian campaigns 1866–1895.

Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.—*Papers* (14 vols., Boston, 1881–1918).

Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting* (Phila., 1885 and later).

Monument to Robert Gould Shaw, its inception, completion and unveiling, 1865–1897 (Boston, 1897).

Moore, Frank, editor.—*The Rebellion Record: a diary of American Events, with Documents, etc.* (11 vols., N. Y., Putnam, 1861–63; Van Nostrand, 1864–1868)—Vols. X–XI and supplement (published in 1869) contain documents only.

Nicolay, John George, and Hay, John.—*Abraham Lincoln; a History* (10 vols., N. Y., Century, 1890).

Palfrey, Francis Winthrop.—*Memoir of William Francis Bartlett* (Boston, Houghton, Osgood, 1878)—Major General Bartlett's service has been commemorated by a statue on the Massachusetts State House grounds.

Parsons, Emily Elizabeth.—*Memoir of Emily Elizabeth Parsons* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1880)—Consists mainly of letters written from various military hospitals, 1862–1864. Edited by Theophilus Parsons.

Parton, James.—*General Butler in New Orleans, 1862* (N. Y., Mason, 1864).

Pearson, Henry Greenleaf.—*The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865* (2 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1904).

Porter, David Dixon.—*The Naval History of the Civil War* (N. Y., Sherman, 1886).

Reynolds, Grindall.—*A Collection of Historical and Other Papers* (Privately printed, Concord, Mass., 1895)—See pp. 245–267 for "My Memories of Concord in the Great Civil War" and pp. 268–281 for "A Fortnight with the Sanitary Commission."

Roe, Alfred Seelye.—*Monuments, Tablets and Other Memorials Erected in Massachusetts to Commemorate the Services of her Sons in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865* (Boston, 1910).

Ropes, John Codman.—"Memoir of Charles Deven, LL.D." (Mass. Historical Society, *Proceedings,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 104–117, Boston, 1892)—A brief account of the military and civilian career of Brig. Gen. Devens, to whom Worcester erected an equestrian statue.

Ropes, John Codman.—"Memoir of Charles Devens, LL.D." (Mass. Hisnam's, 1894–1913).

Schouler, James.—*History of the United States under the Constitution* (6 vols., N. Y., 1894–1899)—See Vol. VI.

Schouler, William.—*A History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (2 vols., Boston, Dutton, 1868–1871)—Adjutant General of Massachusetts. Contains an abundance of material, with many inaccuracies of detail.

Shanks, William Franklin Gore.—*Personal Recollections of Distinguished Generals* (N. Y., Harper, 1866).

Shaw, Robert Gould.—*Correspondence* (Privately printed)—He was colonel of the colored troops, 54th Regiment M. V. M.

Soley, James Russell.—*The Blockade and the Cruisers* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1883).

Stillé, Charles Janeway.—*History of the United States Sanitary Commission, Being the General Report of its Work during the War of the Rebellion* (Phila., Lippincott, 1866).

Synopsis of the Military Services of Brigadier General and Brevet Major General Edward W. Hinks—An undated pamphlet of the late 'sixties.

TIFFANY, FRANCIS.—*Life of Dorothea Dix* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1892).

TOWNSEND, EDWARD DAVIS.—*Anecdotes of the Civil War in the United States* (N. Y., Appleton, 1884)—The author was acting Adjutant-General of the Army.

UNITED STATES—ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE.—*Medals of Honor Awarded for Distinguished Service during the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1886).

UNITED STATES—NAVY DEPARTMENT.—*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols., Washington, 1894–1922)—General index was issued in 1927.

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.—*The Sanitary Commission of the United States Army; a Succinct Narrative of its Works and Purposes* (N. Y., 1864).

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION—NEW ENGLAND WOMEN'S AUXILIARY ASSOCIATION.—*Annual Report* (3 vols., Boston, Prentiss & Deland, 1863–1865).

UNITED STATES—WAR DEPARTMENT.—*Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65* (8 vols., Washington, 1865)—See Part I, "New England States."

UNITED STATES—WAR DEPARTMENT.—*Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War 1861–1866* (Washington, 1913)—See pp. 256–338 for the Massachusetts section, comprising State publications, works about military organizations, and books concerning local participation in the war arranged by names of towns.

UNITED STATES—WAR DEPARTMENT.—*The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., Washington, 1880–1901)—An atlas to accompany this work was issued in 1891–1895.

WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA.—*History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac* (N. Y., Scribner's, 1886).

WARD, Sir ADOLPHUS WILLIAM, PROTHERO, Sir GEORGE WALTER, and LEATHES, STANLEY, editors.—*The Cambridge Modern History* (13 vols., Cambridge (Eng.), University Press, 1907–1920)—See especially Vol. VII.

WARE, EDITH ELLEN.—*Political Opinion in Massachusetts during Civil War and Reconstruction* (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law of Columbia Univ., Vol. LXXIV, No. 2, N. Y., Columbia Univ., 1916).

WEEDEN, WILLIAM BABCOCK.—*War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana, 1861-1865* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1906).

The newspapers and weekly and monthly periodicals of the period reflect public opinion and contain many accounts of personal experiences in the field. Files are available at most public libraries and in college libraries. Being unindexed, they are difficult to use, unless the date of the desired event is available.

HISTORIES OF MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

Nearly every military organization sent to the front by Massachusetts has been celebrated with one or more special histories of its services in the field. The list includes:

Massachusetts Light Artillery

1st, 2d, 3d, 9th, 10th Batteries.

Massachusetts Cavalry

1st, 2d, 3d, 4th Regiments.

Massachusetts Infantry

1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42d, 43d, 44th, 45th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 51st, 52d, 53d, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th Regiments.

Local Works on the Civil War

Much valuable material on the part of Massachusetts in the Civil War is to be found in the numerous local histories and lists of soldiers and sailors. A nearly complete file of these works may be found in the State Library in Boston; and most of them are in the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the Library of Congress, and other large collections. Copies of the material pertaining to the individual towns and cities presumably will be found in the libraries of those places. The following list is arranged alphabetically by towns, the name of the author or institution responsible for the volume, and the date of publication:

Abington	
Abington	(1862)
Hobart	(1866)
Acton	
Acton	(1890)
Fletcher	(1890)
Acushnet	
Howland	(1907)
Amesbury	
Merrill	(1880)
Smith	(1901)
Amherst	
Amherst College	(1905)
Carpenter & Morehouse	(1896)
Andover	
Andover	(1867)
Raymond	(1875)
Arlington	
Cutter	(1880)
Parker	(1907)
Ashburnham	
Anonymous	(1887)
Athol	
Caswell	(1899)
Norton	(1866)
Attleborough	
Daggett	(1894)
Avon	
Avon	(1900)
Barnstable County	
Deyo	(1890)
Barre	
Barre	(1876)
Bedford	
Brown	(1891)
Belchertown	
Walker	(1882)
Berkshire County	
Anonymous	(1885)
Berlin	
Berlin	(1870)
Houghton	(1895)
Bernardston	
Kellogg	(1902)
Billerica	
Hazen	(1883)
Bolton	
Loring	(1867)
Boston	
Boston	(1867)
Boston	(1877)
Chauncy Hall School	(1866)
City Council	(1863)
Cullen	(1889)
Green	(1912)
Howe	(1910)
King's Chapel	(1870)
Maverick Cong. Church	(1894)
Soldiers' Fund Ass'n	(1862)
Toomey & Rankin	(1901)
Boxborough	
Hager	(1891)
Boxford	
Perley	(1880)
Braintree	
Thayer	(1877)
Adams	(1891)
Pattee	(1878)
Bridgewater	
Hooper	(1880)

  - Kingman (1866)
- Brighton
  - Whitney (1866)
- Brimfield
  - Brimfield (1879)
- Bristol County
  - Hurd (1883)
  - Borden (1899)
- Brockton
  - Kingman (1895)
- Brookline
  - Briggs (1896)
  - Woods (1874)
  - Bolton (1897)
  - Brookline (1892)
- Byfield
  - Ewell (1904)
- Cambridge
  - Stearns (1905)
  - Paige (1877)
  - Cambridge (1870)
  - Williams (1869)
- Canton
  - Canton (1894)
  - Canton (1882)
- Cape Cod
  - Swift (1897)
- Charlestown
  - Charlestown (1872)
- Chelsea
  - Chelsea (1880)
- Cheshire
  - Raynor & Petitclerc (1885)
- Clinton
  - Ford (1896)
- Cohassett
  - Bigelow (1898)
- Concord
  - Concord (1867)
  - Reynolds (1895)
- Connecticut Valley
  - Sylvester & Others (1879)
- Conway
  - Conway (1867)
- Danvers
  - Danvers (1895)
  - Rice (1874)
- Dedham
  - Dedham Historical Register (1893–1896)
  - Dedham (1869)
  - Dedham (1887)
- Deerfield
  - Sheldon (1896)
- Dorchester
  - Dorchester (1868)
  - Orcutt (1893)
  - Fowle (1906)
- Douglas
  - Emerson (1879)
- Dover
  - Smith (1897)
  - Smith (1909)
- Dunstable
  - Nason (1877)
- Easthampton
  - Easthampton (1869)
  - Lyman (1866)
  - Chaffin (1886)
- Easton
  - Easton (1882)
- Essex
  - Choate (1868)
- Essex County
  - Hurd (1888)
  - Tracy (1878)
- Fall River
  - Earl (1877)
- Fitchburg
  - Emerson (1887)
  - Willis (1866)
- Florence
  - Sheffield (1895)
- Foxborough
  - Foxborough (1878)
- Framingham
  - Temple (1887)
- Franklin
  - Blake (1879)
  - Franklin Post No. 60, G. A. R. (1909)
- Freetown
  - Anonymous (1902)
- Gardner
  - Herrick (1878)
- Gloucester
  - Pringle (1892)
- Goshen
  - Barrus (1881)
- Grafton
  - Pierce (1879)
- Great Barrington
  - Taylor (1882)
- Greenfield
  - Greenfield Gazette (Feb. 1, 1892)
  - Thompson (1904)
- Groton
  - Green (1897)
- Groveland
  - Howard (1865)
- Hamilton
  - Perley (1888)
- Hampden County
  - Copeland (1902)
- Hanover
  - Dudley & Simmons (1910)
  - Hanover (1878)
- Hardwick
  - Paige (1883)
- Harvard
  - Nourse (1894)
- Hatfield
  - Wells (1910)

Haverhill	
Anonymous	(1879)
Hawley	
Atkins	(1887)
Hingham	
Burr & Lincoln	(1876)
Hingham	(1893)
Holden	
Estes	(1894)
Hubbardston	
Stowe	(1881)
Huntington	
Bisbee	(1876)
Ipswich	
Perley	(1888)
Lancaster	
Marvin	(1879)
Nourse	(1889)
Lanesborough	
Palmer	(1905)
Lawrence	
Wadsworth	(1880)
Lee	
Hyde	(1878)
Lenox	
Palmer	(1904)
Leominster	
Emerson	(1888)
Lexington	
Hudson	(1868)
Lincoln	
Lincoln	(1905)
Longmeadow	
Longmeadow	(1884)
Lowell	
Andrew	(1861)
Coburn	(1920)
Courier-Citizen Co.	(1897)
Cowley	(1868)
McPhetres	(1864)
Ludlow	
Noon	(1875)
Lynn	
Lewis & Newhall	(1890)
Newhall	(1876)
Lynnfield	
Wellman	(1895)
Mattapoisett	
Mattapoisett	(1907)
Manchester	
Lamson	(N. D.)
Manchester	(1888)
Marblehead	
Roads	(1897)
Marlborough	
Bigelow	(1910)
Marshfield	
Marshfield	(1866)
Richards	(1901)
Maynard	
Hudson	(1891)
Medfield	
Medfield	(1875)
Tilden	(1887)
Medford	
Brooks & Usher	(1886)
Medway	
Jameson	(1886)
Melrose	
Goss	(1868)
Goss	(1902)
Mendon	
Metcalfe	(1880)
Middleboro	
Weston	(1906)
Middlesex County	
Hurd	(1890)
Milford	
Ballou	(1882)
Milton	
Teele	(1887)
Nahant	
Lodge	(1882)
Nantucket	
Macy	(1880)
Needham	
Clarke	(1912)
New Bedford	
Ellis	(1892)
Sawyer	(1889)
Newbury	
Currier	(1902)
Newburyport	
Bayley & Jones	(1906)
Creasey	(1903)
Currier	(1909)
Newton	
Newton	(1864)
Smith	(1880)
Norfolk County	
Hurd	(1884)
North Adams	
Spear	(1885)
North Brookfield	
North Brookfield	(1886)
Temple	(1887)
North Weymouth	
North Weymouth	(1869)
Northampton	
Kneeland	(1894)
Northfield	
Temple & Sheldon	(1875)
Oxford	
Daniels	(1892)
Palmer	
Temple	(1889)
Paxton	
Bill	(1898)
Pelham	
Parmenter	(1898)
Pembroke	
Pembroke	(1890)
Pepperell	
Shattuck	(1877)

Pittsfield	
Pittsfield	(1872)
Smith	(1876)
Plainfield	
Dyer	(1891)
Plymouth	
Plymouth	(1866)
Plymouth County	
Hurd	(1884)
Provincetown	
Jennings	(1890)
Quincy	
Underwood	(1866)
Reading	
Eaton	(1874)
Richmond	
Palmer	(1904)
Rochester	
Rochester	(1879)
Rockport	
Marshall & Others	(1888)
Rockport	(1866)
Rowley	
Perley	(1888)
Royalston	
Bullock	(1865)
Rutland	
Reed	(1879)
Salem	
Hutchinson & Childs	(1877)
Osgood & Batchelder	(1879)
Saugus	
Lewis & Newhall	(1890)
Shirley	
Chandler	(1883)
Somerville	
Kimball	(1897)
Southborough	
Southborough	(1867)
Springfield	
Green	(1888)
Stockbridge	
Sedgwick	(1867)
Stoneham	
Stevens	(1891)
Sturbridge	
Gleason	(1873)
Sudbury	
Hudson	(1889)
Sudbury	(1897)
Sunderland	
Delano	(1882)
Smith	(1899)
Sutton	
Benedict & Tracy	(1878)
Swampscott	
Thompson	(1885)
Taunton	
Emery	(1893)
Tewksbury	
Pride	(1888)
Townsend	
Sawtelle	(1878)
Truro	
Rich	(1883)
Tyngsboro	
Tyngsboro	(1894)
Uxbridge	
Chapin	(1881)
Wales	
Gardner	(1866)
Waltham	
Waltham	(1893)
Warwick	
Blake	(1873)
Watertown	
S. A. R. and G. A. R.	(1907)
Wayland	
Hudson	(1891)
Wayland	(1871)
Wellesley	
Benton	(1894)
Westborough	
De Forest & Bates	(1891)
Westfield	
Lockwood	(1922)
Westford	
Hodgman	(1883)
Westminster	
Heywood	(1893)
Weston	
Weston	(1865)
West Roxbury	
Clarke	(1878)
West Roxbury	(1871)
Weymouth	
Hunt	(1907)
Nash	(1885)
Weymouth	(1869)
Whateley	
Crafts	(1899)
Temple	(1872)
Wilbraham	
Stebbins	(1864)
Winchendon	
Marvin	(1868)
Winchester	
Winchester	(1865)
Worcester	
Hathaway	(1896)
Marvin	(1880)
O'Flynn	(1910)
Worcester	(1875)
Devens Statue Commission	(1907)
Worcester County	
Hurd	(1889)
Worcester County	(1862)
Worthington	
Rice & others	(1874)
Yarmouth	
Swift	(1884)

CHAPTER XIX

MASSACHUSETTS IN RECONSTRUCTION (1865–1871)

By Frederick W. Dallinger.
Member of Congress

Massachusetts Antislavery Sentiment (1831–1861)

The beginnings of Massachusetts sentiment against slavery have been described in an earlier chapter of this volume. For years any Massachusetts man who espoused the cause of the Negro and undertook to criticize the Southern slave power was certain to suffer social ostracism, in a community whose material prosperity was felt to be dependent in no small degree upon friendly relations with sister States, the inhabitants of which believed human slavery to be a divine institution. Gradually, as a result of the persistent agitation of the small but courageous band of early abolitionists, antislavery sentiment grew in the States, although the political power long remained in the conservative element, of which the great Whig statesman, Daniel Webster, was the acknowledged leader. The Mexican War raised the issue of increase of slave territory and of future slave States, and the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives voted against bills for raising troops and money for its prosecution. The question of the status of slavery in the territories was reopened and the settlement of that question by the Compromise of 1850, with its new Fugitive Slave Act, resulted in large accessions in Massachusetts to the ranks of the Free-soilers, who were opposed to any further extensions of slavery. As elsewhere related, the Free-soilers, under the leadership of Henry Wilson, formed a coalition with the Democratic party in 1849-1850, resulting in 1851 in the choice of Charles Sumner for United States

Senator to succeed Webster; and Sumner remained an uncompromising advocate of equal rights for the American negro till his death in 1874. In 1855 Henry Wilson was chosen as the second radical Senator from Massachusetts. The newly formed Republican party, with its platform of 1856 declaring against the further extension of slavery, swept Massachusetts by a great majority. In January, 1857, Sumner was triumphantly reelected to the Senate.

Such was the status of Massachusetts when the election of 1860 resulted in another sweeping Republican victory in Massachusetts; and the choice of a solid Republican delegation to the House of Representatives.

The Civil War commenced in April, 1861, and within the first few months a Massachusetts general in the field, Benjamin F. Butler, attained great publicity and popularity at home by refusing to return fugitive slaves to their Virginia owners on the ground that they were "contraband of war." In Congress the Massachusetts delegates were solidly for the war. In July, 1861, they supported the act confiscating property used for insurrectionary purposes, including slaves. December 16, 1861, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts introduced a bill for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia (with a provision for compensation to loyal owners), which was enthusiastically supported by Sumner "as the first installment of the great debt which we all owe to an enslaved race." All of the Massachusetts members were recorded in its favor. It was approved by President Lincoln on April 16, 1862.

A renewed attack on slavery followed. A bill prohibiting slavery in all the Territories, on all government properties, and in all vessels on the high seas was passed. By this bill Representative Thomas of Massachusetts contended that the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that private property shall not be taken for public use without compensation, was so far forth abrogated.

Massachusetts in Congress (1861–1863)

These measures were the declaration of the North that Congress, in which most of the slaveholding States were not represented, had constitutional authority to move against slavery. Massachusetts Senators and Representatives who voted for their enactment were fully committed to the constitutional doctrine of the right to abrogate slavery by Federal statute as a war measure. This may be considered the first sweeping measure of reconstruction of the Union on an anti-slavery basis. The list of their names includes former Democrats, Whigs, Free-soilers, and Republicans. It is as follows: Thomas D. Eliot, of New Bedford; James Buffinton, of Fall River; Benjamin F. Thomas, Alexander H. Rice, and Samuel Hooper, of Boston; John B. Alley, of Lynn; Daniel W. Gooch, of Melrose; Charles R. Train, of Framingham; Charles Delano, of Northampton, and Henry L. Dawes, of Pittsfield. Of these Alexander H. Rice was later to become governor of the State, and Henry L. Dawes was destined to have a long and honorable career in the United States Senate.

In the Senate, Sumner introduced and supported bills of the most radical character, providing for the confiscation and emancipation of the slaves of persons engaged in rebellion, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the abolition of the domestic and foreign slave trade. Very early he also laid down his theory of "State suicide," which later became a hotly contested issue in the congressional reconstruction policy. As early as February, 1862, he urged that the seceding States had forfeited their sovereignty. "Call it suicide, if you will, or suspended animation or abeyance, they have practically ceased to exist."

Sumner's term would end in March, 1863. Hence the Democrats and Republicans, with the support of the influential *Springfield Republican,* formed a People's Party and nominated Judge Charles Devens for governor. At the Republican State Convention, September 9, 1862, Richard H. Dana, Jr., who was opposed to emancipation, offered a resolution opposing Sumner's reelection. A counter resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote, approving the conduct of the two Senators from Massachusetts and nominating Sumner as a candidate for reelection by the incoming legislature, as "a statesman, a scholar, a patriot and a man of whom any republic in any age might be proud." Governor Andrew, and the Republican State ticket and a solid Republican delegation in Congress, were elected in November, 1862, by a large majority, and Senator Sumner was again triumphantly returned to his seat by a vote of 227 to 47 in joint convention of the legislature.

Supported by such a vote of confidence, the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives enthusiastically joined in the resolution submitting to the States the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which passed the Senate on April 8, 1864, by a vote of 38 to 6. It finally passed the House, January 31, 1865, by a vote of 119 to 56. Thus, so far as Congress could accomplish it, slavery was forever abolished throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction. There remained, however, the problem of the status of the Negro freedman; and inextricably bound up with it, the entire question of the reconstruction of the Southern States. In the settlement of these matters, involving the struggle between President Johnson and Congress, Massachusetts was destined to play a very prominent part.

Contest Opened with President Johnson (1865–1866)

The break between President Johnson and Congress commenced on May 29, 1865, when Johnson issued his proclamation for the organization of the State government in North Carolina, the right to vote for State officers being limited to those possessing the franchise on May 20, 1861. This was followed by similar proclamations with reference to Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida on June 13, 17, 21, 30, and July 13, 1865, respectively. Although George Bancroft, the historian, who drafted President Johnson's message to Congress of the following December, declared that the public sentiment of the country was behind the President, Wendell Phillips and the antislavery poet John Greenleaf Whittier, were loud in their denunciations; while Sumner told Secretary Welles that the President's policy was "the greatest and most criminal error ever committed by any government."

Senator Trumbull's bill to extend the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau (created by the Act of March 3, 1865) and granting military protection to the Negroes passed both Houses overwhelmingly; but it was vetoed by the President early in 1866, and barely failed to pass over the veto. Thaddeus Stevens, the Republican leader, then reported to the House from the committee of fifteen, of which Mr. Boutwell of Massachusetts was a member, a joint resolution providing that no Senator or Representative from any of the eleven insurgent States should be admitted until Congress should declare such State entitled to such representation. This resolution passed both Houses overwhelmingly and virtually made the President's proclamations of no effect.

March 27, 1866, President Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, conferring full civil rights upon the enfranchised slaves, which was one of Sumner's pet measures, and the bill was promptly passed over the veto, as was also later a new Freedmen's Bureau Bill, both of the Massachusetts Senators and all the Massachusetts Representatives voting against the President. The latter injured himself and his policies with the Massachusetts public by a stump speech from the White House steps, in which he denounced Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips as traitors to their country.

In August, 1866, a "national union convention" was held by the President's friends at Philadelphia, at which General Couch of Massachusetts is said to have marched arm in arm with Governor Orr of South Carolina. To offset this movement, a convention of anti-Johnson soldiers was held at Pittsburgh, where another Massachusetts soldier, General Benjamin F. Butler, advocated the hanging of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee.

THE RECONSTRUCTION YEAR (1867)

In December, 1866, Sumner's bill granting Negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was passed over the President's veto, and was quickly followed by a bill enfranchising the black man in the Territories, which became a law without the executive approval. In speaking in favor of Thaddeus Steven's reconstruction bill providing for unlimited military control, Representative Boutwell of Massachusetts, who had become Stevens' first lieutenant, declared that eight million

Negroes were "writhing under cruelties nameless in their character, because sitting enthroned in the executive department there was one who guided the destinies of the Republic in the interest of rebels."

In his *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Life* Boutwell asserts that in December, 1866, Secretary Stanton sent for him and told him that the President had issued orders to the Army unknown to him or to General Grant, and that he apprehended an attempt by the President to assemble a Congress of his own, composed of members from the seceding States and Democratic members-elect from the North who were under his dictation. Boutwell immediately drafted an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, which Stevens incorporated in the bill, making it a misdemeanor for the President to transmit orders to any officer of the Army except through the General of the Army. The President approved the bill, but filed a protest that the amendment was unconstitutional, in which contention he was undoubtedly correct.

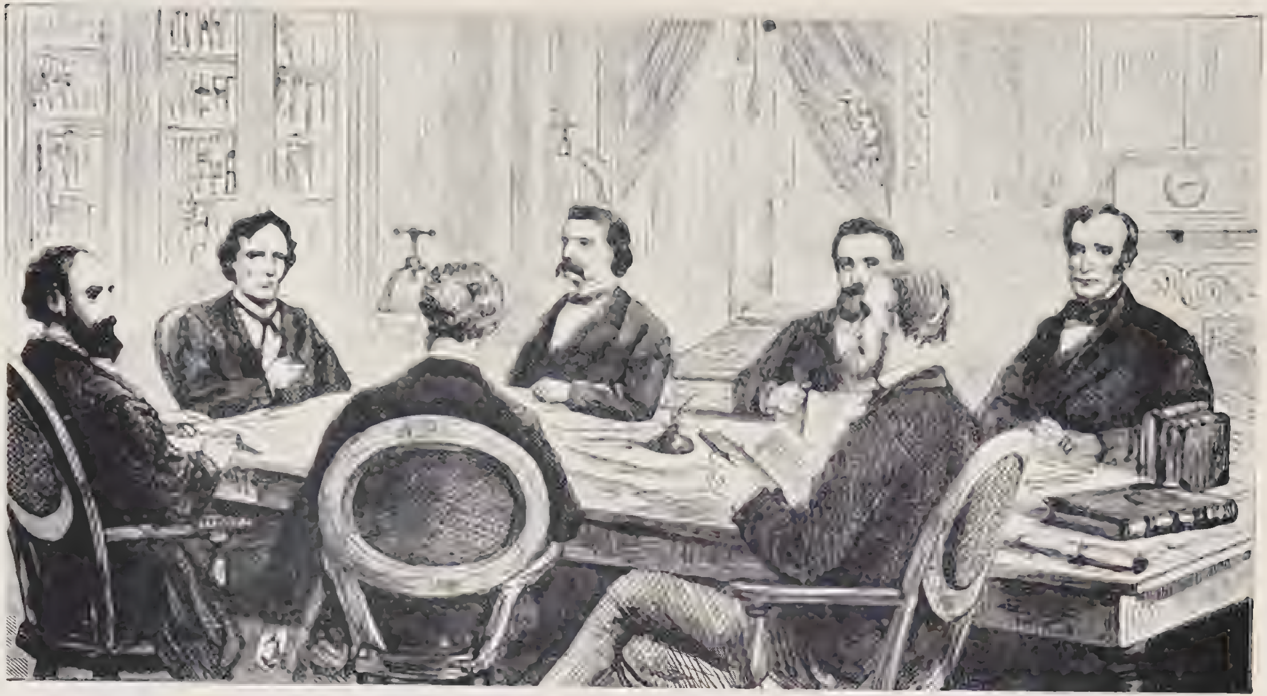
Massachusetts on Johnson's Impeachment (1867–1868)

The feeling in both Houses of Congress against the President rapidly grew more and more bitter. In the Senate, Sumner likened Johnson to Jefferson Davis and in a letter to General Grant said: "You have already conquered the chief of the rebellion. I doubt not you will conquer his successor also." In the House, upon the reading of the President's veto of the supplementary Reconstruction Bill giving military governors the right to remove civilian officials, Representatives Boutwell and Butler of Massachusetts in vigorous speeches called for the impeachment of the President. That these Massachusetts statesmen voiced the prevailing sentiment at home is evidenced by the attitude of the *Atlantic Monthly,* which in its issue for November, 1867, characterized Johnson as "a spiteful, inflated and unprincipled egotist," and advocated impeachment as a means of removing him from the office he had been "too long allowed to dishonor." Even the *Springfield Republican,* which had vehemently protested against the radical doctrines of disfranchisement and punishment of all who had taken part in the Rebellion and the confiscation of their property as advocated by Boutwell and Butler and urged by such papers as the *New York Tribune,* nevertheless supported Congress in its contest with Johnson, even approving the enactment as permanent legislation of the Tenure of Office Act, which provided that no government official could be removed during the term for which he was appointed without the consent of the Senate. Although at first unfavorable to the idea of impeachment proceedings, when Johnson undertook to remove Secretary of War Stanton in violation of the Tenure of Office Act, the *Republican* came out strongly for impeachment and, even after his acquittal by the Senate, declared him guilty and deserving of conviction.

On the other hand, Governor Andrew of Massachusetts approved Johnson's policy and was strongly opposed to the suggestion of impeachment. In a letter to his friend John Binney, in September, 1867, he wrote: "I utterly reject the doctrine of impeachment . . . as yet; while he has done many undignified and irritating things, nothing has been done or said which can be constitutionally regarded as impeachable."

Although the best constitutional lawyers in Massachusetts agreed with Andrew, nevertheless the radical Republicans were determined to get rid of Johnson; and as early as November, 1867, Representative Boutwell of Massachusetts, for the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a resolution in favor of impeachment, alleging in twenty-seven separate counts that the President had been guilty of undoubted usurpation of power and repeated violations of law. This resolution was defeated by a vote of 108 to 57. Later, on February 13, 1868, the Committee on Reconstruction voted 6 to 3 against a similar impeachment resolution, Boutwell being one of the three minority members. Finally, February 24, 1868, the House passed a resolution in favor of impeachment by a vote of 126 to 47, all ten of the Massachusetts Representatives voting "aye." Representative George S. Boutwell was appointed a member of the committee to prepare articles of impeachment.

Boutwell reported to the House, February 29th, ten articles of impeachment which he had drafted, the only substantial



From a sketch in *Harper's Weekly*

Hamilton Ward
Thaddeus Stevens
James F. Wilson
John A. Logan
George S. Boutwell
George W. Julian
John A. Bingham

THE IMPEACHMENT COMMITTEE AT WORK

charge being the fact that the President had attempted to remove Secretary Stanton, and had named Lorenzo Thomas as Secretary of War, *ad interim.* On motion of Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, an eleventh article was added, declaring that the President by his speeches delivered at Washington, Cleveland, and St. Louis "had attempted to bring into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt and reproach the Congress of the United States and the several branches thereof," and was therefore guilty of "high misdemeanor." Both Boutwell and Butler were appointed on the board of managers on the part of the House, the former being chosen chairman, but resigning in favor of Representative Bingham of Ohio. To Butler was assigned the task of making the opening and Boutwell was chosen to make one of the four closing arguments for the prosecution.

Share of Massachusetts in the Impeachment (1868)

March 3, 1868, in the absence of the senior Representative, Washburn of Illinois, Dawes of Massachusetts, supported by the clerk and doorkeeper of the House, led the procession of the board of seven managers to the Senate Chamber, where the articles of impeachment were formally presented. Senator Wilson of Massachusetts was appointed one of the three members of a committee to wait upon Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who under the provisions of the Constitution was to preside over the trial, and escort him to the chamber. According to Oberholtzer, "it was the madly hostile Sumner who asked the question whether, after the trial had begun, the Senate should hold its customary relations with the President arraigned at our bar in the name of the people of the United States, or should it adopt a system of non-intercourse until the trial is brought to a close."

Before commencing his opening address, Manager Butler asked that, in accordance with English parliamentary practice and the precedent established at the trial of Judge Samuel Chase in the early days of the Republic, President Johnson be brought before the bar of the Senate; but, as he expresses it in his autobiography, his fellow managers were "too weak in the knees or back to insist upon this," and the President did not attend the trial.

Butler's opening occupied two hours. Although he makes the statement in his autobiography that he made up his mind "to try the case upon the same rules of evidence and in the same manner as he would try a horse case," nevertheless he contended that the Senate was utterly unlike a court of justice and that it was the duty of Senators to their States and constituents to determine the question as they would any matter of legislation. Although most of his argument was directed to the articles which referred to the real offense charged (viz., the violation of the Tenure of Office Act), he spent about a quarter of his time upon the article of which he himself was the author, and quoted at great length from Johnson's speeches in the famous "swinging around the circle" in which the President had made personal attacks upon various Senators. According to James Ford Rhodes, this part of his speech was most ineffective and, if a vote had been taken upon this article at the end of the trial, there would have been at least 24 votes against conviction.

According to Oberholtzer, another historian of the period, Butler's opening was "but a hectic mingling of the hyperbolic party-campaign harangue with quarter-sessions billingsgate." Secretary Stanton, however, was loud in its praise and wrote to Butler, under date of March 31st: "The world to all time is enriched by it. As an American citizen and as your friend I rejoice at the mighty blow you struck against the great enemy of the nation." It seems to be the general consensus of opinion that both Butler's opening and the manner in which he conducted his cross-examination of the witnesses for the defense damaged the cause of the prosecution. The New York *Nation* of April 16, 1868, asserted that his method of cross-examining witnesses made him feared in the criminal courts but not greatly respected elsewhere, and accused him of "playing to sixty writers in the press gallery and through them to the country at large, before which he strutted day by day." At the conclusion of the trial, the same paper on May 21, 1868, declared that Butler's "want of manners or rather want of decency throughout the case gave the President a constant advantage which increased up to the very last day." As one specific instance of Butler's conduct of the trial, Secretary Welles in his diary states that he objected to a reasonable request for a brief postponement made by counsel for the defense in "a violent, indecent, party harangue which disgraced the Senators who failed to call him to order."

MASSACHUSETTS' DEFENCE OF JOHNSON (1868)

In striking contrast to this severe criticism of the Massachusetts Representative who took the most prominent part against the President is the universal praise accorded to another Massachusetts citizens who was one of his chief defenders. Benjamin R. Curtis was admittedly one of the great lawyers of his day and generation, and a man of the utmost courage. As an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, his dissenting opinion in the famous Dred Scott case was highly praised throughout the North. Three years later he advocated the repeal of the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Act, which nullified the Fugitive Slave Act and was therefore plainly unconstitutional. In 1861 he spoke in Faneuil Hall in favor of the Crittenden Compromise, and in the following year vehemently opposed the Emancipation Proclamation and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus as unauthorized usurpations of executive power. Curtis was the first choice of the President and his Cabinet as counsel to assist Attorney-General Stanbery in conducting the case for the defense; and associated with him was William M. Evarts, the son of a Massachusetts missionary. According to his son and biographer, Judge Curtis had no personal acquaintance with President Johnson, no interest in his political fortunes, and nothing but a sense of duty to lead him to accept the responsible position of leading counsel for the defense in this great trial. Moreover, as the President was unable to offer any compensation to his lawyers and Judge Curtis was busily engaged in a very lucrative private practice, his acceptance involved a great financial sacrifice.

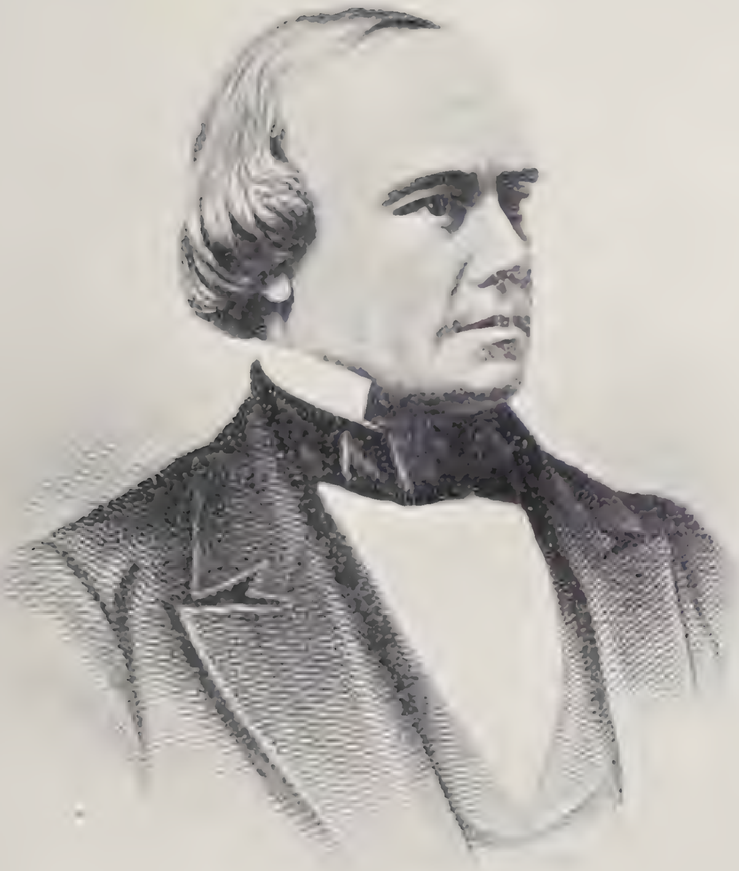
Judge Curtis realized thoroughly the difficult task which confronted him and in a letter to his friend George Ticknor, two weeks before the trial, he wrote: "There is not a decent pretense that the President has committed an impeachable offence. The *party* is in a condition to demand his removal from power and does demand it." His opening argument occupied four hours on two successive days, and was a masterpiece. Even Butler, his chief opponent, considered his presentation of the case so exhaustive that, although much was said by his colleagues, including the able Evarts, nothing more was added in the President's behalf during the whole course of the trial. Oberholtzer says that "in chaste words and learned phrase, with calmness, moderation, and dignity, he presented the cause," and that his "courtliness and grace seemed to belong to some other time and place." According to J. B. Stillson, the Washington correspondent of the *New York World,* Judge Curtis made a tremendous impression upon those who heard him. "His manner was an incarnation of dignity, self-possession, repose. The clearness of his statements, the accuracy of his logic, and the precision and steadiness with which he advanced from every premise he established to conclusions, needed in fact no fiery oratory to enhance the effect. . . . It is generally conceded that the speech is an original and invincible effort."

In a letter to Mrs. Curtis written the same day, Miss Harriet B. Loring, who was present in the Senate Chamber, thus described her impression: "For power and condensation of thought and for dignity and persuasiveness of delivery, it was indeed a glorious effort. . . . Even political antagonists confess the greatness of the argument: indeed it seems to bring back the times when 'there were giants on the earth'."

Representative Boutwell of Massachusetts made one of the four closing arguments for the prosecution. Although he was a violent partisan, he exhibited more restraint than Butler, and devoted himself more to the charges and the evidence and less to personal abuse.

Acquittal of President Johnson (1868)

Although the masterful argument of Judge Curtis profoundly impressed all of his hearers and caused seven Republican Senators to brave political annihilation and vote in favor of the President's acquittal, which obtained by a single vote, it did not influence the vote of either of the Massachusetts Senators, both of whom evidently adopted Butler's view of their duty in the premises. Senator Wilson declared that, "if



Courtesy of Harvard College Library

BENJAMIN R. CURTIS

there were doubts to vex him in reaching a conclusion, his country should have the benefit of those doubts rather than the President"; while Sumner insisted that, regardless of the proceedings before the Senate, there had been "a moral judgment" against Johnson, and that he was "utterly unprincipled and wicked."

The radical Republicans, who controlled the House, were thoroughly enraged at their failure to get rid of the President; and on Butler's motion, the House managers were authorized to investigate alleged improper and corrupt means used to influence the Senate. In a speech delivered May 25, and in his report to the House, July 3, he indirectly charged with corruption four of the Republican Senators who had voted for acquittal, and tried to incriminate the other three. None of his fellow managers, however, signed the report; and Rhodes ends his account of this episode by saying that "Butler's conception of humanity was so low that he could not conceive of men doing what was certain to lose them social consideration or political preferment unless they were paid for it in money." Oberholtzer says that "Butler's smelling committee had failed of its purpose; but in his report, which he alone signed, he suppressed the testimony or used only such parts as would serve his ends." Senator Henderson asserted that "Butler's report was not meant to vindicate truth, but to serve the selfish and malicious purposes of its contemptible author."

Thus ended the attempt of the leaders in the Fortieth Congress, overwhelmingly Republican in both branches, to get rid of a President whom they detested, in which controversy Massachusetts men played a prominent part. Although at the time public sentiment in Massachusetts and throughout the North was undoubtedly hostile to President Johnson and in favor of his impeachment, impartial historians have long since arrived at the conclusion that there were no sufficient grounds for his impeachment, and that Judge Curtis and the seven Senators who were persuaded by his argument to vote for acquittal performed a great public service. Within the past year, the Supreme Court of the United States has vindicated President Johnson by settling the question for all time that the President can remove any presidential appointee; and that an Act of Congress requiring the consent of the Senate to such removal is unconstitutional and void.

ATTITUDE ON RECONSTRUCTION ACTS (1865–1867)

By the theory of "State suicide," mentioned above, the seceding States by their rebellious conduct had forfeited their rights as sovereign States, and *ipso facto* were reduced to the status of Territories and therefore under the exclusive control of Congress. President Lincoln never accepted this doctrine, and in his message of December, 1863, proposed a counter plan for the recognition of State governments organized by persons then voters in any State, who should equal in number up to one tenth the number of votes cast in that State for President in 1860, and would take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. This was referred by the House to a select Committee on Reconstruction, consisting of nine representatives, of which committee Representative Gooch of Massachusetts was a member.

February 15, 1864, this committee reported the first Reconstruction Bill "to guarantee to certain states whose government has been usurped a republican form of government." This bill denied the suffrage to certain civil and military officers of the Confederacy, and provided that no State government should be recognized until its new State constitution should be approved by Congress. It passed the House, May 4, 1864, and the Senate, July 1st, all the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives voting in its favor; but it was "pocket vetoed" by President Lincoln.

Reference has also been made to the proclamations of President Johnson granting amnesty to all persons formerly engaged in rebellion and providing for the recognition of State governments in all the Southern States. When the members elect of the Thirty-ninth Congress convened in December, 1865, the clerk of the preceding House of Representatives excluded from the roll the names of members elect presenting credentials from the Southern States which in the meantime had been reorganized under the President's proclamations. Immediately upon the organization of the House without these men, Thaddeus Stevens, the Republican leader, offered a concurrent resolution appointing a joint committee "to inquire into the condition of the States recently in rebellion and report whether any of them are entitled to be represented in Congress." This resolution passed both Houses overwhelmingly, and Representative Boutwell of Massachusetts was named as a member of this Committee on Reconstruction. In February, 1866, a second concurrent resolution provided that no Senator or Representative should be admitted to either branch of Congress from any of the lately rebel States until Congress should have declared such States entitled to representation. This resolution also received the support of all the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives.

MASSACHUSETTS HOME POLITICS

The sentiment of the voters of Massachusetts was later voiced in the Congressional election of 1866, at which eight of the Massachusetts delegation, who had voted for these first three reconstruction measures in opposition to the policies of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, offered themselves for reelection. Thomas D. Eliot, of New Bedford, was reelected by a vote of 8184 to 1539; Oakes Ames, of North Easton, by 9581 to 2456; Samuel Hooper, of Boston, by 7902 to 3183; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Waltham, by 10,075 to 3336; George S. Boutwell, of Groton, by 9847 to 2885; John D. Baldwin, of Worcester, by 9039 to 1901; William B. Washburn, of Greenfield, by 11,895 to 1668; and Henry L. Dawes, of Pittsfield, by 8125 to 4185. The two new Republican members—Ginery Twichell, of Brookline, and Benjamin F. Butler, of Gloucester—were elected by votes of 6084 to 2601, and 9021 to 2838, respectively. Moreover the latter, the most extreme radical of all, whose real home was at Lowell, was chosen from the Essex district, where he had his summer home, over Richard H. Dana, Jr., a man of great ability and learning, whose conservative views upon the issues of the hour proved to be utterly unacceptable to the rank and file of the voters.

This emphatic endorsement of the course of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress in following the lead of the radical Stevens against the more conservative policy of two Republican Presidents was rendered in spite of the protest of John A. Andrew, one of the leaders in the antislavery movement and the great war governor of the Commonwealth.

Andrew never subscribed to the "State suicide" theory of his friend Sumner, and publicly defended President Johnson's plan of reconstruction, maintaining that the Southern States should return to the Union "under the leadership of the men who took them out." Moreover, he favored the most lenient treatment of former rebels, and an amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to all citizens who could read and write, without disfranchising existing white voters in the Southern States. But as Rhodes sums up this issue, "it was Sumner and not Andrew who was swaying public opinion," not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the North, and "at his back were the ministers and school teachers of New England and of the West where New England ideas held sway."

February 6, 1867, Thaddeus Stevens reported from the Joint Committee on Reconstruction to the House a bill "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States." This bill, which provided for the division of the "rebel States" into five military districts, was fittingly described by Garfield as "written with a steel pen made out of a bayonet." Sumner claimed the credit for the drastic provision in the bill granting suffrage to all male citizens irrespective of color. The bill passed both Houses overwhelmingly, was vetoed by President Johnson, and was passed over the veto by a vote of 135 to 48 in the House and 28 to 10 in the Senate, all the Massachusetts Representatives and both Massachusetts Senators voting in its favor.

The *Springfield Republican* severely criticized the provision of this drastic measure, which excluded the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy from the suffrage, maintaining that it meant the exclusion of the natural leaders of the South. The *Republican* declared that there could be "no real, no true, no lasting reconstruction in the South that does not include all classes of its people." In the meantime a supplementary reconstruction bill, much longer and providing more minutely for carrying into effect the drastic provisions of the first act, was passed over the President's veto and became a law on March 23, 1867, the solid Massachusetts delegation supporting it on every stage. April 20, the *Republican* again attempted to stem the tide of radical Republicanism by pointing out the mistake of giving the franchise to the great mass of ignorant freemen; but a second supplementary reconstruction bill, introduced by Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, was passed over the President's veto in both Houses, July 19, and on August 7, Samuel Bowle's paper admitted its defeat and declared that the establishment of "an impartial but educated suffrage," which it had advocated, had been "sacrificed to party necessity."

Later Reconstruction Acts (1868–1869)

June 22, 1868, the bill to admit the State of Arkansas to representation in Congress on the fundamental condition that "there shall never be in said State any denial or abridgement of the elective franchise, or of any other right, to any person by reason or on account of race or color," was passed over the President's veto in both Houses. A more general reconstruction act (July 21) for the admission of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, when they should have complied with certain conditions including the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, became a law in spite of the presidential disapproval. July 20, both Houses passed over the presidential veto a joint resolution excluding from the electoral college the votes of States, lately in rebellion, which had not been reorganized.

The presidential election of 1868 afforded another opportunity for the electorate of Massachusetts to express their approval or disapproval of the consistent support given by the Bay State representatives to this drastic reconstruction legislation. The result was an overwhelming endorsement of the radical delegation, while in the Connecticut Valley, where the *Springfield Republican* was supposed to wield its greatest influence, William B. Washburn of Greenfield received six times as many votes as his nearest competitor.

The sentiment of the State is still more strikingly shown by the triumphant reelection for a fourth term, from 1869, of Charles Sumner, the radical leader of the United States Senate, he receiving 37 out of 39 votes in the State Senate, and 216 out of 232 votes in the House of Representatives.

The election of 1869 in Virginia, held under the provisions of a bill affecting Mississippi and Texas as well, introduced by Butler of Massachusetts and passed by both Houses in

April of that year, was characterized by Sumner in the Senate as "one huge, colossal fraud." He declared that the Old Dominion was "still smoking with rebellion" and that its new constitution was "dabbled in Blood." He insisted that if Virginia were to come back into the Union at all, certain fundamental conditions should be imposed to insure her future good conduct. As a result, Virginia was finally admitted into the Union (January 27, 1870) under condition that the State constitution should never be so amended as to deprive any class of citizens of the right to vote, to hold office, or to have school privileges on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

In the House, Benjamin F. Butler, who had succeeded Thaddeus Stevens as chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, reported a bill for the admission of Georgia on similar conditions, with a provision extending the terms of Governor Bullock and the then existing State legislature for two years. An amendment offered by Bingham, of Ohio, striking out this latter provision, was adopted 115 to 71. This action was denounced by both Sumner and Wilson, the latter declaring that "law or no law, we want to keep the State government in power." Nevertheless, the bill with the House amendment passed both houses and was approved by the President.

Ku Klux Klan and Amnesty (1868–1871)

The outrages committed by the secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, which reached their climax in 1868, aroused the indignation of Senator Wilson, who wrote to General Grant in May, 1869: "Can nothing be done to stop the outrages in Georgia? These political murders should cease. Nothing animated the people more in the canvass than the idea that the rebel outrages should be stopped. They were checked much by your election; still they go on and many of our best friends say that we do nothing to stop them and that we rather say nothing about them." In a fiery speech in the Senate, Sumner denounced the "bloody orgies of this fiendish organization."

In response to the aroused public opinion of the North, Congress, after an investigation and report by a Senate Committee of which Wilson was a member, and a joint committee of which Butler was one of the shining lights, passed in succession three enforcement acts—the last one, approved April 20, 1871, being sometimes known as the "Ku Klux Act." By its terms, the President was given extraordinary powers to preserve order and to prevent acts of violence, including the power to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus,* which was actually done in the case of certain counties of South Carolina. In favor of this drastic legislation Senator Wilson said: "What we want to do is to put down the Ku Klux organizations, which are the illegitimate descendants of the legalized patrol system that once existed in the South, now carried on without law. Crimes are committed under it that are shocking and appalling."

In December, 1871, Sumner insisted upon offering his supplementary Civil Rights Bill as an amendment to the Amnesty Bill, which killed the bill. The following year, he succeeded in securing the adoption of the same amendment by the casting vote of Vice-President Colfax; but it failed to secure the necessary two thirds to override the President's veto. Later in the same year, the Senate rejected Sumner's civil rights amendment and passed the General Amnesty Bill, making eligible to office all former Confederate soldiers and civilians except a few hundred, by a vote of 38 to 2, Sumner voting in the negative. In February, 1875, more than a year after Sumner's death, a similar Civil Rights Bill, reported from the Judiciary Committee by General Butler of Massachusetts, became a law, only to be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1883.

Sumner, in spite of his radical stand on all measures concerning reconstruction in the South, continued to have behind him the overwhelming public sentiment of Massachusetts. It was only when he showed leniency towards those who had engaged in rebellion by the introduction of his bill to omit the names of civil war battles from the Army Register and the regimental colors, that he was censured by the legislature of his State. To the credit of Massachusetts, just before his death this resolution of censure was rescinded.

The Fourteenth Amendment (1866–1868)

Reference has already been made to the Civil Rights Bill, which was passed over President Johnson's veto in April, 1866, both Massachusetts Senators and all the Massachusetts Representatives voting in its favor; and also to Sumner's persistent fight for the enactment of a supplementary and more comprehensive measure, granting full civil rights to the freedmen, which was finally enacted into law shortly after his death. It was felt at the time by the best constitutional lawyers, both in and out of Congress, that a mere statute of this kind transcended the constitutional powers of Congress. Accordingly, three weeks after the passage of the first Civil Rights Bill, Thaddeus Stevens reported from the Joint Committee on Reconstruction a joint resolution to amend the Constitution, which contained in its five sections all the essential provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment as finally passed.

In the long debate which ensued upon this proposed amendment to the fundamental law, four of the Massachusetts Representatives took part. Eliot, of New Bedford, advocated the passage of the amendment as replacing the false corner stone of the republic by "a corner stone of righteousness, solid and square and true." Boutwell, of Groton, spoke of the justice of the measure, and called attention to the fact that "every traitor of the South and sympathizer of treason in the North" sustained the policy of President Johnson and the Democratic party in their opposition to it. Dawes, from the western part of the State, heartily supported it, although opposed to the section disenfranchising those formerly engaged in rebellion. General Banks, of Waltham, although giving the amendment his support, felt that it did not go far enough. Samuel Bowles, in the *Springfield Republican* of November 22, 1866, referred to the proposed amendment as "a shabby piece of joiner work." After the closing argument of Thaddeus Stevens, in which he declared that he would not give a snap of his finger for the measure without the provision excluding rebels from the right to hold office, the resolution passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 128 to 37, all of the Massachusetts Representatives being recorded in its favor.

When the joint resolution providing for the submission of the Fourteenth Amendment reached the Senate, Sumner criticized it because it did not by its terms provide for universal Negro suffrage; and offered an amendment to that effect which received only eight votes. The *Boston Advertiser* expressed its disapproval of Sumner's attitude, as did Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University in an article appearing in the paper of the New England Publication Society under date of March 16, 1866. The amendment as at first submitted to the Senate failed of passage; but with certain amendments it finally passed (June 8) by a vote of 33 to 11, both Sumner and Wilson being recorded in its favor. The House concurred in the Senate amendments, all of the Massachusetts members voting "aye," and it was reluctantly submitted by the President and his Secretary of State to the several States. Not until July 20, 1868, did Secretary Seward make public proclamation of his certificate that the requisite number of States had ratified the amendment and it was a part of the Constitution.

APPLICATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (1871–1897)

The citizenship clause and the clause prohibiting any State from depriving "any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law," as set forth in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, have been frequently invoked and uniformly enforced by the Supreme Court of the United States. The provisions of the same section, prohibiting a State from making or enforcing any law "which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," or which "denies to one person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," were undoubtedly intended by the framers of the amendment to incorporate the substance of the Civil Rights Act and to insure to the Negroes of the South the same civil rights as the white population. They have largely failed of their purpose. The Supreme Court has so interpreted these provisions in the famous Slaughter House Cases and in subsequent decisions, that in many of the Southern States the Negro is still deprived of many of the rights he enjoys in the States of the North. This fact, coupled with the higher wage scale in the North, accounts for the large migration of colored people to the Northern States in recent years. It also accounts for the repeated attempts in Congress to secure the enactment of an antilynching bill, granting to the Federal courts jurisdiction to protect the lives and liberties of citizens of the United States whenever the State courts either refuse or neglect to afford such protection. Bills of this character were introduced in the Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, Sixty-sixth, and Sixty-seventh Congresses by Representative Dyer, of Missouri, Moore, of Indiana, and Dallinger, of Massachusetts; and in the Sixty-seventh Congress (1921–1923) a bill based on the bills of these three Representatives was reported by the House Committee on the Judiciary, after a protracted debate finally passed the House, and was favorably reported in the Senate, only to fail in the latter body as the result of the threat of Senator Underwood, of Alabama, that unless the bill was laid aside no further business would be transacted during that session.

The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment contains a mandatory provision requiring that, when the right to vote at any National or State election is denied by any State to any citizens of the United States of legal age residing therein, the representation of such State in Congress shall be correspondingly reduced. Although it is a well-known fact that, ever since United States troops were removed from the Southern States in President Hayes's administration, the suffrage to all intents and purposes has been denied to the bulk of the Negro population of the South, Congress has never seen fit to carry out the mandatory provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was obviously intended by the framers of that amendment to meet just such a contingency.

Subsequent Issues of Reconstruction (1891–1920)

Various attempts have since been made by members of Congress having large Negro constituencies to induce Congress to take action, the most recent being that of Congressman George Holden Tinkham, of Massachusetts, representing a Boston district. In December, 1920, the year in which the decennial census was taken for the purpose of determining the basis for a new apportionment of Representatives in Congress, Tinkham issued a statement, in which he presented some startling figures and reiterated his appeal for the enforcement by Congress of the mandatory provision of the Constitution. He subsequently introduced resolutions for "an investigation as to the extent to which the right of vote is denied or abridged to certain citizens of the United States," the total vote cast in each State, the registration and election laws of those States being set forth in a series of preambles. The public attention aroused by these propositions combined with other reasons in preventing the passage of any apportionment bill.

Question of Negro Suffrage (1864–1867)

Charles Sumner, the recognized leader of the radical Republicans in the Senate, from the very outset advocated the granting of full political as well as complete civil rights to the Negro. In July, 1864, he attempted to amend the First Reconstruction Bill by striking out the word "white," which would have conferred full suffrage upon the freedman. In the famous debate upon the bill for the admission of the State of Louisiana in pursuance of the policy of the Lincoln administration, Sumner opposed the admission of any State without an absolute guarantee of freedom and equality of all races, including the right of suffrage, and he resorted to the filibuster as a means of defeating the bill, in which effort he was successful. For his victory at this critical time he received the congratulations of Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Frank B. Sanborn, and Francis W. Bird.

Shortly after President Lincoln's assassination, President Johnson expressed himself, in a personal interview, as agreeing with Sumner that the new governments in the seceded States should be "founded on the consent of the governed without any distinction of color." But when the new President, by his proclamations for the recognition of the Southern States, demonstrated that he was opposed to Negro suffrage, the Massachusetts Senator proceeded to fight him with the utmost vigor and continued the fight to a successful conclusion. In a letter addressed to the colored citizens of North Carolina, May 13, 1865, he advised them to insist upon all the rights and privileges of citizenship. In a memorial address on Abraham Lincoln delivered in Boston, he said: "The argument for colored suffrage is overwhelming. It springs from the necessity of the case as well as from the rights of man. This suffrage is needed for the security of the colored people, for the stability of the local government and for the strength of the Union. Without it there is nothing but insecurity for the colored people, instability for the local government, and weakness for the Union, involving, of course, the national credit." Three weeks later a mass meeting was held in the same city in behalf of equal suffrage, of which Theophilus Parsons, the well-known author of legal text books, was chairman, and at which Richard H. Dana was the principal speaker.

In September, 1865, Sumner, as chairman of the Republican State Convention at Worcester, made a most eloquent speech in favor of full Negro suffrage; and the enthusiastic reception which his address met with clearly demonstrated that, whatever the opinion might be in other parts of the country, the people of Massachusetts were determined to follow his leadership. Despite the opposition of such men as Governor Andrew and Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*, the convention in its platform contained a plank declaring full Negro suffrage to be a necessary condition of the reconstruction policy. Similar action was taken by Republican State Conventions in Vermont, Iowa, and Minnesota.

Events proved that Sumner was in advance of his times. Even as late as 1866, as James G. Blaine points out, the great mass of the Republicans stopped short of the demand for the conferring of suffrage on the Negro, and in that year Sumner's equal-suffrage amendment to the bill for the admission of Colorado, a Northern State, received only seven votes in the Senate. In fact, it was not until January, 1867, that Sumner's bill granting the right of suffrage to negroes in the District of Columbia became a law; and not until a year later did Sumner succeed in incorporating his equal-suffrage amendment in the bills for the admission of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, all of which were passed over the presidential veto.

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

Charles Sumner

Introduction of the Fifteenth Amendment (1869)

From the radical Republican point of view, the great defect of the Fourteenth Amendment was its tacit recognition of the right of States to disfranchise their Negro citizens, if they so chose and were willing to run the risk (which events have proved was no risk at all) of having their representation in Congress reduced. Accordingly, January 9, 1869, Representative Boutwell of Massachusetts, always a firm believer in Negro suffrage, and, as we have seen, Stevens's faithful lieutenant in securing the enactment of the Reconstruction Acts as well as in the impeachment of President Johnson, reported from the Committee on the Judiciary a joint resolution, embodying an amendment to the Constitution to the effect that the right of no citizen to vote should be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery. In speaking for the resolution, Mr. Boutwell said: "If we secure to all the people of the country, without distinction of race or color, the privilege of the elective franchise, we have then established upon the broadest possible basis of republican equality the institutions of the country."

While this proposed amendment was being debated in the House, a joint resolution of similar import was reported in the Senate by its Judiciary Committee, except that the Senate resolution included in its language the right of citizens to hold office as well as to vote. During the debate which ensued in the Senate, Sumner, to the surprise of every one, made an elaborate speech against the proposed amendment on the ground that it was unnecessary, and that the same result could be accomplished just as easily and much more quickly by an act of Congress. In this speech he reviewed at length his record from the time he first took his seat in the Senate in 1851, and his consistent fight for the abolition of slavery and the granting to the Negro of full and complete civil and political rights. He contended that the proposed amendment was an unnecessary and uncalled for reflection upon the Constitution which, since the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, should be interpreted in the light of the Declaration of Independence; that whatever legislation was enacted for "human rights" was constitutional, and that there could be no such thing as "State rights as against human rights." It was this speech which caused Richard H. Dana to remark that Sumner cared nothing for the Constitution, was impatient of law, and considered his oath to have been to support the Declaration of Independence and not the Constitution of the United States.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT ADOPTED (1869–1870)

Henry Wilson, the other Massachusetts Senator, spoke in favor of the proposed amendment, contending that the Republican party "was fully committed to equality of rights and privileges" and was bound in consistency to "seize every opportune occasion to make the Constitution and laws of the country in harmony with its sublime creed." He offered a substitute amendment, which was adopted, providing that no discrimination should be made in the exercise of the elective franchise or in the right to hold office on account of "race, color, nativity, property, education, or religious creed." The resolution in its amended form passed the Senate by a vote of 35 to 11, Sumner not voting. The House also passed it with amendments by a vote of 140 to 37. A committee of conference shaped the amendment into the form in which it now appears in the Constitution; it mentions only the right to vote and enumerates only the discriminations as to "race, color, and previous condition of servitude." This conference report was duly accepted by both Houses and the amendment was submitted to the State legislatures on February 27, 1869. It was declared to have been ratified by the legislatures of 29 of the 37 States by proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870. Sumner refrained from voting, but all the Massachusetts Representatives voted "aye," except Baldwin, who was absent—even including Dawes, who, four years before, had addressed his neighbors in Pittsfield in support of President Johnson's policy of reconstruction and in opposition to Negro suffrage.

In spite of Sumner's refusal to vote for the Fifteenth Amendment, the fact remains that his successful fight against the Louisiana Bill in 1865, as Pierce says, "rallied the antislavery masses to his advanced position, to which, after agitation and contention the people were yet to come. For weal or woe, whether it was well or not for the black man and the country, it is to Sumner's credit or discredit as a statesman, that suffrage, irrespective of color, became fixed and universal in the American system. . . . Among public men he was the only one who resolutely held the position—alike against one President and then another—that the reconstruction should make that people [*i.e.,* the colored people] finally and irrevocably citizens on the same terms as white men, or it should not go on." Rhodes, the caustic critic of the congressional policy of reconstruction, names, as the three men responsible for it, "Andrew Johnson by his obstinacy and bad behaviour, Thaddeus Stevens by his vindictiveness and parliamentary tyranny, and Charles Sumner by his pertinacity in a misguided humanitarianism."

Negro Suffrage in Effect (1869–1894)

With the withdrawal of the troops from the South in 1878, the Fifteenth Amendment practically ceased to be operative in the eleven former Confederate States. To be sure, the Federal election laws, which had been enacted during the reconstruction period, remained upon the statute book; but in the absence of Federal bayonets, like the Fifteenth Amendment those laws remained a dead letter. In 1890, however, Henry Cabot Lodge, then Republican Representative from Massachusetts, introduced a more effective federal-election measure for the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, to which its Democratic opponents promptly gave the name of the "Force Bill." This bill, which proposed for effective Federal supervision of the conduct of national elections, was favorably reported to the House and, after a bitter and protracted partisan debate, passed the House, July 2, 1890, by the exceedingly close vote of 155 to 149. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections of which Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts was chairman, which reported a bill with substantially the same general provisions, thereafter known as the Hoar Federal Election Bill.

In the Senate, the Southern Democrats had a better chance to filibuster than was afforded by the rules of the House as interpreted and enforced by Speaker Thomas B. Reed—nicknamed "Czar Reed" by his political opponents. Moreover they received aid from the eight Republican Senators from the four new Rocky Mountain States, which, although small in population, had been admitted to the Union in order to increase the slight Republican majority in the Senate. As the Western States were more interested in obtaining a market for their silver than in enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Southern Senators were more concerned in defeating the "Force Bill" than in the possible consequences of a depreciation of the currency, it was very easy to arrange for an exchange of votes. Consequently, the Silver Purchase Act of 1890 became a law, with such adverse results that a Democratic President three years later called a special session of Congress to secure its repeal. On the other hand, the Lodge-Hoar federal-election bill failed to pass and was never revived. As the *Boston Herald* facetiously put it: "Uncle Hoar's mining-camp Senators came home to roost." Thus ended the last attempt to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment by "appropriate legislation," and in 1894, with a Democratic President in the White House and a Democratic majority in both Senate and House, all the laws providing for Federal supervision over national elections in the States were repealed.

Massachusetts Work for the Contrabands (1861–1863)

Among the first persons in the country to give serious attention to the problem of how to deal with the negroes suddenly freed from slavery, was Edward L. Pierce of Boston. Immediately after that other son of Massachusetts, Major General Benjamin F. Butler, startled the country in 1861 by declaring slaves of persons engaged in rebellion to be "contraband of war," Pierce, who was a private in Company L of the Third Massachusetts Regiment, stationed at Fortress Monroe, was specially detailed to "collect the contrabands, record their names, ages, and the names of their masters, provide their tools, superintend their labor, and procure their rations." In the *Atlantic Monthly* for November, 1861, appeared an article written by him, entitled "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," in which he described the employment of these former slaves in constructing fortifications and advocated the granting of citizenship with all its privileges to "every one of these enrolled defenders of the Union."

In March, 1862, General Wool, commanding officer of the Fort Monroe Military District, appointed Charles B. Wilder, a Boston merchant, as Superintendent in charge of "these people"; and the admirable manner in which he discharged his responsible duties vindicated the wisdom of the choice.

As a result of the capture by the Navy of Hilton Head and Bay Point in November, 1861, the Sea Islands, situated off the coast of South Carolina and noted for the production of a superior grade of cotton, came into the possession of the Union forces. The care of the slaves, formerly employed on the plantations and abandoned by their owners, became a pressing problem. Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, solicitous for the welfare of these unfortunate people, appointed Edward L. Pierce to make an investigation of conditions. In January, 1862, he sailed from New York, and spent a month in the islands. Upon his return he made a comprehensive report in which he recommended the appointment of superintendents with power to act as local magistrates, with an adequate supply of teachers to conduct the necessary educational work. He also recommended that the superintendents take charge of the abandoned plantations and cultivate them with the labor of the colored population. In his report, he made favorable mention of Rev. Samuel Peck, a Massachusetts Baptist clergyman, formerly a professor in Amherst College, who not only conducted religious services at Beaufort, but also established a negro school of over sixty pupils. "Of narrow means, and yet in the main defraying his own expenses, this man of apostolic faith and life, to whose labors both hemispheres bear witness, left his home to guide and comfort this poor and shepherdless flock; and to him belongs, and ever will belong, the distinguished honor of being the first minister of Christ to enter the field which our arms had opened."

As a result of the publicity given to Pierce's report, public meetings were held in the large cities of the North and associations formed to furnish teachers, books, and supplies for work among the Negroes, among them being the Educational Commission of Boston, and the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. President Lincoln's death in 1865, and the policy adopted by his successor of restoring the Sea Islands to their former owners and holding out the hope that old relations between master and servant might to all intents and purposes be restored, broke up the work which had been so auspiciously begun.

Freedmen's Bureau (1863–1866)

President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 greatly increased the magnitude of the problem of caring for the Negro, and the need of legislation became more and more apparent. Accordingly, in January, 1863, Eliot, of Massachusetts, introduced in the House of Representatives a bill for the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation in the War Department, whose duty it should be to protect and assist the freedmen. This bill provoked bitter opposition, and finally passed the House with only two votes to spare. In the course of the debate, Brooks, of New York, referred sarcastically to Massachusetts as "the leading power in this country" and spoke of "her inexorable, inappeasable, demoniac energy." Alluding to the bill itself, he went on as follows: "It is written. It is ordained. It is a Massachusetts thunderbolt. I listen, I tremble before the decree, I hear now from the steeples, the spires, the pulpits of Massachusetts, 'there is but one God, and Massachusetts is His prophet'."

In the Senate, the bill was referred to the Special Committee on Slavery, of which Sumner was chairman. Although the bill which he reported passed the Senate, the matter was held up in conference between the two branches so that the measure (then entitled the Freedmen's Bureau Bill) did not become a law until March 3, 1865. Major General O. O. Howard was appointed by the President as the first commissioner of the Bureau, and James Redpath of Massachusetts was made superintendent of schools in the northern division of the Department of the South, and by November there had been established in the State of South Carolina alone 48 schools with six thousand pupils taught by 108 teachers, 80 of whom were from the North; confirming the statement of Oberholtzer that "the Yankee school-teacher entered the South on the heels of the soldier."

Experience having demonstrated the necessity for further legislation, in February, 1866, Congress passed a bill extending the Freedmen's Bureau and greatly enlarging its powers. Both Senator Wilson and Representative Eliot of Massachusetts spoke in its favor; but it was promptly vetoed by President Johnson and failed of passage over the veto. The *Boston Transcript* in its issue of March 2, 1866, declared editorially that "the veto would be read with profound regret and dissatisfaction by a vast majoity of the members of the Union party." Later in the same year, however, Eliot in the House and Wilson in the Senate introduced a similar bill extending the Bureau two years, which, although disapproved by the President, was finally passed over his veto by an overwhelming vote.

A Massachusetts Governor of South Carolina (1874–1876)

As a result of this legislation, supplemented by the work of the numerous private associations organized for the purpose, an immense amount of educational and philanthropic work was done for the Negro population of the South; a work in which many Massachusetts men and women took part. Moreover, some Massachusetts men were chosen to elective office in States of the South during the reconstruction period, with creditable records. Among these was Horace Maynard, an Amherst graduate, born in Westboro, who was Attorney-General of Tennessee from 1863 to 1865, for seven years a Representative in Congress from the same State, and later Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of President Hayes.

One of the best "carpetbag" governors of the South was Daniel H. Chamberlain of Massachusetts, who in 1874 became governor of South Carolina. Born in West Brookfield, Massachusetts, he graduated from Yale and the Harvard Law School. When the Civil War broke out, he led a company of colored cavalry of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment into action. After the war he settled in South Carolina as a cotton planter and entered politics, still true to the radical policies of his native State. Prior to 1872, he was attorney-general of South Carolina for four years. From 1874 to 1877 he was governor. He was renominated, declared by his own party elected, and even inaugurated for his second term. Wade Hampton, the Democratic candidate, contested the election. Federal troops were called upon to support Chamberlain, but on the eve of victory he withdrew.

Burgess, a Southern writer, describes him as "a man of great ability and undoubted honesty, who did everything in his power to redeem the State from the miserable condition into which the errors and crimes of his predecessors had brought it."

John F. Halsey says that Chamberlain was the "ablest and best of the reconstruction governors"; and Simms says of him: "His administration was the best of the Radical governors." He openly accused the legislature of corruption, warned the counties against further deficiencies in their treasuries, and instituted an investigation of the State treasury.

Massachusetts Carpetbaggers (1865–1876)

On the other hand, some of the Massachusetts "carpetbaggers" had no such creditable record. Oberholtzer makes mention of a former Massachusetts saloon keeper, Niles G. Parker by name, who, after failing in business, was chosen State treasurer of South Carolina and became suddenly wealthy. From the same State, B. F. Whittemore, of Massachusetts, was elected to Congress and later expelled for selling West Point cadetships. The Rev. S. S. Ashley, another "carpetbagger" from Massachusetts, was elected in 1868 superintendent of public instruction in North Carolina. "His administration of the office was costly and without any good results as far as public education was concerned."

Major General Adelbert Ames, of Lowell, Massachusetts, who had a most creditable military record, was United States Senator from Mississippi, and subsequently a governor. Taxes had risen so that the whole product of the soil was not sufficient to pay them. After Ames's election as governor in 1874, a petition for relief from the white taxpayers was laughed at by the Negro legislature. The whites organized; and through the Ku Klux Klan and the White Leaguers, the Negro voters of the State were intimidated in the election of 1875. Governor Ames, whom Don Seitz describes as an "amiable well-meaning man, but who could not sustain himself on his uneasy chair," called on President Grant for Federal troops; but the President withheld them. At the election of 1876 the white Democratic candidate was declared elected by 30,000 votes. Ames declared the election to be one of violence and fraud, whereupon the white Democratic legislature started impeachment proceedings against him. Disgusted, Ames resigned and returned to Massachusetts.

The attitude of Massachusetts in relation to the whole question of reconstruction is well illustrated by what occurred at the seating of a Negro named Revels as United States Senator from Mississippi, the office formerly held by Jefferson Davis. Sumner, the senior Senator from the Bay State, declared it to be "an historic event marking the triumph of a great cause. The Declaration of Independence was made a reality. For a long time a word only, it now became a deed. What was being done was for mankind, for God himself." Wilson, the other Massachusetts Senator, when Southern Democratic Senators opposed the seating of Revels, asserted that "the slave power was dying in the last ditch," and that the seating of this black man in the halls of the federal government would mark the close of the great struggle of forty years. "Now caste and privilege would be disowned forever," he declared; and he escorted Revels to the bar of the Senate to take the oath of office.

Status of the Negro in Massachusetts (1865–1927)

While Negro slavery existed in Massachusetts during the colonial period, it ceased to exist from the adoption of the State Constitution of 1780; and as Judge Benjamin R. Curtis pointed out in his dissenting opinion in the famous Dred Scott Case, there were numerous instances not only in Massachusetts but also in other Northern States of Negroes serving in the American Army and being recognized as citizens of their respective States.

With the immigration of freedmen from the South following the Emancipation Proclamation, the problem of preventing discrimination against persons of color naturally presented itself; and as early as May, 1865, the Massachusetts legislature passed an act providing that "no distinction, discrimination, or restriction on account of color or race shall be lawful in any licensed inn, or in any public place of amusement, public conveyance, or public meeting." A maximum fine of fifty dollars was imposed for any violation. In the following year a similar act was passed, making it unlawful "to exclude persons from or restrict them" in any of the places already mentioned, "except for good cause."

In 1885, when the roller-skating craze was at its height, further legislation was enacted, specifically naming skating rinks, extending the provisions to both licensed and unlicensed places, and increasing the maximum fine for violation to one hundred dollars. In 1893, as a result of the refusal of a fashionable barber to shave a popular colored student of Harvard University, the legislature added the words, "barber's shop or other public place kept for hire, gain, or reward." And finally, in 1895, the former acts were repealed and a more comprehensive act was passed, providing not only for a criminal penalty but also for a civil forfeiture to the person aggrieved. The present Massachusetts statute upon the subject, reads as follows:

"Whoever makes any distinction, discrimination, or restriction on account of color or race, except for good cause applicable alike to all persons of every color or race, relative to the admission of any person to, or his treatment in, a theatre, skating rink, or other public place of amusement, licensed or unlicensed, or in a public conveyance or public meeting, or in an inn, barber shop, or other public place kept for hire, gain, or reward, licensed or unlicensed, or whoever aids or incites such distinction, discrimination, or restriction, shall be punished by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, and shall forfeit to any person aggrieved thereby not less than twenty-five nor more than three hundred dollars; but such person so aggrieved shall not recover against more than one person by reason of any one act of distinction, discrimination, or restriction."

Thus Massachusetts, so far as legislation can accomplish it, has accorded to the Negro the full and complete exercise of all the rights of citizenship, and has protected him against any discrimination on account of his race or color. Colored people ride side by side with white people in all public conveyances, and colored children attend the public schools with white children. For a great many years a colored woman, Miss Maria Baldwin, was the beloved principal of a public school in Cambridge, most of the pupils in which were the children of well-to-do white parents. The right to vote and to hold office, for which Sumner fought so valiantly, has never been denied or abridged in the Commonwealth which he so ably represented. Colored men have sat in city councils and have ably represented constituencies in the State legislature. In fact a Massachustts city had the unique distinction of being the first city in the North to elect a colored man to its board of aldermen, when Cambridge elected to that office Clement G. Morgan, who had been orator of his class at Harvard College. Another colored citizen of the same city, William H. Lewis, represented a white constituency in the legislature, later became Assistant United States Attorney, and was appointed by President Roosevelt Assistant Attorney-General of the United States.

Although Massachusetts has practiced what its statesmen in both Houses of Congress preached during the reconstruction period, nevertheless, even in the home State of Sumner and Wilson, there exists a strong prejudice against the Negro and he is denied in many quarters that social equality to which he aspires. Moreover, there are many occupations which are practically barred to persons of color, no matter how well fitted they may be, because of the supposed prejudice of the general public, or because of the unwillingness of white persons to work with them. Colored persons who enter the professions of law or medicine, no matter how highly educated or trained they may be, find that their clients and patients are confined for the most part to those of their own race.

This same prejudice exists, to a greater or less degree, in the case of persons of some other races and nationalities. While the time may never come when people will cease to choose those with whom they wish to associate, nevertheless, as time goes on, the freedom of opportunity to earn one's living will undoubtedly become wider to persons of all races. For this Commonwealth of Massachusetts, whatever its faults, has never denied or abridged to any of its citizens the equal protection of the laws.

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CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL READJUSTMENTS (1865–1889)

By Wellington Wells
President of the Massachusetts Senate

Political Situation in 1868

The political history of Massachusetts from 1865 to 1889 is an interesting story of important events. The great work of Lincoln had been done, and the abolition of slavery had practically been achieved early in the period; but the work of reconstruction, fixing the political status of the seceding States, and the Fifteenth Amendment, making the right of suffrage for the Negro effective, were yet to be accomplished. The history of this period in Massachusetts, therefore, deals with the readjustment of the Commonwealth to the new conditions created by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and the accompanying political, governmental, social, and industrial development.

The people of the Commonwealth moved gradually forward, with the dominant political purpose of sustaining the government of the United States and supporting loyally all Federal policies. Both nationally and locally, the Republican party was very strong. It was the party in power when the Civil War ended. Having aided in bringing the war to a successful conclusion, the great majority of the people of the State felt it was a patriotic duty to give the administration complete support. Massachusetts during the war sustained the Federal Government whole-heartedly; and now, as an expression of her loyalty, subordinated local to national issues.

Inasmuch as the Republican party was almost continuously in power during these twenty-five years, a knowledge of its composition and operation is essential to an understanding of the political history of the Commonwealth. Patriotic men of all parties during the war combined on the common purpose of preserving the Union. They felt that the federal bond, established by Washington and the patriots of the Revolution, could not be lightly broken asunder by combinations of citizens of the seceding States. With this aim in mind, duty toward the nation in the struggle assumed a place in the minds of patriotic citizens above that of party affiliations, which, for the duration of the war, were subordinated to the one main purpose of the preservation of the Union. This motive was the underlying force which bound together men of Massachusetts who loved their country, no matter what their previous political preferences. Since the Republican party had successfully held the Union together and set the Negro free, many who had been Democrats before entered the Republican ranks, and after the war were content to remain there. This attitude of carrying out the work throughout the period of reconstruction was perhaps the most important factor in the continued success of the Republican party for more than a decade.

Regrouping in Massachusetts (1868–1880)

Nevertheless, the Democrats kept up their party organization and their relations with their national party, though for most of the time in the minority. The political history of the period deals with the struggle of the national parties for supremacy. The South had been strongly Democratic before secession; and the policies of that party were still considered by many ardent Republicans as antagonistic to the best interests of the country. The Democratic party succeeded in electing a governor but twice during this period—William Gaston, who served as governor in 1875; and Benjamin F. Butler, candidate of the Democratic and Greenback parties in 1883. Each was confronted by a Republican legislature. Here the Democrats were for the most part upon the defensive, and were entirely unable to carry out a constructive program of State activities.

As time went on, however, many Republicans failed to adhere rigidly to the announced party policies. Some were opposed to corruption within the party; some believed in free trade, or more local self-government, or in civil service reform.

Many revolted about 1880 and formed the Independent or "Mugwump" group, which supported those whom they regarded as the best candidates, regardless of party. Such a group of voters, bound together neither by party loyalty nor by singleness of purpose, had an influence at times great but not lasting, and its strength varied from campaign to campaign. The welfare of the Commonwealth rested usually in the hands of the two permanent parties, Republican and Democratic, representing two different schools of political thought upon many pressing problems confronting the nation: how to protect the newly emancipated negro, how to regulate the constitutional and political relations of the seceding States, how to meet the heavy financial obligations of the war, how to restore the public credit, how to place the State on a sound industrial basis. The financial obligations incurred on account of the Civil War amounted in the aggregate to $16,573,244. This was gradually paid off, until the debt was reduced to about one million dollars.

In the national elections, following the Civil War, both national and local policies were largely Republican; and the Bay State followed closely in the lead of the Federal Government. In fact, one important and permanent result of the war was the greater allegiance which the citizen attached to the interests of the nation as compared with those of the State, thus subordinating the doctrine of States' rights to that of a more centralized national government.

New State Issues (1865–1868)

When the United States troops were withdrawn and home rule in the South was finally restored, Massachusetts was content that the South should work out the Negro problem in its own way, subject to the three constitutional amendments which embodied the results of the Civil War. Then, and then only, could undivided attention be given to the solution of problems which were primarily local.

Fundamentally, the local government of Massachusetts was not changed, neither was the personal liberty of the people nor their freedom of speech altered by this greater allegiance to the Federal Government. Confidence in the stability and sound judgment of the people and in their ability to govern themselves is one of the political lessons to be drawn from the experience of these active years of readjustment and reconstruction.

Prohibition, labor reform, and woman suffrage, at first only eddies in the political current, became whirlpools of political dissension and were decisive factors in some elections. How these issues were met or avoided is, therefore, a part of this story, since such internal and domestic problems were of grave importance to the welfare of the State. Moreover, educational problems, as well as those of police protection, the creation of government commissions, State aid for highways and railroads, public hygiene, and public charitable institutions were matters demanding governmental regulation. Space does not allow more than an outline of many events deserving more extensive comment.

This story of political and governmental readjustment naturally begins with those important and epochal elections, State and national, in which the people first had an opportunity to register their personal political opinions on the policies of the dominant party as expressed in national legislation.

Election of 1864

Before the election of 1864, dissatisfaction appeared, both in the State and nation, with Lincoln's policy and administration. Signs of discontent in the State were manifested by various newspapers, mostly War Democratic and Copperhead. Copperheadism, an offensive term applied to opponents of the war, had appeared in Massachusetts from the beginning of the war and was much in evidence as early as February, 1863, when General McClellan made his famous visit to Boston. It also manifested itself in the opposition to the use of Negroes as soldiers. The burden of the draft, the loss of life, and the expenditure of money during the years of war, made all alike desire peace. The Democrats formally demanded in 1864 that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, and they favored a compromise with the South which was not possible under Lincoln's policy. The Republicans maintained that the only peace possible was that achieved by military success, for which a continuation of the Lincoln administration was necessary. Many of those Republicans who questioned the wisdom of this policy withdrew from the party and voted with the Democrats.

The people of Massachusetts supported Lincoln strongly in this election. They gave him 126,742 votes as against 48,745 for his opponent McClellan, and reelected the Republican war governor, John A. Andrew, by an overwhelming majority over his Democratic opponent, General Charles Devens. The moral effect of this victory was aptly summed up by the Governor in a message sent at the time: "We have knocked down and stamped out the last Copperhead ghost in Massachusetts."

Massachusetts and Reconstruction (1865–1867)

The assassination of Lincoln strengthened the Republican party on the part of the voters. Many Democrats who had supported Lincoln and the Republican policy in the struggle to preserve the Union now forsook their former party allegiance completely and became permanently allied with the Republican party.

In this critical period of readjustment, the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, became the country's chief executive. Although Johnson at first favored a severe policy against the leaders of the South, he soon changed his attitude to one of leniency and found himself out of harmony with Congress. The leaders of Massachusetts began to criticize him, and accused him of hindering reconstruction and of betraying the party which had elected him. The Federal Senate, led by Charles Sumner and his colleague Henry Wilson, as well as the House, dominated by Thaddeus Stevens, was hostile and defiant. The Republican majority in Congress was so large that it could pass any measure over the President's veto if it saw fit. Congress adopted the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, abolishing slavery and fixing the political status of States recently seceded and of the Negro. Upon these amendments, the people of Massachusetts supported the action of their legislature, which ratified the Thirteenth Amendment unanimously, and also ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with some division.

STATE ELECTIONS (1865–1868)

The State election of 1865 was, likewise, a complete triumph for the Republicans. Governor Andrew refused to be a candidate for reelection, and Alexander H. Bullock, of Worcester, was elected governor over his Democratic opponent, Darius Couch, of Taunton. Governor Andrew, in his farseeing farewell address to the incoming legislature, outlined the policy of reconstruction which he believed the country would be wise to adopt; and had not President Johnson quarreled with Congress, Andrew's plan might have been adopted by the whole nation. Andrew felt that the natural leaders of the South, whether they had participated in the rebellion or not, must be allowed to participate in its political reorganization if permanent results were to be attained. This proposal was not appreciated by the leaders, and not until later years did men realize the value of this plan, which aimed to find in the South itself the main elements of regeneration, and which realized that Negro suffrage was a question not of constitutional requirement but of statesmanship.

In the Republican State Convention of 1866, Bullock was again nominated for the governorship and was successful against Theodore H. Sweetser, of Lowell, who was the candidate of both the Democratic and National Union parties. It is significant that, in the platform adopted at the Republican State Convention of 1867, the impending impeachment of Johnson was foreshadowed by the party leaders, who endorsed the reconstruction policy of Congress and characterized President Johnson as a "dangerous and desperate man." The platform further called for the continuance of the national policy established by the party, greatly praised the work of Senator Charles Sumner, and urged his reelection. The platform adopted by the Democrats raised the old cry of State rights, and charged that the Republican policy tended toward centralization of control. In 1867, Governor Bullock was reelected over the Democratic nominee, John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

BOUTWELL'S CAREER (1865–1873)

George S. Boutwell, who presided over this Republican State Convention, stands preeminent in the management and solution of the financial problems of the nation at this time. Although by a coalition of the Free-soil and Democratic parties he had been elected governor of Massachusetts in 1851, yet, when the Republican party came into being, he was naturally carried into its ranks because of his strong antislavery views. From the first, he advocated emancipation; and his career in the National House of Representatives may well be described as an advocacy of all the most advanced measures of his party. He was one of the seven managers of the trial in the impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson, and as chairman of the committee he reported the articles of impeachment. He advocated a strong policy toward the seceding States, and favored making the whole South a military district. He had a prominent part in framing the Fourteenth and especially the Fifteenth Amendments.

In 1869, President Grant appointed him Secretary of the Treasury; which position he held until 1873, when he resigned to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the election of Henry Wilson of Massachusetts to the Vice-Presidency. This did not terminate his service to his country, for he acted as counsel for the government in many matters involving international law, especially in the settlement of French claims arising out of the Civil War. Intensity of conviction and rugged honesty were outstanding characteristics of this son of Massachusetts, who made such noteworthy contributions to the welfare of the nation.

Election in the Impeachment Year (1868)

In 1868, the hostility between President Johnson and Congress became so great that he refused to put into operation laws passed over his veto; and the House of Representatives then impeached him of "high crimes and misdemeanors." The result of this historic trial before the Senate, in which Massachusetts men figured prominently, was a failure by only one vote to impeach the President and to remove him from office.

The platform adopted four days later at the Republican National Convention emphasized two issues: equal suffrage for both whites and Negroes in the South, and the payment of the public debt in coin. General Grant was unanimously selected as the Republican standard bearer, and the keynote of the campaign was found in the historic phrase in his speech of acceptance: "Let us have peace." In the election which followed, the Commonwealth gave Grant 136,379 votes as compared with a vote of 59,103 for Horatio Seymour, his Democratic opponent; and elected as governor the Republican nominee, William Claflin, of Newton, over John Quincy Adams, of Quincy, by more than 68,000 plurality.

State Elections (1869–1871)

The following year, John Quincy Adams was for the third time the Democratic candidate for the gubernatorial chair, and Edwin M. Chamberlain of Boston was named for the same office by the newly born Labor Reform party. Governor Claflin, who had been renominated by the Republicans, received a diminished plurality of about 23,000 over Adams. The next year Claflin again defeated Adams, this time by about 31,000 plurality. The Prohibition party for the first time entered the State, and selected as its standard bearer the free lance Wendell Phillips, of Boston, who was likewise named by the Labor Reform party.

During Governor Claflin's administration, the police force of the Commonwealth was reorganized, and a Board of Prison Commissioners was established. Laws permitting two or more towns to unite for the purpose of employing a school superintendent were also passed. Moreover, by his veto of the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad Bills, by his treatment of the South Boston flats and the Hoosac Tunnel project, Governor Claflin saved the Commonwealth many millions of dollars.

Quite undaunted by his many defeats, John Quincy Adams was again the Democratic candidate for governor in the election of 1871; but was successfully opposed by William B. Washburn, of Greenfield. In the contest for the Republican nomination, General Benjamin F. Butler was beaten. In commenting on his defeat, Butler said: "I offered myself to the Republican party as a candidate for the nomination. I was not unfairly beaten by the Hon. William B. Washburn, who was nominated by a small majority over me, and whose election I supported, as I ought."

Much of the legislation enacted at the regular session of 1872 dealt with railroad extension; election day was changed from Monday to Tuesday; and the almshouse system was reformed. At the extra session called to meet the emergency created by the great Boston Fire of November 9, 1872, which destroyed stores and warehouses covering an area of sixty-five acres and entailed a loss of nearly seventy-three million dollars, the city of Boston was authorized to issue bonds to the extent of twenty millions to aid owners of land to restore burned buildings; but this act was subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Judicial Court.

Presidential Election of 1872

At the time of the next presidential election, stories of corruption and greed in the Grant administration had worked upon the minds of the voters to such an extent that they were asking if loyalty to the Republican party required an approval of corruption within that party. During its long tenure of office, the Republican organization had been unable to escape from the evil practices and corrupt conduct of some of its leaders. Naturally, many thoughtful and loyal Republicans condemned this demoralization and rebelled against it.

The widespread tendency to political corruption appeared as an evil legacy of the Civil War and of the period of reconstruction that followed. President Johnson tried to suppress it, but had not been strong enough for the formidable task. Grant came into office in 1869 at the urgent behest of his party, with the highest of motives; but he, too, found that the tendency to political corruption was too strong for him to overcome.

Although few believed that Grant was responsible for these conditions, many Republicans, among them Charles Sumner and Charles Francis Adams, both of Massachusetts, opposed Grant's nomination for a second term. When it was found in 1871 that Grant was to be the party candidate, this rather large group broke away from the main body of Republicans and formed the Anti-Grant or Liberal Republican group. The platform adopted at their convention in Cleveland, in 1872, declared that no President should be a candidate for reelection, and denounced political corruption. The Liberal party leaders hoped to have Democratic support if a suitable candidate were chosen, and Charles Francis Adams appeared to be the first choice. Unfortunately for the success of the Liberal party, Adams was sent to Geneva as an arbitrator of the "Alabama Claims." His position, expressed in a letter written on the eve of his departure, was that he did not desire the nomination if it had to be negotiated for and assurances given that he was honest. Such manly independence should have won the respect of the Liberal party and its nomination; but some of the delegates resented it as an apparent reflection upon them and cast their votes for Horace Greeley, the arch-abolitionist and denouncer of the South and editor of the *New York Tribune,* who won the Liberal and Democratic nominations but was overwhelmingly defeated by Grant.

Henry Wilson, a Massachusetts Senator, was elected Vice-President at the same time. Wilson had come into national prominence first as chairman of the Military Committee during the war. For four years he rendered invaluable service through his knowledge of military matters, and later was a leader of the Senate in the consideration of the reconstruction program adopted by Congress.

This attack in Massachusetts upon corruption led to new political alignments in the State and the divison of the Republican party into three different groups: (1) the old antislavery group; (2) the idealist group, of which Charles Francis Adams and others were leaders; (3) the pro-Sumner or anti-Grant group. The election revealed considerable independent voting in Massachusetts, many Democrats refusing to support Greeley and many Republicans refusing to support Grant. Such prominent men as Robert C. Winthrop and J. Murray Forbes supported Grant and Wilson; while Francis W. Bird, Charles Sumner, and William Schouler favored Horace Greeley. In the hope of a political victory, the Liberal Republicans and Democrats combined their forces. They met with little success in the State election. The Republican nominee, William B. Washburn, was overwhelmingly elected governor over Francis W. Bird, of Walpole; and the Liberal Republicans elected but one State senator and five State representatives.

SUMNER-GRANT CONTROVERSY (1869–1871)

At this election, Charles Sumner supported Greeley vigorously and advised the Negroes to vote for him. Preeminent as a statesman and outspoken as a political leader, his contribution to the welfare of the nation, as well as to his Commonwealth, was unusually great. For more than three terms he was a prominent and conspicuous member of the United States Senate. Sumner was a haughty and often an arrogant man, who made many enemies in his own party. As time passed he became a kind of party of one member in the Senate.

Though blamed and censured for the means he took to achieve certain ends, he was more frequently praised for the unflagging energy and devotion of his public service. While still in private life, he was one of the pioneers in the struggle for the abolition of slavery, and this evil he attacked with all the strength of his being until the struggle ceased with the abolition of that institution. He zealously advocated the rights of the freed race, and whatever he believed was associated with the idea of human freedom. It was entirely natural, therefore, that Sumner should early devote himself to the cause of peace and international good will.

He served as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate, and made the relations of the United States with other nations the subject of special investigation for several years. He excelled in his knowledge of international law, and was perhaps the most noted orator of his day. Many graphic pictures of the life of his own times and facts of historical value are found in his speeches, covering a period of twenty years devoted to public service. Because the quarrel between President Grant and Sumner drove many Republican voters in Massachusetts into the Liberal Republican party, it is interesting to know how the dispute arose.

Quite early in his administration, in 1869, President Grant procured the negotiation of a treaty of annexation of the San Domingo Republic, without consulting the leaders of his party. When he tried to have the treaty ratified by the Senate, however, his plan was defeated by Sumner and other party leaders. This caused a bitter quarrel between Grant and

Sumner, and resulted in the latter's removal from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations at the organization of the next Congress by the Republican caucus. Such action drove the great leader from the party which he had helped to found, and the defeat of the San Domingo treaty thus assumed great political importance.

Rockwood Hoar Episode (1873–1874)

Judge E. Rockwood Hoar had resigned in 1869 from the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts to accept the position of Attorney-General in Grant's Cabinet. He was a man of the highest character, a jurist of much influence, admired by his friends as a man of great wit, broad intelligence, and keen in support of the right. Though his personal relations with the President were very close and friendly, his resignation from the Cabinet was requested after two years of service. He later represented the Commonwealth in the National House of Representatives.

President Grant had been considered as favoring reform in the civil service, but several of his appointments discouraged the advocates of that reform. In February, 1874, Grant nominated as collector of the port of Boston a henchman of Benjamin F. Butler, named William A. Simmons. This nomination was opposed by most of the leading men of the party in Massachusetts, including Governor Washburn, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles Sumner. Seven of the eleven Representatives in Congress, including Judge E. Rockwood Hoar, George F. Hoar, and Henry L. Pierce, were also opposed to the choice of Simmons. In spite of the storm of protest which arose, Grant would not withdraw the nomination and Simmons' appointment was confirmed. Senator Boutwell, who at first had approved the appointment, voted against the confirmation. The incident is particularly interesting as showing the influence that General Butler possessed over the President.

State Elections (1873–1875)

In 1873, the Democrats believed that they had selected an unusually strong candidate for Governor in William Gaston, a former mayor of Boston; but Governor Washburn was renominated by the Republicans and was elected by nearly 13,000 plurality. During his administration, the finances of the State were efficiently and economically managed. Three millions of dollars of funded debt were paid off in 1872. Two new normal schools were opened and a reformatory for women was established, which relieved congestion in the county prisons and made possible better classification of prisoners.

Upon the death of Charles Sumner, March 11, 1874, a spirited contest for his seat took place between Ebenezer R. Hoar and Henry L. Dawes, the Republican candidates, and Benjamin R. Curtis, Democrat. A compromise was made which resulted in the election of Governor Washburn, who thereupon resigned as governor, and Thomas Talbot, of Billerica, the lieutenant-governor, became acting governor, May 1, 1874. His executive acts were fearless and in accord with his convictions, but there was dissatisfaction among the Republicans because of his veto of a bill practically doing away with the prohibitory liquor law; and also because of a veto regarding the State police. Nevertheless, the Republican State Convention nominated him for governor, and the Prohibition party endorsed him as its candidate. Thus an alliance was formed between the Republican and Prohibition parties, contrary to the previous policy of either.

The election of 1874 resulted in decisive defeat for Talbot and selection of the Democratic candidate, William Gaston. As the Republicans elected the balance of the State ticket and retained the control of the legislature, which favored a modification of the liquor law, the voters must be considered as then opposed to the existing prohibition law. During Gaston's administration, the prohibitory law was repealed and a local-option license law enacted. Governor Gaston again received the Democratic nomination in 1875, but was defeated by the Republican nominee, Alexander H. Rice, of Newton, who received about 5,000 plurality.

Contested National Election of 1876

In 1876 occurred the first contest for the Republican presidential nomination since 1860. James G. Blaine of Maine, though the most popular man in the party, had many bitter enemies who fought him vigorously; and he had given great offense in Massachusetts by a speech in Congress recalling the attitude of Massachusetts in the embargo days and the Hartford Convention of 1814. Though Blaine barely failed of the nomination on the first ballot, the convention ultimately nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio. In the convention two young politicians worked hard against Blaine —Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York, on a platform of reform in government service. The popular discontent at the evils which had appeared during the recent years of Republican control was capitalized by the Democrats; and for the first time the Republican party was placed on the defensive.

The result of the election was exceedingly close, with Tilden falling just short of the required number of electoral votes, with but three States missing. The ultimate returns from these States, however, favored Hayes, which would result in his election. Thereupon, the Democrats all over the country raised such a cry of fraud and such intense excitement prevailed that it was feared another civil war was impending, and a special tribunal for the decision of the election was provided by Congress.

This tribunal consisted of five representatives from the Senate, five from the House, and five from the Supreme Court. This was the first time in the history of the country that the outcome of a presidential election had been disputed. On the second of March, 1877, by a vote of eight to seven, this electoral commission declared that Hayes was elected; and he was inaugurated as President two days later.

In the State election, the Republican candidate, Alexander H. Rice, was reelected governor, defeating the Democratic candidate, Charles Francis Adams, of Quincy, brother of John Quincy Adams, and the Prohibition-Suffragist candidate, John I. Baker. During his three years of service as chief executive, Governor Rice advocated biennial sessions of the legislature on the ground that they would "secure greater economic advantage and prevent much of the evil of special and temporary legislation." In 1876 he signed the Massachusetts Savings Bank Law, which has proved very beneficial; and in 1877 he vetoed the local-option liquor bill. Certain reforms in State institutions were also instituted upon discovery of irregularities in their management.

STATE ELECTIONS AND ADMINISTRATIONS (1877–1879)

In 1877, the people for a third time selected Governor Rice over his Democratic opponent, William Gaston. Both the Prohibition and Independent Greenback parties had candidates for governor in the field, and the total vote for other contestants than Alexander H. Rice was 93,199, as compared with the 91,255 he received.

During his administration the legislature considered many important questions, among them the so-called Hoosac Tunnel Bill, in which it was attempted to establish a policy with respect to the relation of the Commonwealth to the railroads that subsequent legislatures would be required to follow for a term of seven years. Governor Rice vetoed the bill and in his message to the Senate said: "The present bill imposes on the executive department, for a long period, and as part of an established policy, the duties of a board of railroad directors. . . . I can entertain no doubt . . . that neither the Governor of the State should be *ex-officio* president of its State railroad, nor the treasury of the State the treasury of a business enterprise. The present bill, therefore, I regard as peculiarly open to objection, in that it permanently imposes on the executive department of the government, functions of a purely commercial character never contemplated by the constitution."

An editorial from the *Transcript* at the time is pertinent: "Through an appropriate committee the Legislature investigated for weeks the Hoosac Tunnel question and . . . came very near 'chaining' the Commonwealth . . . to a policy which . . . might have proved one of disaster to the public. Here slipped in Governor Rice with one of the most beneficent vetoes ever emanating from the Executive Chamber. . . . It was a brave and wise act on his part, one completely justifying the popular judgment that made him chief magistrate of the Commonwealth."

In the election of 1878, Thomas Talbot, the Republican nominee, was named as chief executive, defeating his leading antagonist, Benjamin F. Butler, by about 25,000 votes. There were six parties in the field, each with a full slate of candidates, and Butler was the nominee of three.

Governor Talbot advocated economy and the pay-as-you-go policy, and urged certain changes in prison management, in the system of education, and a definite policy in regard to the Hoosac Tunnel and the Troy and Greenfield Railroad. Further sales of the New York and New England Railroad stock without the consent of the General Court were forbidden. A bill consolidating the land and harbor commissions was passed, and the Prison Commission was established. The defeat by the legislature of an act relating to the registration of voters was criticized by the *Transcript* of May 1, 1879 as follows: "The registration act was so fair in its provisions . . . that the go-by it received is in the highest degree discreditable. . . . Some of the legislation of 1878 has been injudicious, but in the main its acts are creditable."

In 1879, John D. Long, of Hingham, who had served as Speaker of the House, and as lieutenant-governor the previous year under Governor Talbot, was elected to the governorship on the Republican ticket, although he had supported Horace Greeley in 1872. His Democratic opponent was Benjamin F. Butler, who was defeated by about 13,000 votes.

National and State Elections (1880–1883)

The contest for nomination and election in the presidential campaign of 1880 was particularly free from bitterness and personal abuse. In the Republican National Convention, although President Grant nearly succeeded in obtaining the nomination for a third term, a dark horse, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President; and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic standard bearers were General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and William H. English, of Indiana.

The vote in the Commonwealth favored the Republican nominee, and General Garfield received a plurality of about 53,000. In the State election, Governor Long was reelected, defeating his Democratic opponent, Charles P. Thompson, of Gloucester, by a large majority. Governor Long's administration gave such general satisfaction that he was again elected in 1881, for a third time, and again his unsuccessful opponent was Charles P. Thompson.

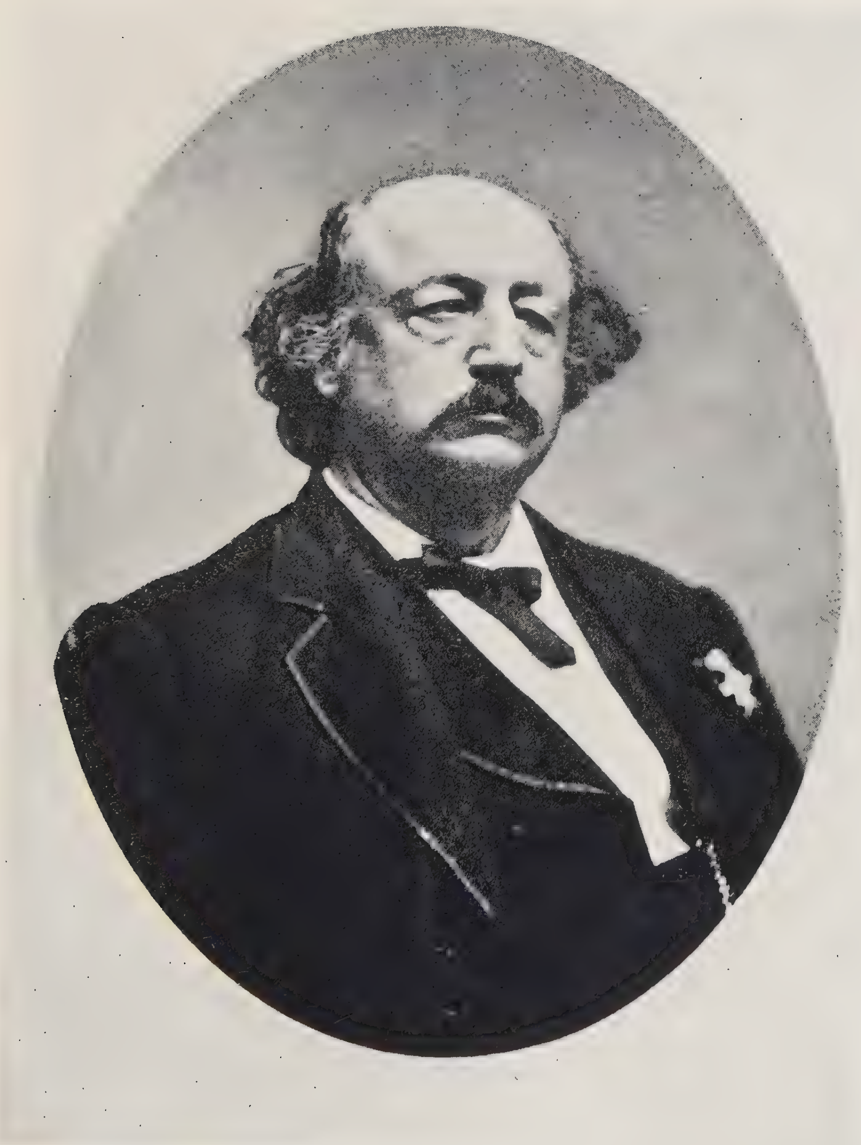
In November of this year, a special session of the legislature was held to adopt as law the new revision of the statutes. Governor Long in his message protested against the "barbarism of capital punishment," and recommended general laws instead of special legislation for incorporating cities, for enabling municipalities to supply pure water, and for the payment of damages for public use of private property. The Governor further advocated the most rigid public economy. "The removal of double taxation on mortgages and of local taxes on shipping will stand as a monument to the legislature of 1881," the *Transcript* declared in an editorial of May 14.

Governor Long was later elected to the National House of Representatives, where he served for three terms. He opposed the nomination of James G. Blaine at the Republican Convention in 1884, but remained loyal to the party and did much to stem the tide of revolt that followed. In 1897, President McKinley appointed him Secretary of the Navy, and Theodore Roosevelt served as his first assistant secretary.

Governor Butler Arrives (1882)

The State election of 1882 was close and bitterly contested. The Republican nominee was Robert R. Bishop, of Newton, President of the Senate. Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell, the candidate of the Democratic and Greenback parties, was at last successful in his ambition of many years' standing.

Before the war Butler had been the Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts, yet he was independent enough to withdraw from the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina, with other Northern delegates, because, as he said, "I would not sit in a convention where the African Slave Law, which is piracy by the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated." He entered Congress in 1866 as a Republican, and served there, with the exception of two years, until 1879. He was said to have more influence with President Grant than any other member of the National House. He actively favored the impeachment of Andrew Johnson—whom he believed to have "even been implicated in the plot to assassinate President Lincoln."



From a photograph by Warren

Courtesy of Harvard College Library

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

In the fall of 1871, several Republicans, each with a strong following, aspired to the office of governor of the Commonwealth. Foremost among these stood General Butler, who left no stone unturned to secure the nomination. Although the press refused to support him, and he was bitterly opposed in the campaign, he nearly succeeded in achieving his purpose. After several unsuccessful attempts as the Greenback candidate he again entered the political arena in 1882 in a contest for the governorship, but this time as the nominee of the Democratic party, and was successful.

The story of Butler's administration is the history of an outstanding and bitter struggle between the executive and the legislature. He urged better civil-service laws, and a constitutional amendment to allow women to vote; and he met with considerable success in supporting somewhat radical and far-reaching labor legislation. In his inaugural address, he so severely criticized conditions at the Tewksbury Almshouse, a charitable institution of the State, that a legislative committee was appointed to make a special investigation. Some undesirable conditions were disclosed in the sixty-five hearings, extending over three and a half months, but the most serious of the governor's charges were not sustained by the committee. During his administration, forty bills became law without the governor's signature, and four were signed by the lieutenant-governor during the governor's absence from the Commonwealth.

The election of 1883 was even more bitterly contested, and Governor Butler was again the candidate of the Democratic party. This time he was opposed by George D. Robinson, of Chicopee, the Republican nominee, who was elected by almost 10,000 plurality. From this time on, General Butler ceased to be an important factor in State politics. The following year, however, he was chosen standard-bearer of the National Greenback as well as of the new Antimonopoly party, but received only 24,382 votes in Massachusetts. Butler's was a masterful personality, which left its imprint upon the political history of the nation. His positive nature and belligerent disposition were responsible for much of the animosity against him.

Governor Robinson (1884–1886)

In 1884, the Democrats nominated as their presidential candidate Grover Cleveland, a former mayor of Buffalo, and then governor of New York. Cleveland stood pledged to a policy of tariff reform, urging the substitution of a tariff for revenue only to replace the Republican protective tariff. Though Massachusetts had always favored protection because its textiles, shoes, and other industrial products were in close competition with those of foreign countries, yet the Republican party admitted that there were inequalities in the existing protective tariff which should be corrected.

James G. Blaine was again the leading Republican candidate, but was bitterly opposed in the National Convention by most of the Massachusetts delegation. In fact, the *Transcript* of June 4th declared, "It was the delegation from this State which did the most effective work towards defeating the unscrupulous scheme of the Blaine managers to elect a temporary chairman. Much of the credit of the victory is due to Henry Cabot Lodge, who was ably assisted by young Roosevelt." Nevertheless, James G. Blaine received the Republican nomination.

Throughout the twenty-four years of Republican rule, there had been a weakening of the solidarity of the Republican forces. The Grant-Sumner controversy, corruption within the party, the tariff question, civil-service reform, and the hostility to Blaine caused serious defection in the Republican ranks and resulted in the election of Grover Cleveland as President. In the State election of 1884, Governor Robinson was reelected, defeating the Democratic nominee, William C. Endicott, of Salem, by about 48,000 plurality. Robinson was popular as governor and was reelected the following year (1885), this time defeating Frederick O. Prince, of Boston, who had been named by the Democrats.

A law passed during 1886 to improve the civil service in cities and towns provided that no rum seller or convict should be appointed to public office, and that there should be no intimidation or political influence brought to bear upon public officers. During this administration, also, certain commissions, including a State Board of Arbitration for the settlement of differences between employers and employees, were established. An act was passed to provide for the weekly payment of wages by corporations, as was an act to authorize the consolidation of the Connecticut River and Ashuelot Railroads. An employers' liability bill, as well as various elevated railroad plans, was killed. A free textbook bill, and measures relating to the conduct of elections and the registration of voters were also passed during Governor Robinson's administration.

Governor Ames (1887–1889)

For the next three years, Oliver Ames, of Easton, who had already served as lieutenant governor for four years, was the people's choice for chief executive over his Democratic opponents. In 1886, he first defeated John F. Andrew, of Boston (son of the Civil War Governor) by about 9,000 plurality; then Henry B. Lovering, of Lynn; and finally, during the presidential campaign of 1888, he was elected over William E. Russell, mayor of Cambridge, by a plurality of about 28,000.

Dissatisfaction of Democratic party workers over Grover Cleveland's civil-service appointments, and the contest over the tariff issue were largely responsible for the Democratic defeat and the election of the Republican nominee, Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, in the election of 1888. The contest was very close and, as in 1884, New York was the pivotal State. Cleveland's plurality in the country at large was more than 100,000; but he received only 168 of the electoral votes cast, while Harrison received 233 votes in the Electoral College. Massachusetts, as usual in presidential elections, was strongly Republican, and gave Benjamin Harrison a plurality of some 32,000 votes.

Governor Ames brought to his task a marked administrative ability, gained in a long business experience as a manufacturer of plows and shovels, which served him well in directing the affairs of the Commonwealth with efficiency. Important legislation considered during his three years as governor related to the revision of the insurance laws and to questions of labor, liquor, and education. Bills dealing with the consolidation of the street railways of Boston and vicinity into the West End Street Railway Company, and with the drainage of the Mystic and Charles River basins were passed. A bill to authorize the granting of a charter for an elevated railroad met with much opposition. "Before another Legislature convenes, it is hoped that the suburban districts will have such facilities of conveyance that not even in their behalf can a plausible case be made out for an elevated railway," declared the *Transcript* of June 1, 1889. At the time of the Johnstown Flood, the legislature, in a moment of sympathy, hastily appropriated thirty thousand dollars for the relief of the sufferers. Such action was severely censured by the press and was reconsidered by the legislature, as it was found to be unconstitutional.

During the first year of Governor Ames's administration, there was a strenuously contested senatorial election. Henry L. Dawes, who had served the Commonwealth as United States Senator since 1875, was finally chosen to fill that office for a third time, defeating two ex-governors of the State, George D. Robinson and John D. Long. Two years later, George F. Hoar, of Worcester, who had served in the United States Senate since 1877, was reelected, practically without opposition. In fact, a series of very able and illustrious men served the Commonwealth in the United States Senate during this period. The line beginning with Charles Sumner comprised William B. Washburn and Henry L. Dawes, while that beginning with Henry Wilson included George S. Boutwell and George F. Hoar.

In 1889, the Democratic party was becoming so strong politically that the Republican candidate for Governor, John Q. A. Brackett, of Arlington, was elected by but 7,000 plurality over his Democratic opponent, William E. Russell, of Cambridge.

Issues of Liquor Legislation (1855–1874)

The question of regulating or prohibiting the sale of liquor had a very marked effect upon the political history of the State during this period. In 1855, a law had been passed forbidding the sale of all intoxicating liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, to be used either as a beverage or as medicine, unless sold by agents of the State. The legislature was constantly petitioned to enact a moderate-license law instead of the prohibitory statute. In 1867, 31 members of the senate and 184 members of the house went into office pledged for license. A law was accordingly enacted providing for a system of licensing; but Governor Claflin, in his inaugural message at the next session of the legislature, maintained that the practical working of this law was not successful.

Significantly, no political party wanted to tackle this liquor question. According to Warrington, "We . . . couldn't get the Republicans to declare for one side or the other. The reason why the law cannot be enforced, and why it will before long either be upheld or become a dead letter . . . , is simply because a majority of the people buy liquor and use it as a beverage . . . and as far as my observation goes, the Republicans drink their share." The Democratic party even went so far as to put a "hands off" plank in their platform in 1868, on the ground that prohibitory legislation infringed too much "on the rights of the individual." In 1874 an anti-prohibition governor was elected.

PROHIBITION REPEALED (1875–1889)

In his inaugural message, Governor Gaston, in 1875, recommended the repeal of the existing Prohibition Law, and the enactment of a law in its stead which would place the sale of intoxicating liquors in responsible hands surrounded by the "strongest practicable limitations, restraints, and safeguards." In accordance with the suggestion, the legislature did pass during the year an act giving cities and towns the right to license the sale of liquor within their limits. This law remained in force for the rest of this twenty-five-year period.

Further regulations and restrictions of the traffic were, however, adopted from time to time. Laws for licensing druggists and apothecaries were passed in 1878, and a year later the "civil damages" law was passed, after stout opposition by the liquor interests. The famous "screen law," which required that the place for serving drinks be in public view, was in 1881; and this was followed by the law which made the buildings used by liquor clubs in no-license cities and towns common nuisances. Legislation was passed during this period for official inspection and analysis of liquor, prohibition of the sale or delivery of liquor to "charity" persons, the hours in which liquor selling was permitted, and for the use of temperance text books.

In accordance with the recommendation by Governor Ames, in a special message in 1887, laws were passed permitting local authorities to close retail liquor shops in case of riot. Self-registering, self-canceling ballot boxes were required in voting on the liquor issue under the Local Option Law. In 1889, although the people defeated the constitutional amendment forbidding the manufacture of intoxicating drinks by a vote of 131,062 to 85,242, material additions were made to the restrictive liquor laws.

Thus was the struggle between the liquor interest and its opponents carried on with varying fortunes, though ultimately resulting in the further restriction and limitation of the sale of liquor. No other issue in the legislature approached this subject in perennial interest, and no other issue seemed of greater importance to the people.

Labor Controversy (1870–1887)

The Knights of Saint Crispin, a lodge of shoemakers, was chartered in 1870 as a charitable organization, and formed the nucleus of the Labor Reform party. It originated through agitation in Massachusetts against the importation of Chinese laborers, caused by the bringing in of a body of Celestials to work in a factory at North Adams, on the ground that it would tend to lower the standard of living of American labor. The platform of the Labor Reform party in 1870 consisted of three main issues: an eight-hour labor day, protection for home industries, and government control of railways and telegraphs. In the election of 1871, the Labor Reform party nominated Edwin M. Chamberlain for governor, and advocated legal-tender government notes as the only safe currency for quick payment of the national debt.

The Labor party never became powerful politically, either because its leaders were not of sufficient influence in the community to win for it decisive votes in the elections, or because enough men of both leading parties were ready and desirous of putting on the statute book measures for the improvement of working conditions of labor which the Labor party was urging. The labor leaders, finding that they could achieve greater results by efforts made within the Republican and Democratic parties than by independent action as a political party, chose the former way of carrying out their program. They gradually lessened their activities as a separate political party, and concentrated on the adoption of certain labor measures by the legislature.

Due to this sentiment in favor of improving the conditions of labor, as well as to the influence of the labor leaders, legislation was adopted to protect the health and property of employees, and to regulate the hours of labor, especially those of women and children. After years of bitter struggle, legislation was enacted, in 1882, requiring weekly payment of wages and establishing also a State Board of Arbitration. The Employers Liability Law was, after a contest of many years, passed in 1887, after which time the first Monday in September was made a legal holiday, to be known as Labor Day.

Agitation for Woman Suffrage (1849–1878)

Another important issue was that of woman suffrage. In 1849, William Lloyd Garrison presented to the State legislature the first petition favoring woman suffrage. In 1865, Governor John A. Andrew, seeing the magnitude of the subject, discussed it in his annual message; but no further action was taken. From this time on, the subject was continually agitated, with but little progress. In 1871, Governor William Claflin recommended woman suffrage to the favorable consideration of the legislature; and eight years later, Governor Talbot proposed the adoption of a constitutional amendment securing the ballot to women on the same terms as men.

Although the proposition of general suffrage for women made little perceptible progress, the continued agitation of the subject resulted, in 1878, in the passage of a law giving to women the right to vote for school committees; and although the list of women voters was to be kept separate, the registration laws for men were made applicable to women.

Civil Service Reform (1883–1884)

One of the greatest obstacles to the efficient administration of governmental activities has always been the paying of political debts through the giving of government positions. Accompanying the corruption that appeared after the Civil War was the organized "spoils system," the filling of government positions with the henchmen of the political party then in power, and making the government employee practically responsible to the party leaders or bosses. This was a serious menace to the efficient and economical administration of national, state, and municipal governments, and greatly impaired their effective operation.

Therefore a movement gathered momentum to improve the civil service by substituting the "merit" for the "spoils" system. In his inaugural address to the legislature in 1883, Benjamin F. Butler called attention to the fact that "whole families are sometimes appointed to salaried places." As he put it: "The rule is, with hardly exceptions enough to prove its correctness, that all the salaried and paid officials, at least of the higher grades, have been, and are, of a given political faith." In discussing this problem, Governor Butler advised that at least "one-third of the paid officials doing the business of the Commonwealth . . . should be cut off by stringent enactments of law." In spite of the recommendations of Governor Butler, however, no action was taken by the legislature.

In 1884, Governor Robinson brought the same issue to the attention of the legislature in these words: "The State of Massachusetts has been honored by a civil administration, honest and economical . . . . As a rule, the offices filled by appointment have been regarded as high public trusts, not subject to the exigencies of party success." Nevertheless, he insisted the time had come when the patronage of the State and the cities, and the expenditure of the public money, ought not to be employed to accomplish or preserve party supremacy; and he urged a practicable and efficient act to remedy these evils. In accordance with his recommendation, a State civil service commission of three members (two only of the same political party) was established in 1884, by an act which provided that the local boards of examiners should administer the law under the direction of the State commission; and examinations of applicants were made both competitive and non-competitive.

The Australian Ballot (1878–1888)

Another notable reform in which Massachusetts led the way for the nation was the introduction of the "Australian" or secret ballot system, which was really the method adopted for elections in Great Britain. In order to secure an honest expression of the will of the voters at the polls, and in an attempt to offset political evils such as bribery, undue pressure, and individual intimidation, the State enacted twenty separate statutes between 1878 and 1888. In 1884 a full revision of the registration law was made, which sought by means of greater publicity and by careful examination of applicants for naturalization, to prevent fraud. The election law was also revised in this year, and a self-registering ballot box was required, in an effort to secure an honest vote.

The outstanding features of the ballot system adopted by the Commonwealth were the furnishing by the State of ballots of uniform appearance, and the securing of secrecy in voting; which it was hoped would result in decreased evils in elections, since the open intimidation of honest voters would be prevented. The governor signed the bill in 1888, and within the next seven years every State in the country, with the exception of four, followed the Bay State's example, though there were great differences as to details.

Executive Department Organization (1869–1889)

Throughout this period Massachusetts was making the governmental readjustments necessitated by the changing conditions of the Commonwealth. For example, a growing tendency appeared, to concentrate certain governmental activities into departments, for more efficient and economical operation, by reason of more centralized control. From 1869 to 1889, more than thirteen departments of government were created, the first of these being the Board of Railroad Commissioners, of which Charles Francis Adams was for many years chairman. It is significant that Massachusetts was the first State in the Union thus to point the way to more efficient and comprehensive State and local departmental administration. Under this system, the work of each branch of activity was handled uniformly and collectively by one State commission, and naturally the State benefitted by the resulting efficiency. The thirteen most important commissions established were as follows:

1869	Board of Railroad Commissioners
1869	State Board of Health
1877	Harbor Commission
1879	Board of Commissioners of Lunacy
1879	Board of Commissioners of Prisons
1879	Commissioners of State Aid
1884	Civil Service Commission
1885	Board of Gas Commissioners
1885	Board of Registration in Pharmacy
1885	Board of Police for Boston
1886	State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation
1887	Board of Registration in Dentistry
1889	Metropolitan Sewerage Commissioners.

Other commissions established in the same period were the following:

1870	Advisory Board of Women as Overseers of Prisons
1870	Board of Street Commissioners for Boston
1875	The Boston Water Board
1879	Board of Harbor and Land Commissioners
1885	Board of Cattle Commissioners
1888	Armory Commissioners
1889	Commissioners of Public Institutions in Boston
1889	Commissioners of State House Construction

Railroad Legislation (1860–1913)

In the decade immediately following the Civil War, the use of the steam engine as a motive power in transportation necessitated the adoption of legislation to encourage the building of railroads within the Commonwealth and to meet the accompanying problems. Post riders, stage coaches, and canals had been superseded; and newer arteries of communication and transportation were demanded to stimulate the growth of commerce and industry, and to bring the seaport and manufacturing centers of Massachusetts into closer commercial relations, and to furnish a through and shorter route to the granaries of the West.

The State, under the authority of the legislature, made loans to various railroads, which had been undertaken by private enterprise—particularly, to the Boston, Hartford and Erie, a line to New York and to the Hudson River, in competition with the New York, New Haven and Hartford; and also to the Fitchburg Railroad, to make possible the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel. Some of these companies became insolvent before the completion of the railroads; and in order to protect its investment, the Commonwealth was obliged to finish their construction. By 1872, Governor Washburn declared "the main railroad lines of the State are completed, or nearly so . . . . The aggregate capital of the railroads within the Commonwealth is not far from fifty millions of dollars. The problem of the railroad interest, already difficult to control, really becomes greater."

After the completion of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and the Hoosac Tunnel, the State found itself engaged in the management and operation of a railroad system which was in competition with a privately owned line. To avoid the dangers and complications of a continuance of this situation, it wisely disposed of its railroad holdings, including the Hoosac Tunnel, and withdrew from active participation in railroad management and investment.

The Board of Railroad Commissioners, established in 1869, was given general supervision over all railroads and street railways. Annual reports and financial statements were required of each railroad; and the board was given power, with certain limitations, to order reduction of fares, and to determine the terms on which one company might use the tracks of another. Laws were passed to allow railroad consolidations and to prevent discrimination in the fixing of freight rates. The Railroad Commission was abandoned in 1913, and its powers consolidated into the Department of Public Utilities.

Police Organization (1865–1929)

In 1865, Governor John A. Andrew urged the legislature to establish a State police force to aid in the maintenance of the public peace and the enforcement of the laws. "I should be unfaithful to the people of Massachusetts," said he, "if I omitted to declare the opinion . . . that the maintenance of such a civil force, directly responsible to the chief executive magistrate, is of high importance, and will yet prove essential to the Commonwealth . . . unless it is deemed best to leave the chief magistrate without power to execute the laws." Shortly thereafter, such a force was created, composed for the most part of honorably discharged veterans of the Army and Navy. It rendered valuable service at agricultural fairs, military encampments, serious strikes, and conflagrations.

A Board of State Police Commissioners was established in 1875; and, although from time to time the organization of the force was changed and different designations for it were used, yet the Commonwealth always maintained its police force in some form, and by the creation of this additional agency to execute its laws did not leave their enforcement solely to local officials.

In 1885, an act was passed by which the Commonwealth took away from the City of Boston the direct control of its own police force, which was placed in the hands of three commissioners appointed by the governor. This measure was the cause of a most violent legislative struggle; but after filibustering of every kind had continued for three days, the bill was finally passed. This measure has been severely criticized on the ground that it was an unwarranted interference with local self-government, but the improvement in the efficiency of the force and its removal from local politics would seem to justify the means employed.

Educational Reform (1875–1929)

Since early colonial days, Massachusetts had been a recognized leader in educational progress. Public opinion demanded a high standard of educational opportunity for all, and the Commonwealth endeavored to meet the demand. During this period a number of educational institutions were incorporated, including three for women—Wellesley, Smith, and Radcliffe Colleges; State normal schools were opened at Worcester and Fitchburg.

In 1882, the district system of public schools was abolished, and their management was given over to the towns. Two years later the Free Textbook Law was enacted, and provisions made for the furnishing of books of reference and apparatus at public expense. Industrial training was provided in 1884, and laws against truancy were strengthened. Provisions were made for skilled supervisors, for the consolidation of weaker schools, and for the distribution of the school fund. Laws were also passed providing for the maintenance of public reading rooms; and the education of children up to the age of fourteen years was made compulsory.

Thus did the Commonwealth by legislation maintain her enviable standard in the field of educational advancement. But it is worthy of note that during this period of enlarged legislative regulation of schools, all of the improvements and reforms, which have finally been made compulsory and universal, have first been adopted voluntarily by the more progressive and enterprising cities of the State.

Public Health (1869–1929)

The State Board of Health was established in 1869, with power only to make sanitary investigations and to disseminate the information thus gathered. Gradually its powers were enlarged until, after a complete reorganization in 1886, it dealt with such matters as epidemics; the prevention of offensive trades; food and drug inspection; impure ice; sewage; and the protection and systematic examination of water supplies. The State board worked with local boards in an advisory capacity.

Closely connected with the work of this commission was that of the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission, established in 1889. Out of it has grown the present Metropolitan District Commission, which controls under one administrative head the three vital municipal functions of water supply, sewerage, and parks, for a district whose population comprises one third of that of the whole State.

Survey of the Period

In the twenty-five years thus reviewed, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has made material progress in many fields of activity. It has moved gradually along to a new era of human well-being, largely because of the political and governmental readjustments it has made. In 1889, it had become a better State. Its perceptions of justice and injustice were keener; its purpose to redress wrongs was stronger; and it was responsive to a more insistent urging of public opinion for bettered conditions. Its roads were better in 1890 than they were in 1865; its police protection greater; its educational system more effective; and its industrial workers better protected. The advance by which Massachusetts rose to a position of leadership among the States was largely expressed in its laws, which secured to the citizens better sanitation, faster communication, and a higher standard of living.

Changing economic, social, and educational conditions demanded changing laws to meet those conditions. In providing such legislation for greater social justice, better conditions of labor, and a greater opportunity to earn sufficient pay for honest toil, Massachusetts more than did her part among the States. The growth of big business, with its concentration of labor and aggregation of capital, was encouraged rather than avoided or discouraged; but it was directed and controlled by governmental means as sanely as possible. In meeting the problems of readjustment which arose, the Commonwealth by its laws helped to develop a feeling of independence and self-government in the individual as well as in the local community.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF HIGHEST STATE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL OFFICERS

Governors (1820–1889)

1816–1823	John Brooks
1823–1825	William Eustis**
1825–1834	Levi Lincoln
1834–1835	John Davis* (Chosen U. S. Senator)
1836–1840	Edward Everett
1840–1841	Marcus Morton
1841–1843	John Davis
1843–1844	Marcus Morton
1844–1851	George N. Briggs
1851–1853	George S. Boutwell
1853–1854	John H. Clifford
1854–1855	Emory Washburn
1855–1858	Henry J. Gardner
1858–1861	Nathaniel P. Banks
1861–1866	John A. Andrews
1866–1869	Alexander H. Bullock
1869–1872	William Claflin
1872–1874	William B. Washburn* (Chosen U. S. Senator)
1875–1876	William Gaston
1876–1879	Alexander H. Rice
1879–1880	Thomas Talbot
1880–1883	John Davis Long
1883–1884	Benjamin F. Butler
1884–1887	George D. Robinson
1887–1890	Oliver Ames

Lieutenant Governors (1820–1889)

1812–1823	William Phillips
1823–1824	Levi Lincoln
1824–1825	Marcus Morton***
1826–1833	Thomas L. Winthrop
1833–1836	Samuel T. Armstrong***
1836–1843	George Hull
1843–1844	Henry H. Childs
1844–1851	John Reed
1851–1853	Henry W. Cushman
1853–1854	Elisha Huntington
1854–1855	William C. Plunkett
1855–1856	Simon Brown
1856–1858	Henry W. Benchley
1858–1861	Eliphalet Trask
1861	John Z. Goodrich
1862	John Nesmith
1863–1868	Joel Hayden
1868–1869	William Claflin
1869–1873	Joseph Tucker
1873–1875	Thomas Talbot***
1875–1879	Horatio G. Knight
1879–1880	John D. Long
1880–1883	Byron Weston
1883–1887	Oliver Ames
1887–1890	John Q. A. Brackett

Justices of the Supreme Court (1820–1889)

1806–1830	ISAAC PARKER[2]
1813–1823	Charles Jackson*
1814–1815	Daniel Dewey
1814–1842	Samuel Putnam*
1815–1850	Samuel Sumner Wilde*
1824–1825	Levi Lincoln
1825–1840	Marcus Morton
1830–1860	LEMUEL SHAW[1]*
1837–1866	Charles Augustus Dewey
1842–1847	Samuel Hubbard

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* Resigned.
** Died in office.
*** Acting Governor for part of the period.
[1] Appointed Chief Justice from the Bar.
[2] Promoted to Chief Justice.

1848	Charles Edward Forbes*
1848–1865	Theron Metcalf*
1848–1853	Richard Fletcher*
1850–1868	George Tyler Bigelow[2]
1852–1853	Caleb Cushing*
1853–1859	Benjamin Franklin Thomas*
1853–1864	Pliny Merrick*
1859–1869	Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar*
1860–1873	Reuben Atwater Chapman[2]
1864–1882	Horace Gray, Jr.[2][3]
1865–1866	James Denison Colt*
1866–1869	Dwight Foster*
1866–1875	John Wells
1868–1881	James Denison Colt
1869–1881	Seth Ames*
1869–1890	Marcus Morton[2]
1873–1882	William Crowninshield Endicott*
1873–1877	Charles Devens, Jr.[4] (Later service 1881–1891)
1875–1882	Otis Phillips Lord*
1877–1881	Augustus Lord Soule*
1881–1899	Walbridge Abner Field[2]
1881–1891	Charles Devens (Previous service 1873–1877)
1881–1891	William Allen
1882–1898	Charles Allen*
1882–1885	Waldo Colburn
1882–1902	Oliver Wendell Holmes[2][3]
1885–1887	William Sewall Gardner*
1887–1911	Marcus Perrin Knowlton[2]

APPENDIX B

LIST OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS FROM MASSACHUSETTS (1820–1889)

Cabinet Officers (1820–1889)

1841	Daniel Webster, Secretary of State (President Harrison).
1841–1843	Daniel Webster, Secretary of State (President Tyler). (First service).
1845–1846	George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy (President Polk).
1850–1852	Daniel Webster, Secretary of State (President Fillmore). (Second service).
1852–1853	Edward Everett, Secretary of State (President Fillmore).
1853–1857	Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General (President Pierce).
1869–1873	George Sewell Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury (President Grant).
1869–1870	Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Attorney-General (President Grant).
1871–1873	George Henry Williams, Attorney-General (President Grant).
1877–1881	Charles Devens, Attorney-General (President Hayes).
1885–1889	William C. Endicott, Secretary of War (President Cleveland).
1885–1889	William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy (President Cleveland).

Supreme Court Appointments

1811–1845	Joseph Story.
1851–1857	Benjamin R. Curtis.
1881–1902	Horace Gray.

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* Resigned.

[2] Promoted to Chief Justice.

[3] Transferred to the U. S. Supreme Court.

[4] Made Attorney-General of the U. S.

UNITED STATES SENATORS (1820–1889)

1817–1822 Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston)
1818–1820 Prentiss Mellen* (Portland, Maine)
1820–1827 Elijah Hunt Mills† (Northampton)
1822-1826 James Lloyd †* (Boston)
1826–1835 Nathaniel Silsbee† (Salem)
1827–1841 Daniel Webster* (Boston; appointed Secretary of State) (Second service, 1845-1850)
1835–1841 John Davis (Worcester)
1841–1845 Isaac Chapman Bates** (Northampton)
1841–1845 Rufus Choate (Boston)
1845–1850 Daniel Webster* (Boston; previous service, 1827-1841) (Appointed Secretary of State)
1845–1853 John Davis† (Worcester)
1850–1851 Robert C. Winthrop ††* (Boston; previously a member of the House)
1851 Robert Rantoul, Jr.† (Boston)
1851–1874 Charles Sumner** (Boston)
1853–1854 Edward Everett* (Boston)
1854–1855 Julius Rockwell† (Pittsfield)
1855–1873 Henry Wilson†* (Natick) (Elected Vice President)
1873–1877 George S. Boutwell† (Groton)
1874–1875 William B. Washburn† (Greenfield)
1875–1893 Henry L. Dawes (Pittsfield)
1877–1904 George Frisbie Hoar** (Worcester)

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES (1820–1889)

1815–1825 Jeremiah Nelson (Newburyport; second service, 1831–1833)
1816–1821 Benjamin Adams (Uxbridge)
1817–1829 Samuel C. Allen (Northfield)
1817–1821 Walter Folger, Jr. (Nantucket)
1817–1823 Timothy Fuller (Boston)
1817–1820 John Holmes* (Alfred, Maine)
1817–1820 Jonathan Masan* (Boston)
1817–1821 Marcus Morton (Taunton)
1817–1820 Zabdiel Sampson* (Plymouth)
1817–1821 Henry Shaw (Lanesboro)
1817–1821 Nathaniel Silsbee (Salem)
1817–1821 Ezekiel Whitman (Portland, Maine)
1818–1821 Enoch Lincoln (Paris, Maine)
1819–1821 Joshua Cushman (Winslow)
1819–1820 Edward Dowse* (Dedham)
1819–1821 Mark L. Hill (Phippsburg, Maine)
1819–1821 Jonas Kendall (Leominster)
1819–1821 Martin Kinsley (Hampden)
1819–1827 Samuel Lathrop (West Springfield)
1819–1821 James Parker (Gardner)
1820–1823 William Eustis (Boston) (First service 1801–1805)
1820–1823 Benjamin Gorham (Boston)
1820–1825 Aaron Hobart (Hanover)
1821 Gideon Barstow (Salem)
1821–1827 Francis Baylies (Taunton)
1821–1831 Lewis Bigelow (Petersham)
1821–1825 Henry W. Dwight (Stockbridge)

* Resigned.
** Died in office.
*** Died before taking his seat.
† Elected to fill a vacancy.
†† Appointed to fill a vacancy.

1821–1841	John Reed (Yarmouth)
1821–1825	Jonathan Russell (Mendon)
1823–1831	Benjamin W. Crowninshield (Salem)
1823–1825	Timothy Fuller (Boston)
1823–1829	John Locke (Ashby)
1823–1825	Jonas Sibley (Worcester)
1823–1827	Daniel Webster* (Boston) (Later a Senator)
1824–1831	John Bailey (Canton; Milton)
1825–1834	John Davis* (Worcester)
1825–1834	Edward Everett (Cambridge; Charlestown) (Later a Senator)
1825–1827	Aaron Hobart (East Bridgewater)
1825–1831	John Varnum (Haverhill)
1827–1835	Isaac C. Bates (Northampton)
1827–1833	James L. Hodges (Taunton; Bristol)
1827–1831	Joseph Richardson (Hingham)
1828–1835	Benjamin Gorham (Boston)
1829–1839	George Grennell, Jr. (Greenfield)
1829–1833	Joseph G. Kendall (Leominster)
1831–1848	John Quincy Adams** (Quincy) (Previously President of the United States)
1831–1833	Nathan Appleton (Boston) (Second service, 1842)
1831–1843	George N. Briggs (Lanesboro)
1831–1834	Rufus Choate* (Salem)
1831–1833	Henry A. S. Dearborn* (Brookline)
1831–1833	Jeremiah Nelson (Essex) (First service, 1815–1825)
1833–1835	William Baylies (West Bridgewater)
1833–1837	William Jackson (Newton)
1833–1835	Gayton P. Osgood (North Andover)
1834–1838	Stephen C. Phillips* (Salem)
1834–1841	Levi Lincoln* (Worcester)
1835–1839	Nathaniel B. Borden (Fall River)
1835–1843	William B. Calhoun (Springfield)
1835–1843	Caleb Cushing (Newburyport)
1831–1837	Samuel Hoar (Concord)
1835–1837	Abbott Lawrence (Boston; second service, 1839-1840)
1837–1839	Richard Fletcher (Boston)
1837–1842	William S. Hastings** (Mendon)
1837–1845	William Parmenter (Cambridge)
1838–1843	Leverett H. Saltonstall (Salem)
1839	James C. Alvord*** (Greenfield)
1839–1840	Abbott Lawrence* (Boston; previous service, 1835-1837)
1839–1841	Henry Williams (Taunton)
1840–1845	Osmyn Baker (Amherst)
1840–1850	Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston) (Later a Senator)
1841–1849	Charles Hudson (Westminster)
1841–1843	Nathaniel B. Borden (Fall River)
1841–1843	Barker Burnell** (Nantucket)
1842	Nathan Appleton* (Boston) (First service, 1831–1833)
1843–1849	Amos Abbott (Andover)
1843–1851	Joseph Grinnell (New Bedford)
1843–1850	Daniel P. King** (South Danvers)
1843–1851	Julius Rockwell (Pittsfield)
1843–1845	Henry Williams (Taunton)
1845–1851	George Ashmun (Springfield)
1845–1849	Artemas Hale (Bridgewater)
1845–1847	Benjamin Thompson (Charlestown)

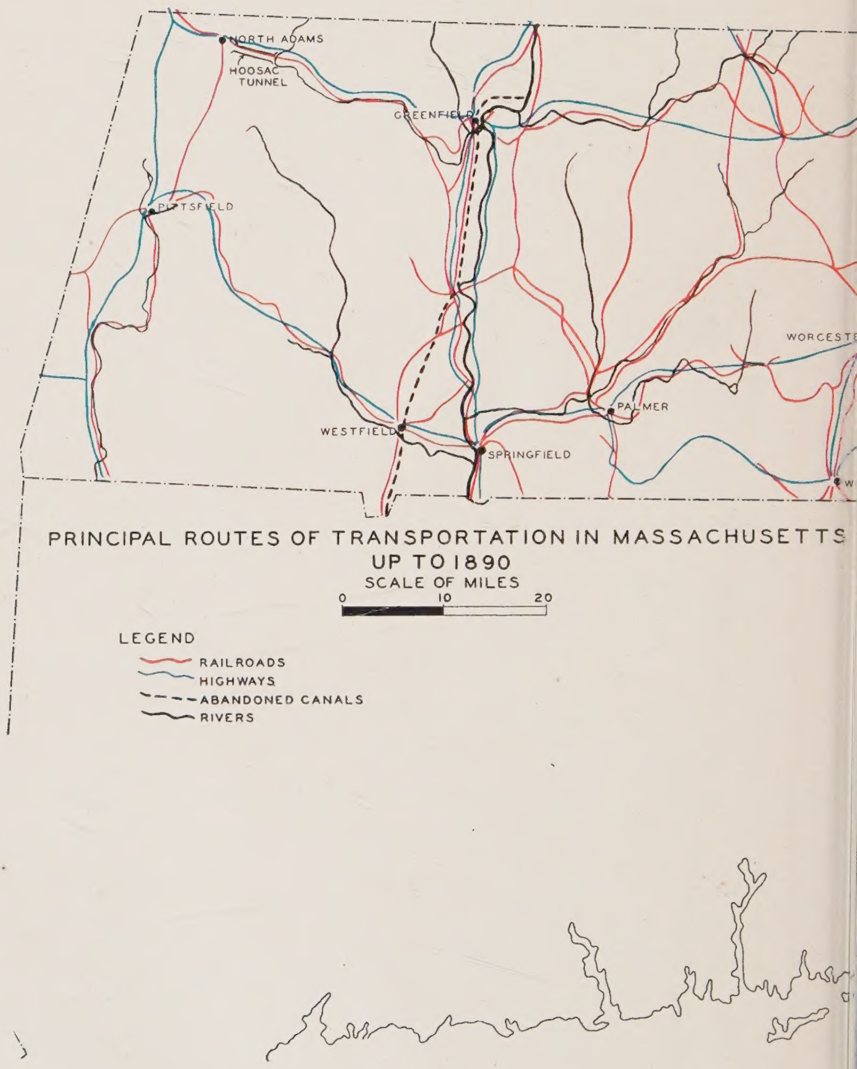
* Resigned.
** Died in office.
*** Died before taking his seat.

1847–1849	John G. Palfrey (Cambridge)
1848–1853	Horace Mann (West Newton)
1849–1853	Charles Allen (Worcester)
1849–1853	James H. Duncan (Haverhill)
1849–1852	Orin Fowler** (Fall River)
1850–1851	Samuel A. Eliot (Boston)
1851–1855	William Appleton (Boston; second service, 1861)
1851–1853	George T. Davis (Greenfield)
1851–1855	John Z. Goodrich (Glendale)
1851–1852	Robert Rantoul, Jr.** (Beverly)
1851–1854	Zeno Scudder* (Barnstable)
1851–1852	Benjamin Thompson** (Charlestown)
1852–1853	Francis B. Fay (Chelsea)
1852–1853	Edward P. Little (Marshfield)
1852–1853	Lorenzo Sabine (Framingham)
1853–1857	Nathaniel P. Banks (Waltham; second service, 1865-1873)
1853–1855	Samuel L. Crocker (Taunton)
1853–1857	Alexander De Witt (Oxford)
1853–1855	Edward Dickinson (Amherst)
1853–1855	J. Wiley Edmands (Lawrence)
1853–1855	Charles W. Upham (Salem)
1853–1855	Samuel H. Walley (Roxbury)
1853–1855	Tappan Wentworth (Lowell)
1854–1855	Thomas D. Eliot (New Bedford; second service, 1859–1869)
1855–1863	James Buffington (Fall River; second service, 1869–1875)
1855–1861	Anson Burlingame (Cambridge)
1855–1859	Linus B. Comins (Roxbury)
1855–1859	Calvin C. Chaffee (Springfield)
1855–1859	William S. Damsell (Dedham)
1855–1859	Timothy Davis (Gloucester)
1855–1859	Robert B. Hall (Plymouth)
1855–1859	Chauncy L. Knapp (Lowell)
1855–1857	Mark Trafton (Westfield)
1857–1875	Henry L. Dawes (North Adams; Pittsfield) (Later a Senator)
1857–1865	Daniel W. Gooch* (Melrose)
1857–1861	Eli Thayer (Worcester)
1859–1861	Charles F. Adams* (Quincy)
1859–1861	John B. Alley (Lynn)
1859–1863	Charles Delano (Northampton)
1859–1869	Thomas D. Eliot (New Bedford) (First service, 1854–1855)
1859–1867	Alexander H. Rice (Boston)
1859–1863	Charles R. Train (Framingham)
1861	William Appleton* (Boston; first service, 1851–1855)
1861–1862	Goldsmith F. Bailey** (Fitchburg)
1861–1875	Samuel Hooper** (Boston)
1861–1863	Benjamin F. Thomas (Boston)
1862–1863	Amasa Walker (North Brookfield)
1863–1873	Oakes Ames (North Easton)
1863–1869	John D. Baldwin (Worcester)
1863–1869	George S. Boutwell* (Groton)
1863–1871	William B. Washburn* (Greenfield)
1865–1873	Nathaniel P. Banks (Waltham; first service 1853-1857; later service, 1875-1879)
1867–1875	Benjamin F. Butler (Gloucester; Lowell)
1867–1873	Ginery Twitchell (Brookline)
1869–1872	George M. Brooks* (Concord)

* Resigned.
** Died in office.

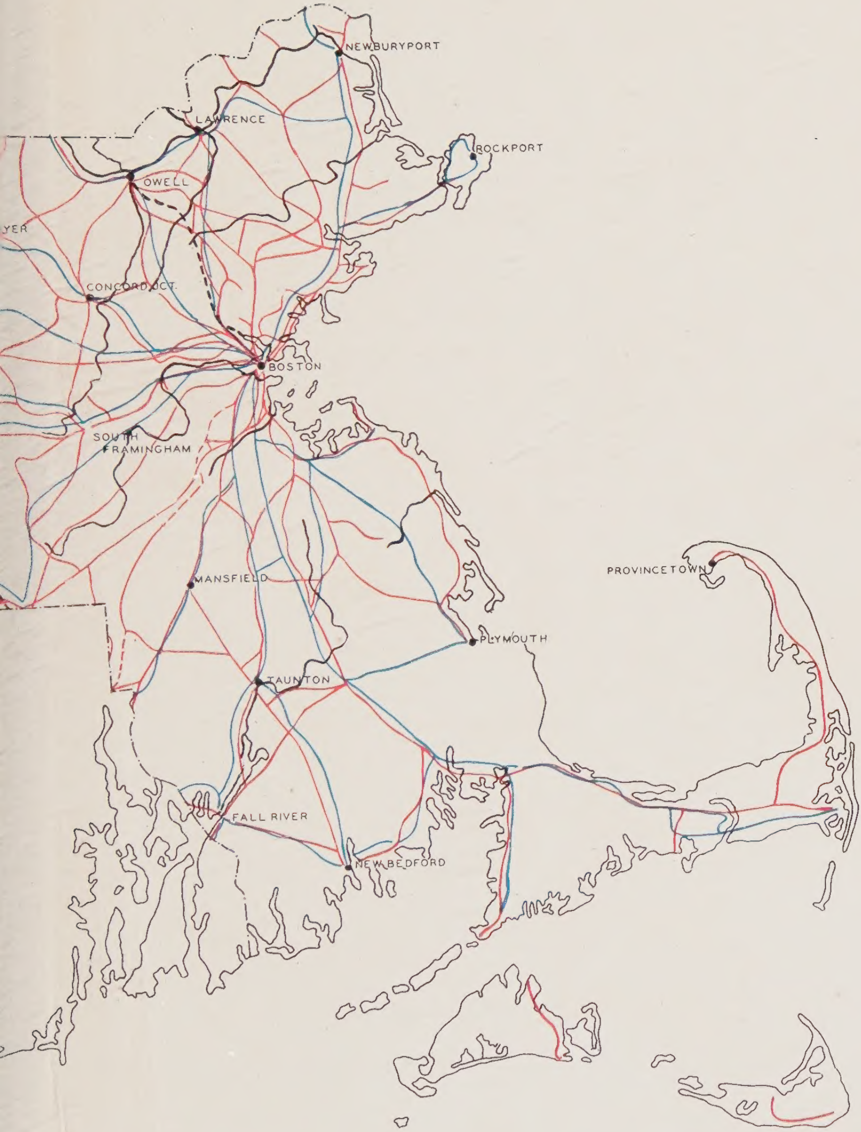
1869–1875	James Buffington** (Fall River; first service, 1855–1863)
1869–1877	George F. Hoar (Worcester) (Later a Senator)
1872–1874	Alvah Crocker** (Fitchburg)
1872–1873	Constantine C. Esty (Framingham)
1873–1875	Daniel W. Gooch (Melrose)
1873–1883	Benjamin W. Harris (East Bridgewater)
1873–1875	Ebenezer R. Hoar (Concord; previously Attorney-General)
1873–1877	Henry L. Pierce (Boston)
1873–1875	Charles A. Stevens (Ware)
1873	William Whiting*** (Boston)
1873–1875	John M. L. Williams (Cambridge)
1875–1879	Nathaniel P. Banks (Waltham; previous service, 1865–1873)
1875–1877	Chester W. Chapin (Springfield)
1875–1883	William W. Crapo (New Bedford)
1875–1876	Rufus L. Frost (Chelsea)
1875–1877	Julius H. Seelye (Amherst)
1875–1877	John K. Tarbox (Lawrence)
1875–1877	Charles P. Thompson (Gloucester)
1875–1877	William W. Warren (Boston)
1876–1877	Josiah G. Abbott (Boston)
1877–1879	Benjamin F. Butler (Lowell)
1877–1881	William Claflin (Newton)
1877–1878	Walbridge A. Field (Boston) (Unseated; second service, 1879–1881)
1877–1881	George B. Loring (Salem)
1877–1885	Leopold Morse (Boston)
1877–1883	Amasa Norcross (Fitchburg)
1877–1887	William W. Rice (Worcester)
1877–1884	George D. Robinson* (Chicopee)
1878–1879	Benjamin Dean (Boston)
1879–1883	Selwyn Z. Bowman (Somerville)
1879–1881	Walbridge A. Field (Boston; first service, 1877–1878)
1879–1885	William A. Russell (Lawrence)
1881–1883	John W. Chandler (Brookline)
1881–1887	Ambrose A. Ranney (Boston)
1881–1887	Eben F. Stone (Newburyport)
1883–1889	Patrick A. Collins (Boston)
1883–1889	Robert T. Davis (Fall River)
1883–1889	John D. Long (Hingham)
1883–1887	Henry B. Lovering (Lynn)
1883–1885	Theodore Lyman (Brookline)
1883–1889	William Whiting (Holyoke)
1884–1891	Francis W. Rockwell (Pittsfield)
1885–1889	Charles H. Allen (Lowell)
1885–1887	Frederick D. Ely (Dedham)
1885–1889	Edward D. Hayden (Woburn)
1887–1889	Edward Burnett (Southboro)
1887–1895	William Cogswell (Salem)
1887–1893	Henry Cabot Lodge (Nahant) (Later a Senator)
1887–1889	Leopold Morse (Boston)
1887–1889	John E. Russell (Leicester)

* Resigned.
** Died in office.
*** Died before taking his seat.



PRINCIPAL ROUTES OF TRANSPORTATION IN MASSACHUSETTS UP TO 1890

NORTH ADAMS
HOOSAC TUNNEL
GREENFIELD
PITTSFIELD
WORCESTE
PALMER
WESTFIELD
SPRINGFIELD
W
SCALE OF MILES
0
10
20
LEGEND
RAILROADS
HIGHWAYS
ABANDONED CANALS
RIVERS


NEWBURYPORT
LAWRENCE
ROCKPORT
OWELL
YER
CONCORD JCT.
BOSTON
SOUTH FRAMINGHAM
MANSFIELD
PROVINCETOWN
PLYMOUTH
TAUNTON
FALL RIVER
NEW BEDFORD